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STRONG IN THEIR SPIRITS

WOMEN MANAGERS

IN THE SOCIAL SERVICES

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times,...it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us (Dickens, 1859).

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of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work

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ABSTRACT

And where the words of women are crying to be heard, we must each of us recognise our responsibility to seek those words out, to read them and share them and examine them in their pertinence to our lives (Lorde, 1980: 15).

Social services world-wide is a predominantly female profession with mainly female clients, yet is primarily managed by men. Although internationally there is considerable literature on women in management the main focus has been on how women can adapt to fit in to the male world of management. In Aotearoa New Zealand there has been little research on women in social services management.

This qualitative study examined the experiences and practice of eight pakeha women, mainly middle managers, in a number of social service agencies in Aotearoa New Zealand. The thesis sought, by listening to their voices, to illuminate how they experienced organisational life and how they managed.

The women in management literature was analysed within a framework that combined management theory and feminist theory (Padgett, 1993), management in the social services was explored, and research studies on women in human service management were examined.

In this study the women managers' experiences fell into two distinct areas: their struggles and their strengths. The women felt "out of kilter" with the organisational culture and the current managerial climate. This was partly explained by feminist theory as being the result of the genderedness of organisations within our patriarchal society. The recent organisational changes through the implementation of managerialism in the social services was another significant factor. Juxtaposed to their struggles, were the strengths of the women, their skills, qualities and practices. They were competent managers with distinctive styles of operation.

Drawing from the literature and the findings, four key feminist management practice principles were identified that offered an inclusive, transformational, woman-centred and service-oriented way of managing.

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*Dianne Hawken
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CHAPTER 1

A MANAGING WOMAN: AN INTRODUCTION

100 YEARS AGO

A managing woman is quite a term of reproach, but still it ought not be so... She carries out her plans, sorting out obstacles...wins rather than drives...requests and suggests far more than commands...gives praise where it is deserved and gives credit for good intentions...If sometimes it is necessary to administer a reproof she chooses a time when she does so pleasantly (New Zealand Herald, 13 November, 1995).

This was a description of some of the attributes of a "managing woman" in 1885. Some of those distinctive attributes of the woman at home as acclaimed then, are clearly displayed by women managers in the work place in the present. Reproach was mentioned in 1885 and still exists today as women as managers experience reproach in many guises. Regrettably, women's ways of managing are yet to be valued and to find their rightful place in today's organisations. The qualities and skills of women managers, and the difficulties they face, were the focus of this study.

I have had a range of organisational experiences, in both statutory and community agencies, as Counselling Coordinator at the Family Court, Department of Justice, as an Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO)¹ officer in the Department of Social Welfare, and as a manager of a social service agency which was contracted to provide Child and Family Support Services. Currently I am responsible for the Diploma in Social and Community Work at Manukau Institute of Technology. In these positions at times I have experienced a sense of discomfort with the wider organisation (though not within the unit where I was working). My experiences in those organisations motivated me to explore other women's experiences.

As a liberal feminist² I worked hard at "fitting in" to the norms of bureaucracies. As an EEO officer I fought explicitly for the rights of women and other disadvantaged groups,

¹ Equal Employment Opportunities, in this thesis, will be abbreviated to EEO.

² There are many different feminisms. See Eisenstein (1984, 1991); Dale and Foster, (1986); Wearing in Marchant and Wearing (1986); Williams (1989). In brief, liberal

naively believing personnel policy changes and some upskilling would eliminate most disadvantage. It was in that position that I experienced the misogyny and prejudice of sections of our society. I recognised in bureaucracies the monolithic structures and processes that militate against women and others. I realised that it was not a personal issue but a structural and political one. Women were going against the tide by being in management; it was upsetting "the natural order of things". I knew capable and effective women who had suffered considerably because of their position as managers. Those women supported me through gruelling work situations and I supported others through their trials. I moved rapidly from liberal feminist behaviour to radical ³ feminist values in relation to women in organisations.

I had observed that there was something distinctive about the way women managed. The women were competent at their job, yet their management style was not what was considered to be the norm in organisations. I believed that women had a unique set of experiences as managers. They often felt out of step with the organisational culture and practices and yet they had a valuable contribution to make, which was not always recognised. I wanted to explore this further.

In this study I set out to identify the experiences of women managers from the literature on women in management; to examine management and feminist theory and their interface; to bring to light the experiences and management styles of a group of women managers in the social services who had self-identified as having feminist values, and to evaluate the extent to which their experiences and practice were reflected in the literature.

To understand women managers' experiences involved a study of management and organisational theory, feminist theory and women in management literature. I adapted

feminism believes "equal rights and removal of legal and political discrimination against women" will lead to equality (Dale and Foster, 1986: 49).

³ In brief, radical feminism views "patriarchy as the root of all oppression" (Dale and Foster, 1986: 51). Other radical feminists also address the issues of race, class and other oppressions (Eisenstein, 1984, 1991; Williams, 1989; Langan and Day, 1992).

Deborah Padgett's (1993) framework for analysing women in management writings that combined feminist literature with management literature. The feminist literature, divided into the liberal and radical approaches, was integrated with the management literature which was divided into the person-centred and organisation-centred approaches. This model of analysis moved from the liberal feminist, person-centred approach that promoted, for example, assertiveness training for women, to the radical feminist, organisation-centred approach that advocated, for instance, a re-theorising of organisational theory.

In the last decade in Aotearoa New Zealand, there have been wide-ranging political, social and economic changes, with an ideological shift to the "right", as evidenced in the vigorous implementation of the market model. Managerialism,⁴ a form of management practice which was the instrument for those policies, was introduced into voluntary social service agencies, particularly by funding bodies in their demands for greater accountability and cost-effectiveness (Eley, 1989; Duncan, 1995). The impact of these changes and the influence of both traditional and contemporary management theories are discussed.

I examined research studies from Britain, the United States and Aotearoa New Zealand on women in human services⁵ management. There was little research in Aotearoa New Zealand on women in social services management but there were two studies on women in educational management, Neville (1986, 1988) and Court (1989), which I have included. From country to country the women managers' experiences were comparable, the major themes being the difficulties the women faced, and the effective yet different way they managed.

⁴ "The essence of managerialism lies in the assumption that there is something called 'management' which is a generic, purely instrumental activity, embodying a set of principles that can be applied to public business, as well as private business" (Painter, 1988 in Boston et al, 1991: 9).

⁵ Human services, for the purpose of this thesis, includes education, social services, social policy and public service.

Many women managers spoke of feelings of discomfort in organisations. Feminist organisational theorists have highlighted the androcentricity of mainstream organisational theory, and the genderedness of organisations where men are dominant and women subdominant (Acker, 1990; Smircich and Calas, 1990). Just as society is patriarchal, so too are organisations (Sheppard, 1989) and social service organisations are no different (Hallett, 1989; Coulshed, 1990; Hasenfeld, 1992). They are seen as intrinsically gendered, as the staff, the clients and the voluntary workers are predominantly female, while the senior management is predominantly male (Eley, 1989; Martin and Chernesky, 1989). This was a major factor in the dis-ease felt by women managers.

From the literature and research studies emerged a picture of a distinctive management style utilised by many women managers, which encompassed strong feminist values including caring for others, sharing power, working cooperatively and working for structural change. The managers in the studies applied their womanly attributes and skills to their work. Yet it was these qualities and ways of working that also brought them stress because they did not always fit in to the culture of their organisation.

As a feminist doing research about women I used feminist methodology (Oakley, 1981; Stanley and Wise, 1983; Cummerton in Van Den Bergh and Cooper, 1986; Jones, 1992). I used the method of data collection and analysis was that described by Sotirios Sarantakos (1993) as content analysis, which I considered the most appropriate for my subject. Feminist methodology is explicitly and transparently subjective, value-laden and politically driven. It is embarked upon for the benefit of women. The silence or muted tradition of women has been identified by feminist theorists (Gilligan, 1982; Mies, 1983; Marshall, 1984; Belenky et al, 1986). I set out to listen to the women and to document their stories, exhorted by Audre Lorde's words:

And where the words of women are crying to be heard, we must each of us recognise our responsibility to seek those words out, to read them and share them and examine them in their pertinence to our lives (Lorde, 1980: 15).

As a pakeha woman and a manager in the field myself, I had "partial consciousness"

(Mies, 1983) and so had an "inner view of the oppressed" (Nash, 1974 in Mies, 1983). This enabled me to identify with the participants who were all open and self-reflective. They hoped that by sharing their stories, other women would be encouraged, empowered and validated. I trust I have done them justice.

The participants were eight pakeha women managers in social services in Aotearoa New Zealand. I restricted my sample to pakeha women only because time did not allow me to be involved in a more complex piece of research with participants of different ethnicities. As such, the research is not generalisable for all women; it is merely a snapshot of one small group. I was challenged by Ella Bell and Stella Nkomo's (1992) critique of the virtual absence of any acknowledgment of ethnicity and other oppressions within organisational theorising. This declaration of the limitations of my research is to ensure I do not render alienated groups invisible, in the way traditional organisational theory did to women. I had chosen unwittingly, a group of women managers most of whom were unsettled in their positions or had recently left bureaucracies because of their dissatisfaction with the ethos and practice of such organisations. The experiences of other groups of women managers might be different.

The most striking finding from my interviews was the theme of struggle. The managers' struggles related firstly to their interface with the organisation itself, and secondly to the impact of these issues on them personally. One major issue was the conflict they experienced in reconciling the demands of the organisation with their own practice principles as social work managers. The women were service-oriented, the managers above them seemed more driven by efficiency and cost effectiveness. The managers spoke of a "graunch of cultures" at the point where the male and the female world met. That resulted in the women feeling at times isolated, undervalued, invisible and compromised.

What shone through were the strengths and skills of the women. In the now established tradition and method of feminist scholarship, this study was a celebration of women, acclaiming their attributes and their very essence. The managers were risk-takers; they were resilient; they were caring. Their management style integrated a concern for

people with a commitment to a task well done. They were committed to changing unjust structures and systems and to the inclusivity of humankind.

From the literature, research studies and my findings I developed a model of feminist management practice principles which integrated women's values and ways of doing which was effective, while retaining the human touch. Women managers who implement these feminist management principles offer organisations a treasure yet to be unearthed.

I now describe the format of this thesis. The literature review is organised in three chapters. I set the scene in Chapter Two with an examination of the literature on women in management. This is followed in Chapter Three with an overview of management theories, gendered organisational theory, the nature of the social services and the impact of managerialism. Some research studies of women managers in human services are described in Chapter Four. Collectively these three chapters on literature, theory and research provide the knowledge base on which to understand and explain the experiences of women managers. My research methods are discussed next in Chapter Five. The findings are presented under the headings of struggles and strengths in Chapters Six and Seven. Finally in Chapter Eight I present some key feminist management practice principles, and conclude with some suggestions for further research.

The fact that we are here and that I speak now these words is an attempt to break that silence (Lorde, 1980: 15).

CHAPTER 2

LIFE AS A WOMAN MANAGER: WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT LITERATURE

I can say that my life as a woman manager...has given me some of the best feelings about myself that I've had...and also some of my most stressful and most difficult experiences (Sarah)¹.

Introduction

In this chapter I explore literature on women in management in a framework that combines feminist research and leadership research.² The chapter moves from the encouragement of women to "fit in", to promoting organisational reform, to valuing of women's differences, to rethinking leadership, to integrating feminist goals and values into practices, and finally to reconceptualising organisational theory.

The literature on women in management reviewed covers the liberal and radical perspectives on feminism as well as research on leadership. There are other perspectives within feminism but for the purposes of this study these two are used to analyse the diversity of the literature. Liberal feminism is concerned with equal opportunity in the workplace (Ferguson, 1984). Radical feminism focuses on oppression and the re-valuing of what is uniquely female in order to redefine leadership and organisations (Ferguson, 1984; Weedon, 1987).

The leadership research distinguishes between the person-centred approach and the organisation-centred approach. The person-centred approach looks at individual characteristics including stereotypes, attributes, leadership style, sex-role expectations

¹ Sarah is the pseudonym of one of my participants. All the participants are introduced in Chapter Six.

² This literature has been categorised in different ways (Riger and Galligan, 1980; Yukl, 1989, Fagenson, 1990a; Gregory, 1990; Padgett, 1993). In this thesis a modified version of the framework developed by Deborah Padgett (1993) will be used. Padgett used the terms "trait" and "situation". I replaced those with "person-centred" and "organisation-centred". I was assisted considerably by this framework which enabled me to organise the diverse literature in the field into a coherent form.

and motivation while the organisation-centred approach considers the work environment and organisational structure. The two feminist perspectives and the leadership research (person-centred and organisation-centred) form a matrix (Figure 1) which is used to organise this chapter. In addition research studies on women in management, mainly focused on business, are integrated in the matrix and the resultant theorising.

The Liberal Feminist Perspective

Liberal feminism (Dale and Foster, 1986; Wearing, 1986) is focused on equal rights and equal opportunities including that which requires legislative reform to end discrimination against women, especially in the area of employment and education. Liberal feminists want more women in powerful positions and into higher paid jobs and they promote the elimination of sex stereotyping in schools (Ferguson, 1984; Weedon, 1987). They down-play any difference between men and women, minimise the role of reproduction in women's lives and focus their efforts for change in the public arena but not in the private sphere. Structural forces of inequality are not identified as causes of discrimination. Thus they do not advocate radical societal and political change.

The Person-centred Approach

The person-centred approach within the liberal feminist literature focuses on the disposition of women and leadership style including their attributes, behaviour and motivation (Padgett, 1993). Women are exhorted to look at what they can do for themselves as individuals, in order to ensure they succeed in organisations. They are encouraged to fit in to the organisation (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Josefowitz, 1980; Place, 1982; La Rouche and Ryan, 1984). This approach implies that women are the problem and therefore they need to change.

Gender stereotypes impact on the roles of women and men in organisations. Successful leaders are seen to be aggressive, forceful, rational, competitive, decisive and self-confident. These qualities are usually described as masculine (Fagenson, 1990b). Feminine traits are often described as warmth, caring, passivity, kindness

(Fagenson, 1990b). Women are seen as not being suitable for leadership roles. Rizzo and Mendez, (1990) suggest these stereotypic characteristics can be traced to the traditional socialisation of boys and girls where girls are encouraged to be cooperative, interdependent, supportive and to be in maintenance and subordinate roles, while boys are brought up to be competitive, independent and dominant. Matina Horner (1969) proposed that women have a "fear of success" because of the incompatibility between achievement and a sense of femininity. Socialisation is seen to be a major influence on women's behaviour at work.

Literature that describes the different characteristics of men and women managers has men as the norm or the standard (Schein, 1975, 1976; Riger and Galligan, 1980; Dexter, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1989). Virginia Schein, in her article "Think manager - think male" (1976) believed that there was a management stereotype that was consistently male which resulted in women having difficulties in management. More recent studies indicated that men still retained the "male as manager" model but generally women did not (Brenner, Tomkiewicz and Schein, 1989). Those women who did, were relatively new in management and were still trying to conform to the male style of management.

FIGURE 1
WOMEN AND MANAGEMENT LITERATURE

	LIBERAL FEMINISM	RADICAL FEMINISM
<u>PERSON CENTRED</u>	<u>LIBERAL-PERSON CENTRED</u> Focus on social-psychological issues.	<u>RADICAL-PERSON CENTRED</u> 1) Valuing women's differences 2) Rethinking leadership
<u>ORGANISATION CENTRED</u>	<u>LIBERAL-ORGANISATION CENTRED</u> Internal organisational reform eg. EEO initiatives	<u>RADICAL-ORGANISATION CENTRED</u> 1) Feminist goals, values, and practice 2) Re-conceptualising Organisational Theory

Adapted from Padgett, 1993: 60

Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim (1977) concluded that the theories about differential sex-role socialisation resulted in women being seen as disadvantaged or deficient in their attributes for management. Such theories assumed that women lacked the necessary skills and that they were inferior to men. Hennig and Jardim (1977) exhorted women to acquire the skills to become more like male managers so they could fit into organisations. There are many books that describe strategies on how women can succeed in a male world (Bryce, 1989; Cameron, 1990; Langridge, 1990; Hunsaker and Hunsaker, 1991). They include such topics as training and development, dress for success, assertiveness training, career planning, stress management, balancing home and work, avoid displaying emotion and other survival tactics. Women have been advised as follows: "Rather than dwelling on the things you can't change, focus on the one thing you can change - yourself" (Langridge, 1990). Ryan believed this was a "blame the victim" approach where the social problem is blamed on the victim and the victim is meant to take the action to bring about change (Ryan, 1972). This literature encouraged women if they wanted to succeed to "think like a man, dress like a doll and work like a horse" (Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986: 164). They said:

The woman manager is thus defined as a deviant, requiring special advice on how to manage her deviant identity to move up within traditional bureaucracies (Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986: 164).

Catherine Marshall (1985: 138) commented, however, that women who tried to conform to a male model:

...strengthened the image that they were deviants, that is, they were not warm, caring women.

There has been much research on the similarities and differences between how men and women manage. Some studies showed that there was little difference between men and women (Donnell and Hall, 1980; Dobbins and Platz, 1986; Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988; Powell, 1988) while others indicated there were some differences (Bartol and Butterfield, 1976). Yet others noted that there were *perceived* differences according to sex-role stereotypes (Donnell and Hall, 1980). Some findings

demonstrated that women might not only be different but also more effective as managers (Chusmir, 1985) especially when they utilised their so-called feminine attributes to advantage (Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988). Overall the findings produced mixed results.³

The liberal person-centred approach adopts a social-psychological perspective (Padgett, 1993) which assumes women are less effective as managers as they do not conform to the norm. The individual needs to adapt to the organisation and so the status quo remains. There is no acknowledgement that the organisational context may inhibit personal change (Hooyman, 1991). This approach advocates that women can make it if they become more like men and acquire male skills and attributes.

The Organisation-centred Approach

The organisation-centred approach focuses on the need for organisational reform in order to improve the status of women at work. These theorists believe the structure and values of an organisation may affect the behaviour of managers (Kanter, 1977). The EEO initiatives emerged from the liberal organisation-centred philosophy. This considers organisational factors that may be negatively affecting women in management (Austin, Kravetz and Pollock, 1985; York, Henley and Gamble, 1985). It promotes internal reform within organisations to end gender discrimination. The liberal feminist approach aims for equality and achievement for women in the workplace. Organisation-centred theorists see an increase in the number of women in management positions as a positive outcome (Kanter, 1977).

Rosabeth Moss Kanter's book (1977) *Men and Women of the Corporation* is a classic in this field. Kanter argued that it was organisations' values and structures that affected the behaviour and attitudes of individuals, not their socialisation. She believed that position within the hierarchy carried with it different levels of power and different degrees of opportunity or mobility. Kanter (1977) also postulated that the sex ratios of groups determined how people behaved and how they were perceived.

³ Since it was not the purpose of this thesis to examine the similarities and differences between men and women managers, the topic is not pursued further.

She believed that women, when in small numbers as in management, are viewed as "tokens" and thus are more likely to be sex-stereotyped, and face isolation. She hypothesised that as the numbers of women in management increased, their problems in organisations would decrease. Kanter (1977) advocated for organisational reform, suggesting that there should be less hierarchy and more task-centred groups to ensure the greater empowerment of subordinates. There were critics of Kanter's ideas about the causes of women's subordination in workplaces including those who were opposed to bureaucracy (Ferguson, 1984; Marshall, 1984). Kathy Ferguson said: "Women need power in order to change society but power within bureaucracy is not change-making power" (Ferguson 1984: 203). Such critics believed that Kanter did not go far enough in terms of structural reform; that just a little tinkering was suggested, not a complete restructuring:

These critics envision a different kind of work context where hierarchy, competition and status are minimised and collectivism, cooperation and equality are the norm (Martin and Chernesky, 1989: 131).

Other researchers too have pondered on the gender inequalities in organisations. Virginia O'Leary and Jeanette Ickovics (1992) noted that occupational segregation was a feature of the work force. They pointed out that women and minorities were in positions where there was less status and less pay, that in management women were grouped more in middle management and men in top management. According to O'Leary and Ickovics (1992) women were found more in staff positions, rather than line positions where they would have a direct route to senior management. They advocated for improved personnel policies, "structuring opportunities to learn the corporate culture" and "valuing and managing differences" workshops to improve the working conditions of all employees (O'Leary and Ickovics, 1992: 26).

Anthony Buono and Judith Kamm (1983) offered a theory as to why women were in the lower ranks of management. They postulated that women, on entering the new culture of male management, were not accepted in their new place, nor in the group they left behind. They were marginal and thus different from the majority. They

experienced stress and strain until they became socialised into the dominant culture by counselling, mentoring or training.

Beverly Alban-Metcalf and Michael West (1991) surveyed by questionnaire over eight hundred women managers in the United Kingdom. The experiences the managers described were mainly gender-related and were predominantly negative. The women managers experienced considerable discrimination and demonstrated strategies to counteract those disadvantages. They felt a sense of isolation and a lack of support. They faced stress and conflict as they tried to fulfil both work and home responsibilities. The women referred to: not being taken seriously enough, a sense of being under scrutiny and being tested, having different principles than men, finding it difficult to get training that was made available to men and not being given the appropriate responsibility. A participant exclaimed: "Women have to be twice as good as men to get half the recognition" (Alban - Metcalfe and West, 1990:167). Another woman reflected that her personal motivation did not "fit in" with the motivation required to be successful. The researchers suggested that organisations needed to review their cultures and procedures to ensure more people-friendly environments.

The EEO policies introduced in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1980s were based on liberal feminism. As an EEO officer in the Department of Social Welfare when it was first introduced, I used both the person and organisation-centred approaches. Focusing on the women I arranged training programmes for women including assertiveness training and management skills, and encouraged the development of support networks of women and other disadvantaged groups. Targeting organisational reform, I was involved in training managers about EEO and monitoring personnel policy re recruitment, interviewing and promotion as well as developing EEO plans. But most of my efforts went into efforts to "upskill" the women (or was it to correct the women's deficiencies in the system?) which diverted my attention away from the organisational practices, processes, values and assumptions that needed to be altered. I found that unrealistic expectations were raised by providing training for the women because, although the women were more than qualified for promotion, the organisation did not adapt at the same rate to allow for the women to progress as they should have.

They hit "the glass ceiling" (Hymowitz and Scellhardt, 1986), as well as being scapegoated on occasions because of their involvement in the women's networks.

Significant organisational reform did not occur between 1986-1988 when I was there. A study in 1989 on women managers in the Department of Social Welfare in Aotearoa New Zealand noted that the increase in numbers of women managers could have been the result of affirmative action policies (Barretta-Herman, 1989). But following the many rounds of restructuring since that report, many women managers have been restructured out. It may be that the position of women has reverted to what it was prior to 1986. I agree with Marianne Tremaine who commented that EEO policies in Government departments had done little good, except to disguise the real conservatism that was present (Tremaine 1991).

Summary of the Liberal Feminist Perspective

The liberal feminist perspective focuses on facilitating women's success in organisations (Padgett, 1993). The person-centred approach encourages the minimising of gender differences (by suppressing one's female identity) in order to attain equality (Marshall, 1984). Women are expected to adapt to the system and the onus is on them to change (Ferguson, 1984). This approach does not recognise that women are different and act differently from men at times.

The organisation-centred approach promotes internal reform to end gender discrimination. The assumption is that if internal barriers were removed women would succeed. This perspective does not consider outside forces that could impact on organisations and how they operate. This approach does not question basic values or structures. Kanter acknowledged that "organisational reform is not enough" and that there was the need to question "how labor is divided and how power is concentrated" (Kanter, 1977: 285). Linda Blum and Vicki Smith (1988), arguing from a different theoretical position, concluded that Kanter's (1977) and Hennig and Jardim's (1977), "politics of optimism" was somewhat unjustified as:

Little attention is given to the embedded institutional mechanisms that reproduce sex segregation and are reinforced by extra structural constraint (Blum and Smith, 1988: 543).

The liberal feminist organisation-centred approach does not recognise the impact of wider structural and macro issues on women in management. As an EEO officer I quickly became dissatisfied with this approach and began to see issues from a radical perspective. Marshall (1985) found that women, as they became more confident in their own ability, passed through that stage of being "culturally-defined" to where they defined themselves according to their own sense of identity, not that imposed by society. That was what happened to me.

The Radical Feminist Perspective

The radical feminist perspective challenges existing structures, institutions and ideas and ways of viewing reality (Weedon, 1987). It "envisages a new social order in which women will not be subordinated to men" (Weedon, 1987: 4). It is based on the premise that the subordinate position of women is a result of a patriarchal society in which women's sexuality and biology are controlled by men (Eisenstein, 1984; Wearing, 1986). The slogan, "The personal is political", emanates from radical feminism (Van Den Bergh and Cooper, 1986). In the context of management it challenges traditional ways of seeing leadership and organisations. It emphasises societal and organisational change so that women's experiences are validated and their ways of being, knowing and doing become viable alternatives.

The Person-centred Approach

The person-centred approach re-frames the "feminine" qualities, which in traditional leadership are seen as liabilities, into positives or assets, thus arguing that the qualities and attributes women have acquired through their socialisation is an advantage in management today. This literature began emerging in the 1980s out of a period which claimed women managed in the same way as men. In this section of the chapter the literature is divided into two parts, one which focuses on valuing women's differences, and the other which describes women's ways of doing as seen in the different leadership style of some women, thus giving rise to the rethinking of leadership.

Valuing Women's Differences

Judi Marshall (1984) wrote what is now regarded as a classic study on women in management. She studied thirty women managers in retailing and publishing in the United Kingdom. She began her research when she "did not particularly see women as socially disadvantaged and was certainly not prepared to voice an identification with women's issues" (Marshall, 1986: 199). As she pursued her research however she developed a feminist perspective and ended up advocating for a re-visioning and reappraisal of women's values in this field.

Marshall (1984) uncovered a female paradigm of employment. First she identified a silence or muted tradition among women. She strove particularly "to listen to the voices" - voices that had been silent as a strategy to survive in a male world, but which had the effect of maintaining the dominant group's supremacy. Marshall used Bakan's theory of agency and communion to explain what she saw in the women's relationship patterns (Bakan, 1966 in Marshall, 1984). Agency could be simply explained as "doing", which included concepts such as control, achievement-orientation, assertiveness and formal organisation, while communion was about "being", involving concepts like interdependence, cooperation, and union with an emphasis on relationships (Marshall, 1984). Marshall matched agency more with masculine behaviour, while she found that communion, the valuing of relationships, connectedness and cooperation, were important to the women managers in her study.

All the women, Marshall discovered, faced dilemmas and difficulties when working in a male world, in public life. Not all though, saw this as being related to their gender. About half of the managers claimed being female had no impact. However Marshall traced inconsistencies and discrepancies in their responses that indicated that women did face disadvantage and inequality, but had developed ways to deal with them. Rather than be condemning of the women for not recognising their subdominant position she explained that this was a strategy for survival in a male-dominated world. Most found that the type of person they were at work - competent, professional, business-like, unsentimental and managing, was not "viable" as a social self nor did it match their own image of womanhood (Marshall, 1984: 168). Some

women muted their awareness of being female. They managed the potential stress of being a woman in a man's world by controlling their sense of being female (Marshall, 1984: 150).

The managers dealt with issues that men did not have to confront, because they were to do with their femaleness. The women spoke of being tired, and having to use a lot of energy "to earn the acceptance men can achieve through only satisfactory performance" (Marshall, 1984: 183). Doing the job well was a priority for them. They commented on not being taken seriously, feeling patronised, being misunderstood, and being underestimated. They said that often men found it difficult to take instructions from women. The managers took responsibility for managing the "disturbance" that was created by them being female and not quite fitting in to the male mould. Marshall concluded this response to be a result of socialisation:

Women support male dominance because they are so effectively socialised into male values, through cultural mechanisms which include language, that they are involuntary victims of a social system which consistently devalues them (Marshall, 1984: 59).

The women were trying to make sense of their work life in a male environment and to remain viable, while struggling to integrate themselves, at home and work, as women.

Marshall (1984) found there was a female style of managing, one that was connected to their total lifestyle. The values implicit in a female perspective were:

adaptability, authenticity, balance, co-operation, engagement, interdependence, health, openness and wholeness (Marshall, 1984: 196).

The women valued understanding other people, and caring about them. Their roles at work and outside of work were "service" oriented. This was similar to Bakan's notion of communion (1966 in Marshall, 1984). The women valued authenticity and honesty. They wanted their actions to be congruent with their image of womanhood. They did not want to stoop to playing "male games" (Marshall, 1984: 160-164). Other values and attributes displayed by the female managers were adaptability and an ability to see

the interconnectedness and interdependence of things. The women also placed considerable importance on a balanced lifestyle but they were only partially successful in this regard. The living in two worlds caused Marshall to comment:

I am again struck by the duality which pervades women's experience; the duality between their reactions to a public world shaped largely by men and their abilities to draw on, and act from alternative, independent perspectives of the world (Marshall, 1984: 114).

Marshall identified this unique characteristic embodied in women:

..the wild spirit of womanhood...The inward face of this dimension is wild, intractable, untamed knowing; capable of deep-seated laughter; strong and wise... The creative dimension supplies the energy for female being (Marshall, 1984: 81).

Marshall suggested strategies for change but they were primarily about reform. She explained:

I find the overall approach of reform unsatisfactory however, because it is grounded in limited and inherently flawed values and assumptions. It tinkers with and seeks to improve a tired and inadequate system ... The equality they offer women is the freedom to be like menThese moves for reform are essentially asymmetrical, emanating from a power base of male superior and female subordinate and so replicate the traditional patterns of social relationships they claim to supersede. Women have been singled out as "the problem" (Marshall, 1984: 208).

She stated that the reforms she suggested "avoid emotional upset to organizational members" (Marshall, 1984: 210). She believed that much more needed to happen at a far deeper level. Women needed to be valued as women by the social system as a whole, and by using the ability to combine agency with communion as a model for change.

Marshall's (1984) book was the first book on this subject to have real impact on me, in 1987 when I was an EEO officer. It struck a cord with my "muted" feelings as yet not developed into any clear theory. While the book excited me it also left me slightly disappointed because she had doubts about organisational reforms. Marshall has

continued to explore women's experiences with work on career concepts (Marshall, 1989) and on women managers who leave employment (Marshall, 1994).

There are other studies that focus on affirming rather than rejecting female attributes. Marilyn Loden (1985) interviewed female and male middle and senior managers in business in the United States about their management styles. She found that there was general acceptance of two styles, one that could be described as masculine and the other one feminine, each complementing the other. But it seemed that there was little, if any, support or encouragement of the feminine approach to managing. Loden (1985) wanted to explore the under-utilisation of women's skills. She believed that the ethos of masculinism in organisations profoundly affected women's experiences. Competition, tight control, hierarchical structures, assertive or aggressive behaviour, analytical and rational thinking and non-emotional involvement were values she identified as prevalent in a male-dominated culture. Loden (1985) felt these were alien to women. In the past women had been advised to adapt to the male culture to succeed. Loden noted that even trying to be one of the boys was not successful, as a woman was still a woman (Loden, 1985: 38). She advocated for organisations to value women's styles, which encompassed cooperation, teamwork, and collaboration and intuition. Women did not perform as well as they should, in Friedan's opinion:

...it's because of your structures - your whole ambience - is so masculine; it alienates them somehow, though they might not be aware of it. Something around here must not elicit the best of female energy (Friedan in Loden, 1985: 70).

Loden argued that women had a distinctive leadership style. The women were high performers and risk-takers. The women worked in a participative way, in groups incorporating empowerment, trust, cooperation, respect and honesty. The participants acknowledged they had personal power, but they did not like to use their position power. They wanted to treat people equally. As Mary Kay Ash, one of the managers said:

I believe there is no such thing as a subordinate. We're all people together working towards a common goal (Loden, 1985: 93).

They valued quality personal relationships and they had well-developed interactive skills. They tried to balance their career and their home life, valuing a multi-faceted life. Loden's study focused on the abilities and qualities of women managers. It did not consider in any depth organisational issues because her aim was to advocate for a feminine leadership style.

Judy Rosener (1990) was another researcher who valued women's skills and qualities. She described women's leadership style as "interactive". In her survey of women and men leaders in the United States, she found that women were succeeding because of their "feminine" leadership styles, which they called transformational. She noted that they encouraged participation and involvement to ensure people felt part of the organisation. They shared power and information. They enhanced others' self-worth, ensuring they did not assert their superiority over others. They energised and motivated others by being enthusiastic themselves about their work. Yet they were also able to utilise a range of leadership styles "so when participation doesn't work, they act unilaterally" (Rosener, 1990: 122). The women said that their participative way of leading came naturally. Rosener believed it was a result of women's socialisation. These women executives worked mainly in non-traditional organisations, ones that were open to change and innovation and new styles of leadership. She encouraged traditional organisations to question and look beyond the traditional command and control, to value a diversity of leadership styles, especially the interactive approach.

Affirming women managers was also the focus of Sally Helgeson's (1990) study. She chose four women managers, selecting those particular women because they believed that gender was important, not only to who they were, but to how they did things (Helgeson, 1990: 65). Consequently her book *The Female Advantage* (1990) described a female way of leading. The following were valued by the women in her study: relationships; attention to process; the interrelatedness of things; a concern for people combined with a concern for results; cooperation; a dislike of hierarchies and an appreciation of diversity. The women spoke of circles, rather than pyramids, with

regard to structure and responsibility. One of the participants, Frances Hesselbein was quoted as saying:

I use circles. The circle is inclusive, but it allows for flow and movement....I've always conceived of management as a circular process. This is me in the centre of the organisation (in Helgeson, 1990: 44-45).

The image of a spider's web came through in how the women worked, with orbs and radials, "where every point of contact is also a point of connection", stressing relationships and sharing of information (Helgeson, 1990: 49).

The woman-centred perspective celebrates female difference (Grant, 1988). Jan Grant believed that some qualities that women display had relevance to organisations. These qualities included: communication and cooperation; affiliation and attachment; power which women use in an empowering, liberating way rather than a controlling way; emotionality, vulnerability and lack of self-confidence, which can add a humanising dimension; and intimacy and nurturance (Grant, 1988: 59-62). Grant also noted however that these qualities were not highly valued in organisations and felt that women had qualities that could be built on to assist organisations to become more human. However she added:

To hold on to values that one feels are important while simultaneously working in organisations that undermine those values is to travel a lonely and difficult path (Grant, 1988: 62).

She encouraged women:

...to value their own experiences, believe in their own values, and listen to their inner voices and the voices of other women if indeed they are to speak "in a different voice" (Grant, 1988: 63).

It is interesting to note that the writers reviewed talked of "feminine values" rarely of "feminist values" (Martin, 1993). To use the label "feminist" must be deemed more risky than to call them feminine, which would find greater acceptance in a masculinist culture. Many people are wary of feminists, seeing them a threat to the natural order

of society. Feminism when applied to the workplace produces a critique of practices, processes and values and a commitment to improve them for women and disadvantaged others. The valuing of traditional feminine characteristics was a way of maintaining the status quo which was to the organisations' advantage.

Women's ways and qualities celebrated by these female scholars are being acclaimed by some mainstream management theorists as what is needed in today's corporate world (Peters, 1990). John Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene declared: "Women can transform the workplace by expressing, not by giving up, their personal values " (Naisbitt and Aburdene, 1986: 242). This was echoed in the slogan used in the promotion of EEO in the Department of Social Welfare "EEO is Good Management", the message being if you use the diversity of the work force you will get a better outcome. Was this more a focus on how the organisation could benefit from women, rather than a focus on valuing women, and their different knowledges and practices? Were women being encouraged into management to help achieve the goals of the institution, without the goals and processes of the institution being changed to reflect and incorporate women's ideas and values?

Women's feminine qualities are being recognised as valuable and as assets for organisations. The next section explores how these special qualities of women can be incorporated into the management of organisations and thereby give validity to women's ways of managing.

Rethinking Leadership

Women have now begun to theorise about women's ways of thinking, knowing and doing. I discuss Carol Gilligan's (1982) model of women's moral development which shows how women are different from men and can not be categorised under the generic label "mankind". This serves to demonstrate how theories of knowledge need to be re-visited from a woman's perspective. As we saw in the preceding section the unique qualities of women managers such as cooperation, nurturing and empowerment have been identified. Some scholars have begun to explore what this means for leadership generally and for women in particular. I then present how an educationist

has integrated female attributes into her management style. Finally, two models of feminist management in the area of social work are described. We see the rethinking of leadership subsequent to the identification of the particular ways women think and act.

In the field of human development, Gilligan's (1982) research has had significant impact. She began to study women's development after she became aware of the absence of specifically women's experiences in the literature on human development. Male experience had been used as a base-line for both men and women's human development (Erikson, 1950; Piaget, 1965; Kohlberg, 1981). Her work was to right what she saw as the male bias of Lawrence Kohlberg's (1981) *Philosophy of Moral Development*. Gilligan's theory of moral development argued that women viewed the world differently from men in terms of relationships and morality.

Gilligan highlighted the importance of caring for women. She stated: "Thus women not only define themselves in a context of human relationship but also judge themselves in terms of their ability to care" (Gilligan, 1982;17). She saw that women sustained their relationships by the web of connection so "that no one is left alone or hurt" (Gilligan, 1982: 63). The images of hierarchy and web, drawn from the texts of men's and women's fantasies and thoughts, conveyed different ways of structuring relationships and were associated with different views of morality and self (Gilligan, 1982: 62). The imagery of the web in women's lives was noted by Helgeson (1990) too. Gilligan formulated two ways of reasoning about ethical choices and about the world which Margaret Rhodes (1985) interpreted as:

Briefly one mode (responsibility) focuses on caring, responsibility, and nurturance in accordance with people's needs. The other mode (rights) stresses reasoning based on moral principles, particularly principles of justice, equality and individual rights (Rhodes, 1985: 101).

The responsibility mode is perceived to be more characteristic of women, the rights mode more characteristic of men:

The moral imperative that emerges repeatedly in interviews with women is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the "real and recognizable trouble" of this world (Gilligan, 1982: 100).

Gilligan gave space for the women's voices to be heard throughout her work. She reiterated the significance to the women of caring, interconnectedness, relationships and intuition.

Her theory has had a notable impact in a range of fields. It raised the question of how much "knowledge" is constructed around the male "norm" and generalised for humankind. If moral development can be redefined from a women's perspective what would be the outcome if management and leadership were re-constructed from a women's viewpoint? However, Gilligan's work has been the subject of criticism on a number of grounds including whether her conclusions were justifiably backed up with evidence and whether she did the same as the theorists that she criticised, with regard to generalisation.

Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger and Jill Tarule (1986), inspired by Gilligan, did a study to examine women's ways of knowing. Their research identified a uniquely female way of knowing, a knowing that the researchers discovered had been silenced. As the authors said: "Our work is also embedded in a larger context of feminist theory about voice and silence" (Belenky et al. 1986: 19). This work, like Gilligan's, opened up new areas for discourse.

Integrating women's ways of knowing and being into their management styles was analysed by Helen Regan (1990), a feminist educational administrator. She was committed to feminist pedagogy which aims to end women's silence and to develop a language to name and render visible women's experiences (Rich, 1985 in Regan, 1990: 566). Regan explained how she began "to see anew" and to name the feminist elements of her administrating (Regan, 1990: 566-7). She recognised the *hard* (tough and assertive) and *soft* (compassionate, empathetic, gentle) qualities in her administering and how she balanced them:

My role-specific tasks often drew on my *hard* qualities; my team-specific tasks primarily drew on my *soft* qualities (Regan, 1990: 567).

This is similar to the "agentic" and "communion" styles of Bakan as presented by Marshall (1984).

Regan described her leadership style metaphorically first as a broken pyramid, then as a double helix. She applied Peggy McIntosh's broken-pyramid metaphor to her feminist administrating (McIntosh, 1983 in Regan, 1990: 567). She described the broken pyramid as one with a fault line, above which was a world that acted competitively, in an either/or mode in a vertical structure; to move up was to attain more money and more status, most of the people there were white males. Below the fault line was a both/and world of caring, relationship and community with horizontal organization; that was mostly inhabited by women, people of colour and low status men. Regan changed her language from *hard* to either/or, and *soft* to both/ and. As she moved from one to the other she believed she drew on "the totality of human experience and wisdom" (Regan, 1990: 568). Regan noticed how she moved across the fault line, perhaps at times over-stating the either/ or, above-the-line qualities because she felt those qualities were most valued in educational administration. Her both/and, below-the-line qualities were invisible, being for a long time unrecognised and unnamed (Regan, 1990: 568).

As she wanted to break away from the idea of top being better and below inferior, she then devised the metaphor of the double helix. The two strands of the spiral structure were separate but intertwined, linked by bridges each needing the other to survive, neither being more valuable than the other. This to Regan symbolised feminist administering, an inclusiveness of either/or and both/ and ways of being (Regan, 1990: 570-571). Regan argued that feminist administering:

..no longer searches for an abstractly objective and right decision, but rather for a decision grounded in the lives of teachers and students and the community of the school ... Feminist administering, symbolised by the double helix with its intertwining strands and connecting bridges, is an inclusive mode of leadership in schools practiced by people who understand the necessity of the both/and as well as the either /or ways of being in their work. Its inclusiveness requires that both

teachers and administrators participate in the decision-making in schools, and thus it conceptually overlaps with several thrusts of the current reform movement: teacher empowerment, shared decision making, school restructuring (Regan, 1990: 576, 573).

Regan (1990) valued the inclusivity of working by incorporating both the hard and the soft ways which she believed could be implemented by both women and men, as indicated by the title of her article: "Not for women only: School Administration as a Feminist Activity".

Feminist Social Work Management Principles

Several women social work scholars converted these ways of doing and being into practice principles (Chernesky, 1980, 1986; Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986; Van Den Bergh and Cooper, 1986; Weil, 1986; Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988; Hyde, 1989; Bricker-Jenkins, 1991; Hooyman, 1991). Cheryl Hyde articulated five practice principles in a feminist model of macro-practice in social work. They were in brief as follows:

1. The centrality of women's values, lives and relationships is paramount.
A feminist approach validates women's nurturing, caring traits and affirms women's experiences.
2. Consciousness-raising by linking the personal with the political is imperative.
Consciousness-raising provides the means by which women's oppression by a patriarchal, society is revealed.
3. The reconceptualisation of power is fundamental.
Patriarchal power is rejected and power is viewed as "infinite, unifying, enabling, facilitating and democratizing". The focus on the elimination of domination applies also to racism, classism, heterosexism.
4. Processes and structures are to be democratised.
Hierarchical structures are rejected as attempts are made to create collective structures.
5. Fundamental cultural and structural change is the goal.

Society will be transformed so that sexism, racism, heterosexism and classism are non-existent (Hyde, 1989: 146 - 169).

Hyde acknowledged that there were contradictions and dilemmas in a feminist style of management:

...we need to move from the ideals of feminist frameworks to the more complicated reality of feminist praxis. The difficulties of synthesising theory and practice need to be fully explored and documented (Hyde, 1989:170).

A feminist social work academic working as an administrator, Nancy Hooyman (1991) identified five principles that she tried to adhere to, while recognising the inherent dilemmas of being a feminist in a bureaucracy. They were as follows:

1. Affirming the value and dignity of each individual.

The valuing of each individual, including the affirming of women's perspectives and experiences, is fundamental to a feminist approach and underpins all social work practice. This means there is an active encouragement of diversity in all areas and a belief in inclusiveness. Hooyman mentioned that when one is open to others' views one can be labelled weak or not tough enough. In echoing Regan's (1990) comment she said:

This reflects the societal tendency to view *soft* and *hard* as polarities rather than recognising that the two kinds of behaviour can coexist and can have value among both men and women, depending upon the particular situation (Hooyman, 1991: 261).

2. The valuing of multi-dimensional thought processes.

This is closely related to valuing diversity. It is being open to new ideas, recognising complexities and contradictions, and acknowledging mutuality in interrelationships.

3. The reconceptualising of power.

Power is to be shared; people are to be empowered.

4. The creating of open problem-solving structures.

Where it is possible (and this may not always be so in a hierarchical institution) decision making involves others.

5. The valuing of process.

Both process and content are attended to. This includes the recognition of home responsibilities acknowledging the importance of the private life (Hooyman, 1991: 259-267).

As can be seen, Hyde's (1989) and Hooyman's (1991) models were similar, emphasising the centrality of women, the importance of caring, empowerment, equality, participation, valuing individuals especially women, a commitment to social change, the acknowledgment of diversity and the valuing of process. They both labelled their style as feminist management.

Summary of the Radical Feminist Person-centred Approach

The female voice was beginning to be articulated. Radical feminist person-centred literature developed as women began to recognise that they saw things differently and experienced life differently from men. Characteristics that were previously viewed as deficient were seen as assets to be valued and celebrated and renamed. The radical feminist person-centred approach indicates that there are new ways of thinking about leadership which offer opportunity for transformation in management in a woman's way.

The Organisation-centred Approach

The radical feminist organisation centred-approach is presented in two parts, the first focuses on feminist goals, values and practices and the second on reconceptualising organisational theory.

Feminist Goals, Values and Practice

This approach considers whether feminist ways of operating can occur in bureaucracies, which are seen by radical feminists to be oppressive and "perpetuate forces of domination" (Padgett, 1993: 67). There has been substantial re-thinking of

bureaucratic organisational goals and values amongst feminist writers (Ferguson, 1984; Cockburn, 1985; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Sawer, 1990; Yeatman, 1990; Eisenstein, 1991; Kedgley, 1993). I first draw out Ferguson's ideas on bureaucracy and feminism as well as those of some of her critics. I briefly touch on Jesvier Singh's (1987) critique of feminists in bureaucracies. I then describe some of the principles and assumptions underpinning feminist management in three units within large bureaucracies. I conclude with Judith Pringle's (1992) views on feminist management which endorsed Patricia Yancey Martin's (1993) feminist management practices and principles.

Ferguson's (1984) *The Feminist Case against Bureaucracy* was a significant work and stimulated much debate amongst feminists. Ferguson viewed the power structures of a bureaucratic, capitalist society as a primary source of oppression and advocated for their elimination or total transformation. She saw liberal feminists wanting access to the bureaucracy through reform measures such as EEO. She, as a radical feminist, considered bureaucracies as fundamentally flawed. According to Ferguson, bureaucracies degraded people because they encouraged control and domination by the few with power, with their rules and regulations, their rational, technocratic approach and with the pressure to conform. She said that women had been excluded from public life and bureaucracies and had "developed a different voice, a submerged discourse" (Ferguson, 1984: 23). She saw the need for a feminist restructuring of work with the rejection of the hierarchical division of labour, a sharing of resources and power, a concern for process and economic independence from bureaucracies. However Ferguson later conceded that:

...this mode of acting is simply not available to women who enter bureaucracies. Some bureaucrats may successfully maintain an ideological commitment to radical feminist ideals...but they will probably not succeed within the organisation (Ferguson, 1988: 68).

Ferguson rejected the liberal feminists who showed an acceptance of the status quo, who used an "integrationist" strategy of change by being absorbed into it for individual gain (Ferguson, 1988: 62). The exhortations of Betty Harragan (1977) and Hennig and

Jardim (1977) she dismissed, because they did not rebel against the oppressive structures but provided "how to succeed in bureaucracies" manuals for women. Ferguson articulated her beliefs strongly:

The possibilities for human liberation rest on the elimination of all institutionalised dominance / subordination relations... Feminism must be radical or it ceases to be feminism, and instead becomes only a procedure for recruiting new support for the status quo. To "liberate" women so they can take an "equal" place in staffing other oppressive institutions and share an "equal" role in perpetuating other kinds of subordination would be a pyrrhic victory indeed (Ferguson, 1984: 122).

Ulla Ressler (1986) in her review of *The Feminist Case against Bureaucracy* remarked that Ferguson "pays little attention to the patriarchal, informal and sometimes formal patriarchal power structures within the organisation" (Ressler, 1986; 131). She made the comment that most people find themselves in bureaucracies whether they like it or not so alternative organisations were not always an option. Martin (1987) in her commentary of the same book expressed her disappointment that Ferguson gave a global view of bureaucracy implying all dimensions were "bad" with limited specifics for alternatives. Martin declared:

As a woman, a sociologist and a feminist I find it depressing to accept the claim that every solution other than the ultimate one of "rendering bureaucracy obsolete" is doomed (Martin, 1987: 547).

Despite her critics, Ferguson's thoughtful and provocative ideas provided a spring board for further feminist discourse on bureaucracy.

Influenced by Ferguson's ideas, Singh (1987) in Aotearoa New Zealand raised questions about issues faced by feminists in bureaucracies. She asked whether it was possible to be a radical feminist in a bureaucracy. She expressed the viewpoint that feminists in senior positions were seduced by the power and the privilege that was conferred upon them, with their feminist ideals taking second place to their loyalty to the organisation. She also questioned how effective feminists were in bringing about

change, getting "beyond reform" (Singh, 1987). She said "to be a 'change agent' within an institution is a contradiction in terms" (Singh, 1987: 36).⁴

The question Ferguson and Singh raised was whether feminist structures and practices could occur in bureaucracies. They thought not. However, enclaves of feminist management practice within complex organisations have been established. As this area of feminist organisation develops, the literature grows (Chernesky, 1980, 1986; Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988; Mann, 1993; Rodriguez, 1988; Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986; Hooyman, 1991; Weil, 1986, 1988; Martin, 1993; Hyde, 1989; Brown, 1992; Pringle, 1992). This literature recognised the collective decision-making processes, power sharing, the valuing of women's perspectives, the commitment to social transformation and the democratic structuring that is inherent in feminist organisations.

An example of a government department being run on feminist lines was the Ministry of Women's Affairs when headed by Mary O'Regan (O'Regan and Varnham in du Plessis, 1992). This sub-unit of a large state bureaucracy developed a culture different from its wider environmental context. O'Regan did not discount the difficulties that were encountered when setting up the Ministry. The feminist principles that guided them were: to minimise the hierarchy; a commitment to collective decision-making; the inclusion of life experience into the definition of expertise; accountability to the women of Aotearoa; a commitment to use power on behalf of people not over them; an acknowledgment that the public and private worlds were not separate, and concern for the well-being of all staff. O'Regan found she could not necessarily change the rules of the wider bureaucracy but within her unit she could bring in different customs and so create a culture in tune with feminist thinking (O'Regan and Varnham in du Plessis, 1992). However after O'Regan left, this way of doing things was dismantled. It appeared the strength of the dominant ideology was such that a feminist unit could not be sustained without a leader totally committed to feminist principles and with strong support.

⁴ Robin McKinlay's (1990) article "Feminists in the Bureaucracy" was a response to Singh's (1987) articles and is discussed in Chapter Four.

Blackwell, a health centre for women in Philadelphia, was an example of feminist administration in a social service (Schwartz, Gottesman and Perlmutter, 1988). The assumptions underpinning feminist administration at Blackwell were:

The unique needs of women must be addressed; a non-hierarchical, participatory structure is essential; the mission of the organisation must focus on structural change and not merely the provision of services (Ferguson, 1984 in Schwartz, Gottesman and Perlmutter, 1988: 6)

Characteristics of this organisation included: the acknowledgement of the value of leadership while recognising each person's contribution; checks and balances with respect to the accumulation of power; shared decision-making; a balance between hierarchy and collective structure; staff access to information; and a staff committee for appointment and dismissal (Schwartz, Gottesman and Perlmutter, 1988). Blackwell staff were successful in integrating their feminist principles with their practice.

Another example of a model of feminist social administration was the Los Angeles County Department of Children's Services Child Abuse Programme which operated within a large bureaucracy (Weil, 1988). Their management system was based on the following components:

- (a) flexible teams with leadership based on expertise for particular task accomplishment;
- (b) mutual planning and problem-solving among all professional staff during regularly scheduled meetings;
- (c) strong emphasis on process and consensual decision-making among professional staff;
- (d) non-hierarchical staff relations;
- (e) an empowerment focus employed with clients, self-help groups and staff;
- (f) all carried forward through a matrix management model (Weil, 1988: 71).

Weil also acknowledged "the use of formal communication and hierarchical status as necessary when dealing with bureaucratic organizations" (Weil, 1988: 72).

In Aotearoa New Zealand Pringle (1992) critiqued recent work on feminism and management. She described feminist management as :

...embued with the assumptions of feminist theory...It is a management style which actively seeks to decrease the domination of men over women and to bring that about by working for change on a personal and structural level (Pringle, 1992: 22-23).

She noted that feminist management has evolved outside of the mainstream (malestream) in feminist organisations such as rape crisis centres, and in women-dominated government departments like the Department of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Women's Affairs (Pringle, 1992: 23). Pringle endorsed the feminist management principles as formulated by Martin (1991).⁵

Martin (1993) presented some specific feminist methods and practices that feminists and others (she believed that men could practice feminist management) could implement in their work. Martin commented that although there were more women in middle management they were not in top positions. She believed this to be because of "the normative masculinity of management" (Martin, 1993). She considered that organisations were pervasively gendered - in their jobs, tasks beliefs and practices. Martin believed that feminists had to make organisations change. She saw feminist management as a way for feminists to do that. She stated that feminist management was:

...the employment of feminist methods and tactics to improve women's (and other excluded groups) social, economic, and symbolic rewards and to promote [feminist] values....According to my view, feminist practice emphasises connectiveness, cooperation, and mutuality over separativeness, competition, and individual success and aims to produce conditions that benefit women and other outgroup members (Martin, 1993: 282).

Martin (1993) presented some methods and practices that reflected feminist values, which she said could be applied to feminist management. The first three feminist

⁵ Pringle (1992) commented on Martin's paper of 1991 which was in press. My subsequent references to Martin's paper will refer to the 1993 published version of it .

strategies were formulated by Kathryn Bartlett in the area of law (1990 in Martin, 1993). They were as follows:

1. Asking the "woman question" .
The "woman question" strategy seeks to challenge assumptions, practices and values that are claimed to be gender neutral but are male-biased.
2. Using feminist practical reasoning.
This practice challenges claims that so-called universal laws apply to everyone; it acknowledges diversity. It gives space for women and other outgroups .
3. Consciousness-raising.
Consciousness-raising affirms personal experience and relates it to general principle and vice versa. This validates and affirms people's experiences and encourages collaboration.
4. Promoting community and cooperation.
The practice of promoting community and cooperation is a rejection of individualism and competition - this means a de-emphasis on winning and losing, and status and hierarchy.
5. Promoting democracy and participation.
This means managers exercise authority carefully and share information and resources
6. Promoting subordinate empowerment.
Managers have an obligation to develop and empower their staff. This is in opposition to the accepted view of hierarchy.
7. Promoting nurturance and caring
This practice acknowledges that staff have family responsibilities outside of work.
8. Striving for transformational outcomes in four realms: individual women, women collectively, men, and the corporation (Martin, 1993: 282-286).

Under the radical feminist organisation-centred approach, hierarchy and issues of power are challenged. Alternative feminist structures and values are developed and

put into practice in a variety of feminist organisations or units. Martin (1993), Marie Weil (1988), Allyson Schwartz, Evelyn Gottesman and Felice Perlmutter (1988) did not have a totally rejecting attitude towards bureaucracy as did Ferguson (1984). They considered a feminist way of working was possible, but difficult to sustain in bureaucracies. Those theorists recognised that the structure and values of the wider organisation needed to change to encompass feminist values, principles and practice. However for other radical feminists that was not sufficient. They questioned the theorising on organisations and questioned their purpose.

Reconceptualising organisational theory

The radical feminist organisation-centred approach encompasses feminist theorists who challenge the genderedness of organisational theorising (Hearn and Parkin, 1983; Mills, 1988; Acker, 1990, 1992) and the genderedness of knowledge itself. In this section I begin with some feminist scholars in other disciplines starting with Sandra Harding's (1986) enquiry of feminist epistemologies. This is followed by a critique of sociology's feminist response (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). I then present the ideas of two educational administrators Charol Shakeshaft (1989) and Jill Blackmore (1989) who looked at reconceptualising the theory of educational administration. This is followed by Joan Acker's (1992) ideas about the gendering processes in organisations and Linda Smircich and Marta Calas's (1990) use of the feminist method of reconceptualising organisational theory by re-visioning, re-reflecting and re-writing. Then Marta Calas, Sarah Jacobson, Roy Jacques and Linda Smircich (1991) leave a real challenge, that of questioning the whole purpose of organisation. Finally Bell and Nkomo (1992) remind us of the absence of race, ethnicity and class in organisational theory.

A number of feminist scholars have questioned whether there was another way of looking at knowledge-seeking that was not so related to dualisms such as public vs. private, culture vs. nature, objectivity vs. subjectivity, male vs. female (Harding, 1986). Harding submitted:

...the goal of feminist knowledge-seeking is to achieve theories that accurately represent women's activities as fully social, and social relations between the genders as a real - an explanatorily important - component in human

history...From the perspective of feminist theory and research, it is traditional thought that is subjective in its distortion by androcentrism (Harding, 1986: 138).

Harding went on to ask what is feminist science? How is this related to feminist theory? How do theories of knowledge develop? As Harding noted:

...feminist theoreticians have already proposed concepts of knowers, the world to be known, and the process of knowing that distinguish feminist theories of knowledge from the dominant Western views of the last few centuries (Harding, 1986: 140).

What she argued was that the modern epistemologies which explicitly ignore gender, while implicitly promoting masculine meanings, could be challenged by feminist epistemologies which were still in the process of development:

The feminist standpoint epistemologies ground a distinctive feminist science in a theory of gendered activity and social experience...they aim to reconstruct the original goals of modern science (Harding, 1986: 141-142).

From the field of sociology Judith Stacey and Barrie Thorne (1985) spoke of the slowness of feminist sociologists to begin to reconstruct "basic paradigms of the discipline" (Stacey and Thorne, 1985: 302). This involved the transformation of conceptual frameworks, "the process of feminist transformation of knowledge" (Stacey and Thorne, 1985: 303). They noted how feminist scholars in other disciplines such as history, literature and anthropology were successfully placing women at the centre, making women's lives visible and revealing male biases and assumptions of traditional knowledge (Stacey and Thorne, 1985: 303). Stacey and Thorne noted an example in anthropology of:

...the maturation of feminist thought from being female centred to developing what we call a more "fully gendered" understanding of all aspects of human culture and relationships. Such "gendered knowledge" has involved profound paradigm shifts within anthropology...Anthropologists have begun to move beyond the women-centred strategy to decipher the gendered basis of all of social and cultural life, tracing the significance of gender organization and relations in all institutions and in shaping men's as well as women's lives (Stacey and Thorne, 1985: 305-6).

But in sociology, they said, women have been virtually ignored and feminist thinking has been contained by seeing gender a variable (in terms of sex difference) rather than a central theoretical concept (as a principle of social organisation). Stacey and Thorne noted that various feminist theorists have linked structure of knowledge with the dominant gender, that is, men. They commented that feminist theory was now moving to identify how knowledge, behaviours and processes were gendered. There was a move away from "woman-centred" to understanding the effects of a gendered world on both men and women. The positivist epistemologies based on the "universal" and the "objective" and the "rational" and "asexual" appeared to find it more difficult to respond to feminist ideas. Was this because their advocates, mainly men, have been the benefactors of that positivist tradition? Although the original feminist analyses were in the private spheres they were now moving into the wider societal arenas:

We have only recently begun the work of developing knowledge that is "gendered" rather than androcentric or largely limited to institutions associated with women (Stacey and Thorne, 1985: 310).

They cautioned however that in the transformation of knowledge feminists guard against generalising the experiences of women and applying them to all women as there needed to be the acknowledgment that other disadvantaged groups also had been rendered invisible in traditional epistemologies.

Shakeshaft (1989) devised a framework that I found helpful when reconceptualising administrative theory. In my thesis I particularly focused on the last three stages according to Shakeshaft. She challenged "administrative theory and advice to be reconceptualised to include both women and men" (Shakeshaft, 1989: 12). She collected and synthesised all the literature up to 1985 on women in educational administration, and incorporated that with over a hundred interviews, plus her personal experience, into a book. She presented the literature in six stages, a model that she adapted from Marilyn Schuster and Susan Van Dyne (1984) which they considered as essential stages in the evolution of a paradigmatic shift. The first stage documented the absence of women in the literature and identified where the women were. The second stage described the stories of the "great" women. The third stage identified why women

were disadvantaged or subordinate. The fourth stage studied women on their own terms and presented a female perspective. The fifth stage challenged traditional theory, looking at what needed to change to include women's experiences. The final stage involved the transformation of theory so that it was inclusive of both women and men's diverse experiences (Shakeshaft, 1989: 12-15).

Shakeshaft was clear that the barriers women faced were a result of male hegemony and that men's reality was very different because they did not have to face barriers as a result of their gender (Shakeshaft, 1989: 79). She argued that when looking at the barriers to women in management, the individual and organisational factors were both subsumed under male hegemony (Shakeshaft, 1989: 83). She claimed that "to eliminate barriers one must change the androcentric nature of the culture in which they flourish" (Shakeshaft, 1989: 126). Shakeshaft identified that organisational theory had emerged from the experiences of men and generalised for all. She noted that most studies indicated that women manage in the same way as men, and her explanation of that was that they were operating in a male world and were successful in that world. However her studies showed that women managed differently. They also had different experiences from men because of discrimination and exclusion.

She stated that there was a "female organisational culture" (Shakeshaft, 1989: 169). That world included feelings of anxiety and isolation: "Because women are often marginal their world may reflect the minutiae of discrimination " (Shakeshaft, 1989: 175). Shakeshaft's conceptualisation of the female world of schools included: that relationships with others were central; that building community was essential; that teaching and learning were the major foci; that marginality overlaid the daily worklife; and that the line separating the public from the private was blurred (Shakeshaft, 1989: 197-8). This female world, she believed, needed to be included in educational administration theory to ensure theory and practice were useful and inclusive. Shakeshaft advocated for training to include gender matters and for researchers to incorporate a female perspective. She noted that inclusion of the experiences of both women and men would require a reconceptualisation of theory and practice. Her

epilogue emphasised a need to understand the dynamics of sexuality, as well as gender, on leadership in organisations (Shakeshaft, 1989: 215).

Blackmore, another feminist educational administrator, argued that leadership based on individualism and bureaucratic rationality, acted out within hierarchical structures, rendered women invisible in educational administration (1989: 94). She saw it necessary to:

...reconstruct a view of leadership which counters the emphasis on individualism, hierarchical relationships, bureaucratic rationality and abstract moral principles (Blackmore, 1989: 94).

The principles of a feminist reconstruction according to Blackmore included a view of power that was multi-dimensional and multi-directional; leadership that empowered others; leadership that was not just equated with formal roles; leadership that was concerned about collective activities and values (Blackmore, 1989: 94). Blackmore believed that the liberal interventionist approach had brought about a little change for women in administration but that there had been no challenge of the dominant "masculinist notion of leadership". She noted that implicit masculinist language partially explained women's invisibility. The "givens" needed to be questioned in feminist critiques of leadership in organisational theory. Another concern for Blackmore was managerialism which emphasised efficiency, hierarchy and control and encouraged a style of leadership not always congruent with women's style of managing. A feminist critique was needed to challenge concepts and assumptions such as rationality, individuality, and competence; to challenge the view that bureaucracy and management styles were gender-neutral. She believed an analysis of the epistemological underpinnings of theories of leadership was required (Blackmore, 1989: 99).

According to Blackmore, the hegemonic masculinist view of leadership, the traditional view, was based on rationality, morality, organization and individualism. It was supported by a positivist epistemology and bureaucratization of social life (Blackmore, 1989: 99). This theory ignored women or portrayed them as "deficient".

However she commented that women had been invisible in most social and political theory. Liberal feminism, by advocating equality, encouraged individualism which benefited individual, middle class women but not many others, leaving little room to challenge hierarchical structures or the competitiveness or the fundamental nature of organizations (Blackmore, 1989: 111):

...the dominant definition of educational leadership has been historically constructed in a manner which ignores, reinterprets or denigrates feminine values and experience (Blackmore, 1989:113).

Positivist theories of knowledge and liberal political theory informed educational leadership which was gender-biased, hierarchical and individualistic (Blackmore, 1989: 115). These theories defined leadership as rational and cognitive rather than expressive and subjective, so explaining the absence of women in management positions. Blackmore stated that a feminist reconstruction of leadership required a reformulation of the epistemological foundation. She commented that feminists demanded not only equality but to become the subjects and objects of any new discourse; not only to explain gender subordination and avoid universalism, but also that there be a politics of change (Blackmore, 1989: 120). A feminist alternative would include a number of elements such as those stated above. It would include a focus on interconnections and responsibilities to others as well as self. Blackmore noted the viewpoint of Nel Noddings:

Rather than condemn the notion of leadership as an anathema to democratic community, it is essential to reconceptualise a different type of leadership in a caring community, to recognise that at particular instances individuals can and do act in a powerful manner but with good intention for the community, whilst laying themselves open to communal scrutiny (Noddings, 1985 in Blackmore, 1989: 122).

A concern for people and relationships, a commitment to participatory democracy and the empowerment of others by the sharing of knowledge and skills in a cooperative environment were further elements. "To lead is to be at the centre of the group rather than in front of the others" (Hartsock, 1983 in Blackmore, 1989: 123). Blackmore reiterated that women had been alienated by the masculinist style of administration

which emphasised hierarchy, control and rationality and excluded women's experiences. Women's experiences in the private world needed to be equated with men's in the public; there needed to be a shift from the individual to the collective and a move against the managerial push of today. She concluded with a quote from Nancy Hartsock:

...it will raise for the first time the possibility of a fully human community, a community structured by its variety of direct relations among people, rather than their separation and opposition (Hartsock, 1983 in Blackmore, 1989: 124).

Several feminist theorists have critiqued mainstream organisational theory. Acker's (1990, 1992) work laid the base for gendered theories of organisations (Acker, 1992: 248). Acker defined "gender" as:

...patterned, socially produced, distinctions between female and male, feminine, and masculine...Gender, as patterned differences, usually involves the subordination of women (1992: 250-251).

She maintained that work processes created gender relations:

To say that an organisation...is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. Gender is not an addition. Rather it is an integral part of those processes...gender is a pervasive symbol of power (Acker, 1990: 146).

Acker identified the gendering processes as: The production of gender divisions as in the pattern of jobs, wages, hierarchies, and power and subordination; the creation of symbols and images that support the gender divisions, like masculine metaphors that reinforce male culture eg. "manager equals male"; the interaction between individuals that enact dominance and subordination, with men being the actors and women their support and the production of "correct gendered persona" (Acker, 1992: 252-253). She believed that the assumptions that underlay a gendered substructure, were that work was a worker's priority, and that they abided by the organisation's rules, practices and processes. These assumptions could exclude or alienate women who often can not put work first because of their commitments to family and reproduction

and caring for the sick and elderly. The private sphere is then separated from the public, with production being seen as more important than reproduction. Acker explained that these processes produced a gendered substructure of organization, with the workers implicitly being seen as male but within a facade of gender-neutrality (Acker, 1992: 255).

Feminist organisational scholars Calas and Smircich (1989, 1992) also challenged the gendered nature of knowledge and organisational theory and suggested a feminist deconstruction of the literature. Calas and Jacques (1988) when analysing the research on women in organisations done by women researchers between 1960s to the 1980s found that the researchers maintained the male-dominated status quo in their choice of topics, conclusions and implications seeing organisations as "gender neutral". There was not a single article which proposed "knowledge in a form that was not the traditional functionalist/ positivist view" (Calas and Jacques, 1988: 15). They believed the research looked male because that was what the women experienced. They were not aware that they were working in a gendered environment. Calas (1988) in examining articles about gender and leadership in organisational journals between 1980-1984 asked the questions:

What are they saying by not saying? How can we read them differently?...In order to develop theoretical grounds for research that does not reproduce male standards we first have to learn to ask other than the obvious questions: If leadership and organisations as we know them are male activities and expression, what is the equivalent female expression of leadership and organisation? (Calas, 1988: 18, 25).

By reframing the questions different perspectives would be revealed.

Calas and Smircich claimed that "an encounter of organizational theory with feminist theorising may render organization theory as we know it unrecognizable" (Calas and Smircich, 1992: 228). They believed that "feminist scholarship is concerned with questioning taken-for-granted concepts and practices and with offering alternative ways of seeing /knowing /doing" (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 2). They quoted Jane Flax:

The single most important advance in feminist theory is that the existence of gender relations has been problematized. Gender can no longer be treated as a simple, natural fact (Flax, 1987 in Smircich and Calas, 1990: 5).

Smircich and Calas believed that feminist theorising could focus on gender relations and offer new insights to the problem of the genderedness of knowledge by using three epistemological activities from the history of feminist "knowing": re-vising, re-flecting and re-writing (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 6). This model, they suggested, would be useful for examining any body of knowledge. Feminist theorising asks the question: How is organisational theorising (male) gendered, and with what consequences? (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 6).

According to Smircich and Calas (1990) the activity of re-vising was to complete and correct the record by recovering or adding the "lost" women; that is, acknowledging that women often were ignored, left out, or that a study of men was generalised for both men and women. As an example they noted how Gilligan (1982) did a revision on Kohlberg's study of moral development drawing attention to the gendered nature of his sample and conclusions. Another example they mentioned was Belenky et al (1986) who researched *Women's Ways of Knowing*. Re-vising drew attention to how women and others were excluded and asked the question who created the knowledge. There was an examination of gender bias by retracing, rereading and assessing whether implicit values and assumptions had created gendered knowledge. This led on to creating new knowledge, as it was recognised that much current knowledge only applied to white men who created it. They paraphrased Harding as saying that feminist theorising traced changing concerns "from the woman question in knowledge" to "the knowledge question in feminism" (Harding, 1986 in Smircich and Calas, 1990: 7). Re-vising and re-writing resulted in:

...recognising that gender no longer equals women - therefore the implicitly male gendered organizational theorizing practices get noticed and, recognising that the implicitly male gendered organisational theorising has kept women's voices silent - therefore women's voices can be written into organizational theorising (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 16).

The second activity, re-flecting, involved pondering on a number of issues. One was the multiplicity of feminist epistemological approaches versus a unified feminist perspective (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 18). This diversity of approaches was compounded by race and class and the feminist commitment to legitimise "others'" knowledge (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 20). Another question that emerged was whether the change from "woman" to "gender" depoliticised feminism. For example, was mainstreaming feminism advantageous or not? Re-flecting also resulted in questioning the assumptions of positivist science. It involved the questioning of:

...the gendered nature of traditional epistemologies and institutional arrangements, and of the interests they have been serving under the guise of knowledge.. [Re-flecting means] embracing the political consequences of having recognised exclusions and limitations under feminist tenets (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 23 - 24).

Thirdly, re-writing was an activity "where we show the politics of a text by calling attention to the strategies of 'truth making'" (Smircich and Calas, 1990: 29). Organisational theory could be reconstructed to reveal the underlying power issues that resulted in the exclusion of women and minorities, and the devaluing of diversity (Farnsworth, 1992: 14-15). Deconstruction of text is one method of re-writing.

Feminist deconstruction of theory was a way of challenging commonly accepted ways of seeing, doing or thinking. Joanne Martin (1990), by deconstructing and reconstructing a text from a feminist perspective revealed the suppression of gender conflict in organisations (Martin, 1990: 339). She offered deconstruction as a way of analysing texts to reveal ideological assumptions and making visible the devalued "other" (Martin, 1990: 340). Deconstruction looks at different ways texts can be interpreted in order to challenge positivist claims to objective knowledge or truth requiring subjectivity and reflexivity to do so. Martin suggested that deconstruction was useful in "studying suppressed gender conflict in organizational contexts" (Martin, 1990: 341). In deconstructing the text Martin found that small scale organisational reforms were inadequate as the public / private dichotomy was the main barrier for women. Gender roles within the family had to change before there could be transformations in organisations. She considered that small reforms "reify,

rather than alleviate, gender inequality " (Martin, 1990: 356). Martin wondered what effect her paper would have on mainstream organizational theory as it was suggesting radical changes in structures rather than how women might fit in:

I have tried to illustrate how feminist perspectives have the capacity to disrupt the usual terms of organizational discourse, transforming its content, premises, and objectives ...If feminist perspectives were fully incorporated, the usual emphasis on rationality, hierarchy, competition, efficiency, and productivity would be exposed as only a very small piece of the organizational puzzle (Martin, 1990: 356- 357).

Regena Farnsworth (1992) encouraged organizational development theorists to utilise Smircich and Calas' (1990) re-vising, re-flecting, re-writing formula as a helpful way to introduce a feminist perspective to their work by questioning science assumptions, revealing power structures and de-constructing some of the dominant theories.

However, Calas et al (1991) after promoting for years a need for consideration of gender difference in management, began to question the value of a "female advantage" or "woman-centred" management theory postulating that that theory could create an illusion toward a more equal social order, while in reality reinforcing the patriarchal society (Calas et al, 1991: 2-3). They noted the changing management theories, and viewed "the female advantage" theory just as another strand in management theory development and like all such theories maintaining the basic assumptions of the purpose of organisation and management (Calas et al, 1991: 8). The primary assumption they identified was that economic organizations were necessary for maintaining the order and well-being of society thus giving social legitimation to organization and management (Calas et al, 1991: 3). Calas et al argued that "women's difference" would only make a difference if this assumption was questioned by asking: "What is a good society? What is meant by well-being? For whom? And for what purpose? " (Calas et al, 1991: 8). Calas et al argued that "the female advantage" theory retained the traditional assumptions about organisations, and supported women to work towards benefiting the dominant stakeholders and made it difficult to conceptualise a different kind of organisational theorising (Calas et al, 1991: 14). They said that to consider gender difference in

management, hindered the challenging of traditional management theory (Calas et al, 1991: 17). A de-centred theorising, a critique of theory, is what Calas et al advocated, paying attention to "woman", "man", "gender", "race", "class", "sexual orientation" (Calas et al, 1991: 19). They postulated that this could enable a questioning of some assumptions around the purpose of organisations and management (Calas et al, 1991).

The same method of critiquing knowledge as utilised by Smircich and Calas (1990), re-vising, re-reflecting, re-writing, could be used in relation to ethnicity, race, class and sexuality, as the so-called universal knowledge has, in reality, been based on mainly white, middle to upper class, heterosexual men's experiences (Stacey and Thorne, 1986; Hearn et al, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989; Bell and Nkomo, 1992). The life experiences of people of other ethnicities, of other sexual orientations and of other classes have been ignored. White feminists have, rightly so in some cases, been accused of generalising their experiences for all women. Nkomo (1992) wrote of how race was excluded, and voices, other than those of white people, were silent in organisational literature and in literature relating to women in management. She suggested a re-visioning and a re-writing of the study of race in organisational theory.

Bell and Nkomo postulated that one's core identity consisted of race, ethnicity, gender and class together being interactive and interdependent and that by focusing on only one element could serve to reinforce the dominance of the majority (Bell and Nkomo, 1992: 239). Ethnicity, race, class and gender needed to be seen as integral components of organisations. Any organisational theorising needed to consider that each one was just one part of a complicated web of socially constructed elements each impacting on the other, whose common thread was domination (Nkomo, 1992: 507).

Subordination and domination were seen in gender relations, race relations, ethnic relations and class relations. A feminist deconstruction and analysis could initiate change in organisational thinking that could enhance organisational life by equalising relations and so incorporating different ways of thinking, doing and being.

Summary of the radical feminist organisation-centred approach

The radical feminist organisation-centred approach is based on the premise that women are oppressed by a patriarchal society and structural change needs to take place to bring about justice. The literature challenged the traditional way of looking at management. This chapter reviewed alternative structures and values and examples of feminist organisations, their goals, values and practices, were described. The final section explored organisational theory from a feminist perspective. It began by looking at how organisations were gendered, and the concluding section exhorted theorists to re-vise, re-reflect and re-write organisational theory to include women's experiences. Questions were posed. What kind of society do we want? Do we need to look at the assumptions underlying organisation? Finally feminists were challenged to identify all oppressions and to include ethnicity, race and class and sexuality as well as gender in the re-writing of organisational theory.

Summary

This chapter discussed women in management literature in a framework that integrated liberal and radical feminist perspectives with person centred and organisation centred approaches. The literature moved from EEO to a questioning of the purpose of organisations. Emerging from the literature came a clear message that women managers did not fit into the "norm" of organisations. Yet organisations are reflections of the values and practices of society. The pervasive effect of patriarchy was seen. Alongside that however, women managers emerged as people who had skills and attributes that embodied a different way of managing from the norm, which might be equally valid. The next chapter provides an overview of the environment, both past and present, internal and external, that have impacted on women managers in the social services in Aotearoa New Zealand.

CHAPTER 3

A MASCULINE CULTURE: MANAGEMENT IN SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

It is clear that the more explicitly masculinized culture of the new managerialism may be an increasingly difficult environment for many women to work effectively within (Lupton, 1992: 100).

The last chapter reviewed the literature concerning women in management. This is the second part of the literature review. The chapter begins with an overview and critique of several theories of management, followed by a feminist critique of organisational theory. The nature of human services management is then explored. A brief history of social services in Aotearoa New Zealand is presented including a discussion of the impact of the state sector reforms of the 1980s. The reforms were a result of the implementation of managerialism, which is then discussed and critiqued from a feminist perspective. The chapter concludes with an examination of how social service organisations are gendered, which gives rise to a masculinist organisational culture.

Management Theories

Modern management theorising began in the early twentieth century (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990). This section briefly reviews three viewpoints that have influenced social services management, the classical viewpoint, the human relations viewpoint and contemporary viewpoints. Within these viewpoints there are several approaches and theories.¹

The classical management viewpoint, so called because it encompassed works that formed the roots of contemporary management (Bartol and Martin, 1991) dominated organisational writing from the 1900s to the 1930s. The classical theorists Taylor (1911), Fayol (1916) and Weber (1947) developed principles that they believed could be universally applied to all organisational situations (Robbins, 1990). The classical

¹ The terms I use ie. viewpoint, approach and theory are consistent with those used by Bartol and Martin, (1991).

viewpoint incorporates scientific management (Taylor, 1911), administrative management (Fayol, 1916) and bureaucratic management (Weber, 1947). The classical viewpoint "emphasises finding ways to manage work and organisations more effectively" (Bartol and Martin, 1991: 45).

The scientific management approach first described by Frederick Taylor (1911), an American engineer, postulated the need to use scientific methods to improve worker productivity. Frank Gilbreth (1911) and Lillian Gilbreth (1914) were two of the theorists who supported and developed Taylor's scientific management approach. The scientific management theorists advocated incentives for increased productivity, the scientific design of jobs, the scientific selection and training of workers, and managers having the responsibility to plan and supervise workers using scientific methods. They believed there was one best way for each job (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990: 30, 31). Scientific management was a mechanistic, rational approach to work that focused on results to improve profit. More attention was given to the technical side of work than to the workers' needs. Charles Handy (1993) concluded that this approach left people out of the equation. That was scientific management's major failing.

About the same time Henri Fayol (1916), a French industrialist, developed another branch within the classical viewpoint, the administrative management approach. He delineated the following universal functions of management: planning, organising, leading, controlling and coordinating (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990). He also presented fourteen universal principles to be used to coordinate the internal activities of organisations (Bartol and Martin, 1991). Much contemporary management practice is based on Fayol's functional approach. Kathryn Bartol and David Martin (1991) noted that numerous management texts are structured around Fayol's administrative functions of planning, organising, leading and controlling. These include their own book (Martin and Bartol, 1991) and Schermerhorn (1986) and Robbins and Mukerji (1990). Some social work management texts, including Bamford (1982) and Skidmore (1990), use a modified version of this approach.

The bureaucratic approach within the classical viewpoint was postulated by Max Weber

(1947), a German sociologist, who designed an "ideal" model for organisations, which he called "bureaucracy". He wanted to remove the "ambiguity, inefficiency and patronage" that he saw present in organisations (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990: 34). Weber described the features of a bureaucracy as a well-defined hierarchy, formal rules and regulations, a specialisation of labour with well-defined tasks, selection and promotion of staff on merit, and impersonality, where authority depended on position not personal status (Bartol and Martin, 1991: 50). Like scientific management the emphasis was on "rationality, predictability, impersonality, technical competence and authoritarianism" (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990: 34). Bureaucracy was the design prototype of most of today's large organisations (Robbins, 1990). However today the term "bureaucracy" is often used in a pejorative way to denote the "red tape" (Bartol and Martin, 1991), the existence of excessive rules and regulations, the many levels of hierarchy, and the feelings of relative powerlessness felt by workers in bureaucracies. There is literature that describes how social workers in bureaucracies experience restrictions and lack of independence which they perceive as limiting their professional autonomy (Howe, 1986; Opie, 1993).

The classical viewpoint incorporated the scientific management approach, the administrative management approach and the bureaucratic management approach. "The classical image of the organisation is that of a goal-oriented, purposefully designed machine" (Hasenfeld, 1992: 25). Within this viewpoint people took second place to efficient productivity. Hasenfeld (1992) had some reservations about some of the classical approaches in terms of their appropriateness for the human services. He believed that the rational model was limited because of political pressures, legislative changes, reduced funding, disagreements over goals of the programme and uncooperative clients. It brought Hasenfeld to conclude that:

The rational model cannot handle such key factors as the multiple and changing influences of the environment; amorphous and conflicting goals; indeterminate technology; informal relations both among staff and between staff and clients; and constraints on accountability and authority (Hasenfeld, 1992: 26).

While social service organisations require efficiency they are also people-oriented

because of the nature of their task, so the classical viewpoint management does not fit comfortably within the ethos of the social work profession.

The human relations viewpoint, prevalent in the 1930s to the 1960s emerged when the rational decision-making model of the classical theorists "did not seem to be the whole answer to the problem of what constituted effective management" (Bartol and Martin, 1991: 53). The human relations viewpoint acknowledged the social nature of organisations in that people needed to be considered as well as tasks (Robbins, 1990:38). This view was typified by the writings of Mary Parker Follett (1924, 1940), Elton Mayo (1933), Chester Barnard (1938), Abraham Maslow (1970), and Douglas McGregor (1960). A key principle of the human relations viewpoint was the emphasis on human factors in production which stressed the importance of group processes, motivation and communication, participative decision-making and seeing workers as "active human resources rather than passive tools" (Bartol and Martin, 1991: 69). The human relations theorists' influence was seen in the personnel policies and the decision-making models used in social services. Hasenfeld commented that the underlying assumption of the human relations viewpoint was "that organisational effectiveness would be achieved if the goals of the organisation and the needs of the workers were complementary and congruent" (Hasenfeld, 1992 :27).

Hasenfeld, however, believed that the weakness of the human relations approach lay in the fact that its level of analysis was social-psychological, while ignoring the effects of the environment especially the political and economic (Hasenfeld, 1992: 28). He felt the human relations approach placed too much emphasis on the psychological needs of workers and democratic participation. He commented that it was hard to imagine how democratic participation could alter the inability to respond to all the needs of their clients, the excessive paper work, the low wages and other negative conditions (Hasenfeld, 1992: 28).

Both the classical viewpoint and the humanistic viewpoint have been critiqued by number of scholars from various disciplines over the years. Systems theory and contingency theory were responses to those critiques, being two important

contemporary management viewpoints.

Systems theory was discussed by Barnard in the 1930s but gained greater acceptance in the 1960s. Eric Trist (Coulshed, 1990) and Ludwig von Bertalanffy (Schermerhorn, 1986) were amongst the systems theorists. Systems theory saw an organisation as "a set of interrelated and interdependent parts" (Robbins and Mukerji, 1990: 40). The organisation was seen as focused on common goals, with inputs such as labour, capital and equipment, which through various processes were transformed into outputs, such as services or products. Constant interaction with the environment, such as government, clients or consumers and financial institutions, was an essential and critical component of this approach. The manager's responsibility was to coordinate all the different interdependent parts, ensuring they functioned in the most efficient way possible to achieve the organisation's goals. Systems theory emphasised the influence of the environment on organisations and highlighted the effect that change in one part could have on other parts. It could also be used to analyse the interaction between parts. Veronica Coulshed (1990: 44) said that the value of systems theory to the social services was that it enabled the recognition of "the dynamic interaction with other services so that planning and coordinating with these is strengthened". However because of its abstractness, according to Robbins (1990: 19), this theory is more a conceptual tool than an applicable practice.

Contingency theory developed in the 1960s, being a synthesis of the scientific and the humanistic theories (Robbins, 1990: 41). Joan Woodward (1965), Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn (1966), and Charles Perrow (1986) were amongst the proponents of contingency theory (Robbins, 1990; Mills and Tancred, 1992). This theory was based on the assumption that there was no "one way", no universal principles, but that the management response depended upon the parameters of the situation at the time (Bartol and Martin, 1991). A diversity of contingency variables demanded a diversity of responses. This theory argued that both external and internal factors such as environment, technology, leadership and organisational design all influenced managerial action and outcomes (Robbins and Mukerji, 1991).

Hasenfeld (1992) considered the contingency approach in the human services to be limited in its responsiveness to political and economic issues (Hasenfeld, 1992: 29). As he concluded: "...no one theory is adequate to explain the structure and processes of organisations in general, let alone human services in particular" (Hasenfeld, 1992: 39).

The classical, the humanistic, and the contemporary viewpoints all influenced social service management. The rational, technical methods of the classical theorists, the people-focused methods of the human relations theorists, systems theory and contingency theory are evident in social services management today. The scientific, administrative, bureaucratic approaches laid the foundation upon which the others developed. Although the humanistic, systems and contingency theories are more in keeping with the values and practices of social work the classical approaches are still pervasive in social service organisations. The implementation of managerialism is encouraging a style reminiscent of scientific management (Duncan, 1995).

Gendered Organisational Theory

A feminist critique of management theories is relevant to this study. However a feminist critique has been a relative latecomer to the field of organisational analysis, with its early beginnings in the 1970s. As seen in the previous chapter which reviewed Acker's (1990, 1992) and Calas and Smircich's work (1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1992) a considerable feminist critique of organisational theory developed in the last decade (Hearn and Parkin, 1983; Mills, 1988; Hearn et al, 1989; Sheppard, 1989; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Pringle, 1992; Mann, 1993; Martin, 1993).

In the classical and human relations viewpoints, and in systems and contingency theories, women and gender were largely absent (Mills and Tancred, 1992: 2-4). Gender neutrality was assumed. For example, in the Hawthorne Studies no consideration was given to gender differences when analysing the results. "Commentators on the original research have not noted that the group with the increased output was all female, and the group with restricted output was all male" (Acker and Van Houten, 1974 in Mills and Tancred, 1992: 17). The implications of "sex based power differentials" were not explored.

With the advent of feminism, and with more women in organisations, the invisibility of gender in organisational theory began to be critiqued as women experienced organisational life differently from the male norm which excluded women's experiences (Kanter, 1977; Marshall, 1984; Sheppard, 1989):

Feminist critics of traditional [organisational] theory now widely recognise that this body of theory is gendered, that it implicitly implies managers and workers are male with male stereotypic powers, attitudes and obligations (Acker, 1992: 255).

Acker concluded that gendered processes and a gendered substructure of organisation were linked to gender structures in the wider society where men were dominant. As Sheppard noted:

This gendered aspect is located within a larger patriarchal social world which is hierarchically based, with men occupying positions of dominance over women, men, young people and minority groups (Sheppard, 1989: 140).

Hearn and Parkin (1983) also noted the extent of male domination of organizational theory, the patriarchal notions of organizations and the difficulties of researching alternatives in a male-dominated society. They identified the need to explore a number of issues including sexuality, power and gender within organisations.

Even some radical feminists saw bureaucracy as gender-neutral and asexual (Acker, 1990: 144). For example Ferguson (1984) critiqued hierarchy and bureaucracy as male-dominated, oppressive of women, and stressed that bureaucracies were not healthy places for women. But these writers did not explicitly identify the genderedness of organisations per se. Acker (1990: 142) said: "...gender is difficult to see when only the masculine is present".

All the management viewpoints, the classical, the human relations, and systems and contingency theories, ignored gender: "Organisational structures and processes are theorised as gender neutral" (Acker, 1990: 142). Feminist organisational theorists like Acker (1990, 1992) and Smircich and Calas (1990) and Sheppard (1992) attempted to

reconceptualise organisational theory from a feminist viewpoint, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The Nature of the Human Services

Management in the social services has some distinct differences compared to business organisations. Rosemary Sarri (1985) highlighted two basic differences between social service organisations and other complex organisations. Firstly she said, social service organisations relied on a budget allocation often from outside sources. Secondly, their goals were to change people in order to improve the well-being of society. Sarri (1985) identified issues for social services in the United States in the 1980s, which mirrored our situation in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1990s. These issues highlighted the unique concerns of not-for-profit organisations as well as those specific to the social services. She noted: the dwindling resources; the demand for effectiveness and programme evaluation, worker accountability and client satisfaction; the decline in the number of social work positions in the public sector; the need for social service administrators to be trained in management as well as the social services; the need for a commitment to effective affirmative action programmes; and the increasing emphasis on ethical practice, especially in regard to targeting services for the most disadvantaged (Sarri, 1985: 346-350). She identified some general trends in the social services including: the increasing contracting of services to voluntary agencies; the pressures for both centralisation as well as decentralisation; a move towards more participative management; the necessity for agencies to have automated information systems and the demand for fiscal accountability. These issues and trends emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand in the last decade and impacted considerably on management practice.

Yehekel Hasenfeld (1992), an American academic in the field of the human services, distinguished social services from other bureaucracies by the fact that they worked with people as their "raw material" and that they were mandated to promote the welfare of people. Hasenfeld spoke of the enigma for such organisations. He said that while they were seen as symbols of caring, their hierarchical nature, size, rules and sometimes "rigid and unresponsive staff", resulted in them being viewed as "obtrusive and controlling" (Hasenfeld, 1992: 3):

Thus to the recipients human services evoke hope and fear, caring and victimization, dignity and abuse (Hasenfeld, 1992: 4).

Hasenfeld argued that these were inherent incongruities which were experienced by the organisations' employees as well as the clients. In his view, bureaucratic structures did not suit the task of social service organisations.

Hasenfeld went on to comment that these organisations were also involved in moral decisions that controlled workers' actions and clients' access to resources. Workers made decisions that conveyed an evaluation of worth so that some clients were seen as more deserving than others (Hasenfeld, 1992: 6). He noted that these morals, values and norms were often conflicting and constantly changing.

Hasenfeld (1992), as did others, including Jane Skinner and Celia Robinson (1988), Christine Hallett (1989), and Coulshed (1990), viewed the "human services as gendered work", there being a predominance of female workers, led by male managers as well as a predominance of women clients (Hasenfeld, 1992: 7). He postulated that this could bring a conflict between a "feminine" orientation and a "masculine" orientation in human service organisations (Hasenfeld, 1992: 8). He suggested that a feminist approach emphasising cooperation, collectivism, empowerment and nurturance was not usually followed in such bureaucracies which could partly explain the enigma of human service organisations (Hasenfeld, 1992: 8).

Human service organisations operated in "a turbulent institutional environment" according to Hasenfeld (1992: 10). Characteristics of this environment were: decreasing resources; increasing accountability both fiscally and in service provision; conflicting values and ideologies; unpredictable client demand and competition for contracts. Often what was labelled a fiscal crisis might in fact have been a crisis of conflicting ideologies (Hasenfeld, 1992:10, 11). Sarri (1985) and Hasenfeld (1992) both made it explicit that the characteristics of the social services make managing such organisations difficult. It was clear that managers had a key role in how organisations operated and provided services. Their position was an increasingly powerful and pivotal one.

Social Services in Aotearoa New Zealand

Social services in capitalist countries began first as a response to individuals and families in need. Then workers began to focus as well, on changing the structures and systems that caused poverty and oppression. Edith Abbott related that an early pioneer in the social services field, Mary Richmond, encouraged the preventative approach as well as casework:

The good social worker, says Miss Richmond, doesn't go on helping people out of a ditch. Pretty soon she finds out what ought to be done to get rid of the ditch (Abbott in Morales and Sheafor, 1992: 18).

Social work has a dual focus, firstly to empower and support those most vulnerable, and secondly, to bring about changes in the structures and processes of society that have allowed injustice to occur (New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1993). Organisations usually have concentrated on either one or the other. Generally the emphasis has been on individually-focused case work rather than on social action. This has been attributed to the constraints of the welfare organisations where the social workers' role has been narrowly defined and their practice limited (Black et al, 1983 in Barretta-Herman, 1993: 34). With the increasingly strictly defined criteria for services funded by the state, social action has been all but eliminated from agencies' services in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Aotearoa New Zealand religious organisations, communities, the state, families and philanthropists provided charitable services. Originally services were dependent on volunteers and focused on particular client groups, especially those directed at helping the poor, and those "protecting society from moral decay" (Ellis, 1994: 65).

Following the introduction of the Child Welfare Act of 1925, which created the Child Welfare division of the Department of Education, "professional" social work grew under the umbrella of the state, while voluntary agencies provided supplementary services. The welfare state was one which assumed responsibility for the people's needs, minimising individual and community responsibility. It was a collectivist

approach which supported the idea of universal entitlement as of right. The state was both the funder and main provider of services; it fostered the idea of a benevolent state which provided a comprehensive range of services as of right (Barretta-Herman, 1993: 4-5). The state focused on providing foster care while the voluntary agencies provided residential care for children from "problem families" (Ellis, 1994: 65). The primary focus of social work was individual and family casework. After World War Two as the welfare state expanded, the state, while being the main provider of social services, gave grants to community organisations so they could remain independent of the state and offer some alternative services (Ellis, 1994: 65). "The voluntary sector was seen as uneven and unreliable because of its fragmented and marginal nature" (Ellis, 1994: 66).

In 1972 the Department of Social Welfare was established, an amalgamation of the Child Welfare division of the Department of Education and the Social Security Department.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Government of Aotearoa New Zealand, as in other capitalist states, was beginning to wonder whether it could continue to afford the welfare state in its current form. In the area of social work there was criticism about the state's lack of sensitivity to Maori indicated by the number of reports including *Institutional Racism* by the Women's Anti-racism Action group (1984) and *Puao te ata tu - Day Break) - The Report of the Ministerial Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare* (1986). There were calls from those reports to decentralise and devolve decisions to communities. On the political right the libertarians were calling for the state to reduce its role in social services and transfer its responsibility to families and voluntary agencies. The same message was being given to Government but from different ideological perspectives. Aotearoa New Zealand began to move from a welfare state to a welfare society (Barretta-Herman, 1993). A welfare society was one that rejected universality of services, and proposed welfare pluralism, where commercial and voluntary sectors provided services (Hadley and Hatch (1981). The state was seen as the last resort (Barretta-Herman, 1993). The state was to provide "a safety net" only. Treasury gave a clear message:

...it emphasised targeted assistance, cash rather than kind, the "market process" provision of services, and greater individual responsibility (Treasury, 1984: 273).

A minimal role for the state and increased family and community responsibility were indicators of the new approach of the welfare society. In the restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare, Roger Hadley and Hatch's (1981) principles were the main elements: regionalisation, decentralisation, devolution and partnership with the community (Barretta-Herman, 1993: 6).

Feminists and others recognised that this move to the community would result in women picking up the caring of the sick, the elderly and children. Miriam David believed that the new right ideology, which encompassed neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism strands (Levitas, 1986), was one which promoted the traditional family where the mother's primary role was to provide care:

The new right is trying to revive this model of the private family through both economic policies which assume such a set of relationships in the marketplace and social policies which increasingly celebrate motherhood as a crucial social activity for women (David, 1986: 139).

Angeline Barretta-Herman noted that Pinker (1983) contended:

...that the Hadley and Hatch model used the liberal values of participation and community in an attempt to make the dismantling of the welfare state palatable to social work. And more damaging, it offered a model that could be utilised by monetarists to further reduce the role of the state in providing care for its people (Barretta-Herman, 1993: 7).

The libertarian approach or anti-collectivist approach was to lessen state responsibility by encouraging the community to become more self-reliant (Jesson, 1987):

The libertarian right wingers who have controlled the policies of the Fourth Labour Government have depended on a body of theory of neo-classical economics...goals of Government have become identical with those of business (Jesson, 1987: 10-11)

Resources did not accompany the devolution in the quantity the communities wanted. Maori were given more responsibility and autonomy as they asked for, and resources and decision-making were devolved, but they did not believe that they received the resources they were promised. For example, when the Department of Social Welfare's children's and young persons institutions were closed in great numbers in the late 1980s they were promised that the money saved would be reallocated to support children with similar needs in community programmes.² Some Maori felt that this did not happen.³ The Government's anti-collectivist approach saw less resourcing, with the expectation that voluntary charity would assume responsibility. The Government's directions were clearly stated in Treasury reports:

It needs to be understood that the purpose of devolution is to find a means of discharging the state's interest and responsibility as effectively and efficiently as possible (Treasury, 1987: 131-132).

These policies had considerable impact on the practices of social work and social work management. The values and goals of social work, that of commitment to "...service for the welfare and self-fulfilment of their fellow human beings... just allocation of the resources ...action for social change...to achieve social justice" (New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1993:1), brought social work into face to face conflict with the market ideology of non-collectiveness and self-reliance.

The Impact of Managerialism

In response to the economic crisis, the Fourth Labour Government in 1984 introduced a number of economic reforms which resulted in rapid radical, social and economic changes. There was an ideological shift toward the political right which espoused a lessening of State intervention and dependency, with a resultant reduction in State expenditure. The Government had responded to strong recommendations from Treasury which were based on the market model (Treasury, 1984; 1987).

² From a speech by a senior Department of Social Welfare official responsible for their institutions, 1988, at a public hui at Allendale Girls' Home (Personal Recollection)

³ From personal communication to me by Maori both within and outside of the Department of Social Welfare.

The Fourth Labour Government passed the State Sector Act (1988) which transformed the management structures and practices of Government departments. Managerialism or New Public Management (Boston, 1991) was the utilisation of private sector management practice in the public sector, to improve efficiency and effectiveness. The Public Finance Act (1989) introduced tighter monitoring systems for accountability. According to June Pallot these two Acts were "mutually reinforcing" (Pallot, 1991: 188). The State Sector Act and the Public Finance Act, for which the tool of implementation was managerialism, had major ramifications in the Departments of Social Welfare and Justice and Health, where state-supported social work was carried out. The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) saw the separation of funder and provider of social services and introduced contracting for services. These Acts had a major impact upon the organisation of social work practice both in the public and private sectors.

These reforms continued under subsequent Governments. Not only was there an ideological shift from a welfare state to targeted assistance, but there was also a critical analysis of management practices in the state sector. The public sector management was forced to change from being a regulations-driven one, to a focus on predetermined outputs for which the managers were accountable. Treasury and the Business Roundtable continued to stress the need for improved management in the public sector:

The quality of their management, with few exceptions, however, is inferior to that of the best managed private sector enterprises...There has been widespread external criticism of the financial management performance of some departments and lack of professional leadership...There is therefore, a need to rethink a number of performance and accountability issues and upgrade the quality of management within the public sector (Business Roundtable, 1992).

The Government began to introduce business management practices, that is managerialism, into the public sector including into the social services. According to Hadley, (1986: 1) the introduction of managerialism into the "not-for-profit" sector was "an attempt to pep it up with an injection of business spirit". Managerialism focused on efficiency, effectiveness and economy (popularly known as the three Es). This

approach to management had its roots in scientific management as formulated by Taylor (1911), with its emphasis on rationality, efficiency and economy.

Under managerialism managers were valued more for their management skills than their professional knowledge. Often managers were brought in from outside the profession, being recruited for their expertise in management. Anna Yeatman called them "technical intelligentsia" and questioned whether they could make "judgements on the substantive purposes of public service" (Yeatman, 1987: 342). These senior managers were usually on contract with renewal dependant upon achievement of outputs. Managers were rewarded by monetary incentives rather than by what used to be part of the public service ethos - status and the satisfaction of providing a good service. Because their technical skills were transferable Yeatman commented that they "...are relatively indifferent to which ends their technical services are given. They are teleologically promiscuous" (Yeatman, 1987: 349). Willard Enteman said that managerialism was "an ideology of, by, and for managers" (1993; 194).

Managerialism and social work practice have different value bases. Social work principles include responding appropriately, safely and effectively to the clients' needs, a commitment to the *tangata whenua*, to collective decision-making, to social justice, the empowerment of those less powerful, and the valuing of cultural and other differences (New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 1993). These were not seen to be principles that were promoted by managerialism. Some newly appointed managers in public social services management in the 1980s did not have a knowledge of, or commitment to the values and goals of social work. Their goals were set by the funder, that is the state, and they emphasised cost effectiveness. How quality of service provision was evaluated depended upon the criteria used for assessing quality. Social work managers from within the profession supported efficiency and effectiveness of services but not at the expense of quality and appropriateness of service.

One "doctrine" of managerialism was the "reliance on quantifiable output measures and performance targets" (Boston, 1991: 9). Outputs had to be able to be quantified and measured. Outputs relating to quality were much harder to quantify so the indicators

usually focused on the instrumental and technical features. One example was the reporting requirements of the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (CFA)⁴ for contracted services. The agencies were required to report on: numbers of clients, sex, age, ethnicity, referral source, service provided, numbers of families with written plans, length of service, type of care provided, where the children were living after care and occupancy rates of homes (CFA, 1993). Almost all were quantifiable with little that indicated the quality of care provided and received. The issue of quality was deemed met by the standards for approval, which agencies had to meet before they received funding.

It is difficult to measure outcomes in social work. Hasenfeld and English commented that goal definition in human services was problematic and ambiguous and that they lacked reliable and valid measures of effectiveness (Hasenfeld and English, 1974 in Donovan and Jackson, 1991:18). Martin believed that "the outcomes of services may be uncertain and unpredictable" (Martin, 1985 in Donovan and Jackson, 1991:20). Evaluation of quality is a complex issue, and can not be assessed or documented quickly and succinctly. Yet the emphasis on economy and effectiveness and efficiency demanded implementing ways to monitor services for accountability reasons:

Accordingly, the discretionary and "craft" - like activity of case-work intervention and treatment is de-emphasised for social workers...what is emphasised instead is the number of cases they process, assess and refer on to other agencies (Yeatman, 1987: 346).

By collecting data that was statistical and quantifiable the caring and therapeutic aspects of social work could be overlooked, and so become invisible (Opie, 1993). A social worker's job could be seen as routine, mechanistic, task-specific, somewhat administrative, and the therapeutic part of the work could literally disappear:

There is the danger that the managerial imperatives of effectiveness and efficiency will cause care to be devalued as an objective. The peculiar task of social service managers is to hold to core values while pursuing effective use of resources. (Bamford, 1990:121).

⁴ New Zealand Community Funding Agency in this thesis will be abbreviated to CFA.

For many workers output measures and accountability requirements appeared to be a way of strengthening managerial control, limiting the independent decision-making of social workers and of managing scarce resources by rationing services, rather than a device for improving services for clients (Bamford, 1982: 46).

These requirements needed systems for reporting, monitoring, and accountability. Computerisation of work has been a recent development in social work practice. Not only did the outputs have to be monitored but so did the allocation and utilisation of resources. Managers in both statutory and non-statutory agencies had to set up or learn new systems to handle the increasing statistical accountability requirements. A major component of this was the computerisation of records, including finances and client services.

Another element of managerialism was the contracting out of services. This was a direct result of the application of the market model which encouraged competition, privatisation and choice, with the aim of reducing state involvement in welfare provision. A major role for managers has become that of a broker, to put together care packages by contracting with the community.

The improvement of human resource management to ensure efficient outputs was one of the goals of managerialism. The use of private sector management practices such as performance appraisals, strategic plans, reviews, mission statements, short-term labour contracts and performance-linked remuneration became part of the public service and social service agencies contracted by Government organisations. Managerialism attempted to draw in some of the latest ideas in the human relations field, like team work, networking, conflict resolution and EEO (Bennis and Nanus, 1990; Robbins and Mukerji, 1990; Rainey, 1991). But according to Yeatman, this was a fragile amalgamation:

The indicators are that the "people" and "process" emphases run a poor second within the general culture of public service management to the emphasis on economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Yeatman, 1987: 346).

Managers who came from the social work profession were torn between their professional responsibility to their clients for provision of quality services, and their management responsibility for accountability and cost-effectiveness. These issues that faced social service managers in Aotearoa New Zealand were similar to those in the United States as described by Sarri (1986) earlier in this section. Ruth Eley, a social work manager in Britain reflected:

Should the current ethos prevail, the primary task of social services will become that of providing an efficient, effective and economic service, where these three are defined in terms of cheapness, and care and quality of life will be relegated as being of secondary importance (Eley, 1989: 177).

There have been a number of feminist critiques of managerialism (Eley, 1989; Hallett, 1989; Lupton, 1992). Carol Lupton (1992) referring to the United Kingdom, contended that the new managerialism attracted predominantly white males who were in pursuit of a career rather than having a service focus. She noted that less than 10% of the directors of social service departments in Britain were female. Foster quoted in Lupton, said that the attributes being sought in new managers were "youth, masculinity and mobility" (Foster, 1988 in Lupton, 1992: 99). Others too have noticed the increasing masculinisation of management in the social services (Patti, 1984). Lupton pointed out that racism was also present in organisations:

The difficulties of succeeding as a woman within a masculinist organisational culture will be compounded by the problems of overcoming racist stereotyping and practice (Lupton, 1992: 99).

Lois Bryson provided a feminist critique of managerialism with her contention that:

It is about structure, order, forceful activity, "rationality". It is about hardware, it is about technique. It does not emphasise values or how this climate affects the people who are the subject groups, that is the public, clients and workers....Women are less likely to find the new management style congenial (Bryson, 1987a in Donovan and Jackson, 1991: 25)

Bryson believed some of the elements of managerialism were: a focus on technocratic matter; the recasting of all issues as administrative with no acknowledgment that most

activity was policy-related and therefore involving values; changes not for the benefit of the consumers; and instrumentalism which gave it a very masculine flavour (Bryson, 1987a in Donovan and Jackson, 1991: 29).

The introduction of managerialism into the social services encouraged the increasing masculinisation of the social services because the values and skills it promoted fitted more comfortably with men than women.

Gendered Social Service Organisations

Social service organisations as previously mentioned, are inherently gendered (Skinner and Robinson, 1988; Hallett, 1989; Coulshed, 1990; Hasenfeld, 1992). The clients or consumers of the services are mainly women, the work force is predominantly women, the informal and unpaid care-givers are usually women and the management is predominantly male:

Historically the care of people has been entrusted to women, and the bureaucratisation of human care resulted in the predominance of women as human service workers (Hasenfeld, 1992: 7).

In Britain in 1987 the staff of the social services departments were 87.2 percent female, topping the list in terms of gender occupational segregation (Hallett, 1989:33). In Britain the numbers of women directors of social service organisations is decreasing, from 16 in 1971 to 12 in 1984 to 10 in 1987 out of a total of 108 (Eley, 1989: 156):

The gendered world of social services departments is exemplified by the sexual division of labour...The position is now one in which the vast majority of the work force in social service departments, women, are organised and managed by men (Hallett, 1989: 15, 33).

The gendered division of labour in the social services is seen also in the United States where 67.6 percent of the work force were female in 1987 (Martin and Chernesky, 1989: 119). White men made up only 15 percent of the social services work force but held 50 percent of the senior positions (Martin and Chernesky, 1989: 122). It also appeared that the proportion of women social work managers was on the decline in the

USA (Chess, Norlin and Jayaratne, 1987; Haynes, 1989). Rino Patti commented on the sexism in social work, where social work was seen to be a woman's profession but women were discouraged from moving into management, where they were under-represented. He postulated that the resultant masculinisation of leadership in social work in the USA reflected the sexist attitudes of society and might be a response to maintain the profession's credibility with funders (Patti, 1984: 27).

The gendered nature of social services is also seen in Aotearoa New Zealand. The census figures for 1991 showed that 64 percent of social workers were recorded as female (Department of Statistics, 1992). There were no figures for social work managers. Since 1991 three-quarters of the staff of the Department of Social Welfare, has been female (Department of Social Welfare, 1991/1992, 1992/1993, 1993, 1994/1995). However data relating to the numbers of female managers in the Department of Social Welfare is difficult to compare for a number of reasons. Since 1985 there have been nine restructurings in nine years (Shirley, 1994: 3). In 1992 the Department was reorganised into business units which resulted in it being impossible to compare previous statistics with current figures. "Manager" was defined differently in 1994, than in 1992 and 1993. "Given the change in definition, it is not possible to make a meaningful comparison between this year's and previous years' data" (Department of Social Welfare, 1994/1995: 21). Also data was presented in different forms from year to year and there were other inconsistencies; for example, on one occasion when percentages were given total figures were omitted. However one fact is indisputable, since 1991, 75 percent of the Department's workforce has been women and during that time the management has been predominantly men. The proportion of managers in the Department of Social Welfare (all units) who were female was as follows (keeping in mind the aforementioned inconsistencies):

1991	30 percent
1992	35 percent
1993	41 percent
1994	34 percent

(Department of Social Welfare, 1991/1992, 1992/1993, 1993, 1994/1995. Some figures calculated from data given).

In the primary social work unit within the Department of Social Welfare, the New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service (CYPS),⁵ where in 1994, 71 percent of the staff were female, the proportion of managers who were female were as follows:

1992	37 percent
1993	40 percent
1994	34 percent

(Department of Social Welfare, 1992/1993, 1993, 1994/1995. Some figures calculated from data given).

Any comparison between the 1980s and the 1990s is fraught with difficulties due to lack of comparable data. However it is clear that the proportion of women in management did not reflect the proportion of women on staff (in fact the relationship was inverse). There is also a popular belief that women have lost ground in this regard.

A recent study done on women in management in Aotearoa New Zealand indicated that the proportion of women managers did not vary from the public to the private sector, which the researchers noted was surprising, given the implementation in the state sector of EEO policies since the mid 1980s (McGregor, Thompson and Dewe, 1994). However this was in keeping with some overseas studies including Marshall (1984) and Loden (1985) (in McGregor, Thomson and Dewe, 1994). This raises questions about the efficacy of such policies. Overall the study revealed "a dismal overall picture of women in decision-making positions" (McGregor, Thompson and Dewe, 1994: 14). It appears that the picture here may be no different from Britain and the United States.

Social work has always been seen as a female occupation. As Alfred Kadushin said: "The professional role of social work is, in large measure, an extension of the traditional female function of nurturing and support, of the traditional female concern with children" (Kadushin, 1959 in Chernesky, 1980: 243). The values and qualities that are considered necessary for social work such as warmth, cooperation, caring, and

⁵ The New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service in this thesis is abbreviated to CYPS.

participation are seen by society as feminine attributes. Women predominate as the main front-line workers doing the direct work with clients.

On the other hand administration is seen to require:

...ability and skills in problem analysis, negotiation and bargaining, fund raising and decision making. These are all instrumental tasks viewed by society as masculine, and thus the managerial model in social work, as elsewhere is conceptualised as a male model (Chernesky, 1980: 243).

Male stereotypic values such as competition, hierarchy, rationality and individualism pervade bureaucratic organisational culture. However in the social services with the large numbers of female workers it is not unreasonable to expect that the particular modus operandi of women would influence the nature of the organisation and its management structures. However one does not find this, as inevitably a small number of men at the apex of the organisation determine the structures, rules and regulations and consciously or unconsciously design them to promote the male characteristics in the management structure. Within such organisations there is often conflict between the "feminine" values and the "masculine" values. This could partly explain the enigma identified by Hasenfeld that social service organisations are seen as both caring and controlling (Hasenfeld, 1992: 8). Hallett speaking about the social services in Britain described those conflicts:

Social Services departments are, however, contradictory. They have a potential to provide valued and needed services to women and others, who are often vulnerable and disadvantaged, but they may do so on terms which are paternalistic, repressive and which have at their core sexist and racist assumptions about women, social care and domestic life (Hallett, 1989:43).

Summary

The confluence of the social services, management theories, feminism, and managerialism in the socio-economic environment of the 1990s produced great turbulence. Social services organisations, set up to promote individual and social change for the betterment of humankind, found themselves with fewer resources and demands for more accountability. Scientific management, reincarnated in the form of

managerialism, focused on economy, efficiency and effectiveness with the emphasis more on cost effectiveness than on quality of service. Social work practice and management changed significantly. The scope of the welfare state changed as the responsibility for welfare was transferred to the individual, the family and the community. Social service organisations became more masculinised. As a result there was an inherent conflict of feminine and masculine values in such organisations adding tension to the already present contradictions around ideologies, funding and client demands. The "gendered substructure of organisation" (Acker, 1992), accentuated in social service organisations, I believe, accounts for much of the feelings of discomfort women managers experience. The next chapter describes several studies of women managers in the human services. Through women managers' stories the effects of the hegemonic masculinity of organisations are heard.

CHAPTER 4

INEQUITY IN WOMEN'S WORK LIVES: STUDIES OF WOMEN IN HUMAN SERVICES MANAGEMENT

...these findings reflect a continuing fundamental inequity in the reality of women's work lives (Sheppard, 1992: 166).

I have discussed women in management literature from feminist perspectives, management theories and the nature of social service organisations. I now move to the third part of the literature review which is the research studies of women in the human services, including education, public service, social services and social policy.

Women in Educational Management

Mollie Neville's (1988) study of the careers of sixteen successful senior women managers in education, celebrated women and presented positive role models for women. She identified a female leadership style which included the following characteristics: the women managers had vision and goals; they shared power with others through collaborative decision-making; they empowered others in a facilitative way; they had courage and were able to take risks (Neville, 1988: 133-138). Some of these qualities Gilligan (1982) identified as being particularly female attributes. Caring for others came through as a strong value:

...all the women in this survey are emphatic about the necessity to retain their sense of gender and to take their love and care of people into their managerial roles (Neville, 1988: 144).

However, even in this small sample the managers displayed a wide range of levels of awareness of the effect of gender in their work. While some were acutely aware of the effects of gender, others showed little awareness. Neville commented that Marshall (1984) when finding such conflicting data, put it down to the women being, as Kanter (1977) described, "tokens" in a male-dominated world (Neville, 1988: 100). To survive in an unfamiliar land one needed to control or mute one's awareness of one's gender. Neville related that the women avoided the typically "female" roles in a school and

considered other ways "to work the system". These strategies were ways the managers "managed" the impact of their gender.

Neville's study was on women who had broken through the barriers in a male-dominated system and who were successful in that system. Neville asked:

..should it be just exceptional women who can negotiate these problems? If this is the case then social and political change is vital (Neville, 1988:100).

This study was a celebration of a group of outstanding women who had followed a male-type career path in a male world. It left unexplored the experiences of the majority of women in educational management and as the author said in her final chapter:

..it is also very discouraging in that it shows that only a few very exceptional women have access to power in a man's world (Neville, 1988:150-151)

Neville concluded that women needed to be "Superwomen" to succeed.

There was a paucity of qualitative research on women in management in general and in the human services in particular, in Aotearoa New Zealand until Neville's (1988) study. It provided a spring-board and base of knowledge from which other studies could develop.

Marian Court's (1989) study of pakeha women middle managers in education in Aotearoa New Zealand expanded on some of Neville's (1988) ideas. The focus of her research was the inequalities of power in gender relations within the women's home and school situations. Court argued that:

...if women's perspectives and values are to be adequately represented in educational administration theory and practice, there needs to be more than just a description of the ways that women who "make it" into management positions are working; there needs to be a *reconstruction* (Blackmore, 1989) of the present dominant paradigms (Court, 1989: 40).

Court (1989) described how male hegemony and capitalism maintained a patriarchal system where men were in authority and work in the public world, while women were the followers whose rightful place was at home. She postulated that this hierarchy was carried over into educational administration where women were seen as the teachers and men the leaders. "The hegemonic association of authority with masculinity creates dilemmas and problems of identity and validity" for women managers in education (Court, 1989: 110). The women faced resistance to their authority as they struggled to be accepted as leaders. Most of the challengers were men but some were women. Court said this could have been because the women as managers had stepped outside the norms of female behaviour. She saw this as a demonstration of the strength of male hegemony that the oppressed (female) believe that the dominant (male) have the right to lead:

The picture that emerged was that women managers were not readily "seen" literally as well as figuratively as leaders and decision-makers (Court, 1989:169).

Different ways of blocking the women were used, and at times the women felt "invisible" or "faceless" (Court, 1989: 169). But the managers developed strategies and skills "to negotiate problems caused by gender relations of unequal power" (Court, 1989:169).

The leadership values that these women demonstrated were ones which are often considered more as feminine qualities: nurturance, affiliation, sharing and cooperation (Court, 1989: 162). They combined these with the more rational skills of traditional management, such as being able to make difficult decisions when necessary and take responsibility to implement decisions, in a holistic approach to administration. They placed a high value on improving the quality of teaching and creating a supportive, sharing and empowering learning environment. Their management styles, which reflected the characteristics described by Neville (1988), encompassed a caring ethos and a sense of community and collegiality (Court 1989: 148). Court believed that affiliation, a quality shown by these women, was the quality described as participatory management today. One woman spoke about the need to be "...open and honest and admit you don't know everything" (Court, 1989: 151). This echoes the qualities of

honesty and authenticity as described by Marshall (1984). They liked to work as part of a team. One of the women described her leadership as "leading from behind" (Court, 1989: 170).

These values and ways of managing described by Court (1989) were in contrast to managerialism (Yeatman, 1987) which promoted control and individual responsibility, and an emphasis on output and not on process. Their style of managing did not conform to the traditional management ideas so it was seen as less valid and out of step with the norm. Court (1989) urged that women's ways should be valued rather than de-valued. She called for an acknowledgment that the "ways things are", were in fact "men's ways", and that women had much to offer in terms of the transformation of organisations.

Helen Astin and Carole Leland researched seventy seven women leaders (covering three generations), who had worked for change in education and public services in the United States. The women in this research included both those in key positions in organisations and those who were seen as leaders because of their influence as teachers. The researchers conceptualised leadership as the actions and behaviours of women who worked towards changing social institutions in order to improve women's lives (Astin and Leland, 1991: 7). Astin and Leland viewed leadership as non-hierarchical with the leader being a catalyst or facilitator (1991:11).

Four significant characteristics of the women emerged from the study : a commitment to collective action; a passion for justice and equality; a willingness to take risks; and persistent performance (Astin and Leland, 1991: 157-159). The women had ingenuity along with political astuteness, they used networks well, they integrated their abilities as communicators, strategists, and facilitators, and they were tuned in to their environments. They saw power as empowering, energising and to be shared. They had an acute awareness of injustices through personal experiences or family values, and wanted to make a difference. Thus they had a vision of change. They had collaborative skills and had the determination to do the necessary research on complex situations.

The research focused on the skills, values and achievements of influential women and what such women had to offer organisations, rather than critiquing the structural issues.

A recent study by Sue Adler, Jenny Laney and Mary Packer (1993) of eighty five women in educational management looked at the areas of conflict between feminism and the male-defined power structures of educational organisations in Britain. One of the first issues mentioned by Adler, Laney and Packer was that women managers had to compromise. A senior woman said: "One makes compromises - I hope I haven't made too many - when one is a woman working with a majority of men" (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 12). Other writers too have noted how women managers have to compromise often (Marshall, 1984; Carpenter, 1989; Mc Kinlay, 1990).

The issue of power was a recurring theme throughout this work. These researchers used Marshall's (1984) model of power as a way of categorising the women's response to questions on power; the divisions being personal power; structural power, power over others; and power through /with others (Marshall, 1984 in Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 96). When it came to wider structural issues the managers in this study did not think they were able to bring about change in their work place; most felt powerless. They thought they had personal power and power with others. They described themselves as assertive and strong in themselves. They believed they empowered students and staff by sharing their knowledge and their skills and by demystifying power. Overall there was an ambivalence about power for the women "there was clearly dislike for power in the sense of domination / mastery /oppression" (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 104). They generally preferred the word "influence". This, noted the authors, was related to how feminist theory saw power where power in the form of domination was an anathema.

The women in this study looked at alternative ways in which they could use the power of their positions and which "centred on connectedness and community " (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 111). Karen, one of the participants said that she disliked the power structures in schools:

Hierarchy, secrecy, deviousness, intrigue and all those kinds of words...I want to work in the opposite way, with openness, collaboration, cooperation (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 93).

The authors also studied images, power, femininity and dress (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 105). Clothes were something I did not expect to arise in the radical reading but when linked to power issues I saw the relevance. In this study the women expressed a variety of opinions on the significance of clothes. For some power dressing was "in", for others it was "out". To have dress as a serious topic of discussion is indicative of the impact gender and with it, sexuality, has in organisations and how these are inherently linked to power.

Adler, Laney and Packer's (1993) research confirmed what Shakeshaft found when she reviewed the research of educational management of the 1980s, that women managed differently from men (Shakeshaft, 1989 in Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 113). Caring for people, building relationships akin to friendship, and caring for the environment were important. The women tried not to fragment their lives. The private and public were part of a whole. The findings of Marshall's (1984) study which indicated that women had a greater range of ways of relating was echoed in this work (in Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 115). The women as a whole, valued relationships and:

...thought of their style as low-key or subtle and they tried to get things done by influence rather than by direct control (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 119)

The participants believed that a woman's style of managing was relevant in today's world. Women allowed space for others. In decision-making women appeared to be more democratic and collaborative, while retaining a bottom line. One of the women said: "You need structures and openness and consultation but the structures don't have to be patriarchal" (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 127).

The researchers believed that change could occur if managers worked differently, that is in a female way. Yet conflict, contradictions and paradoxes were clearly part of their working lives. The study concluded:

We see a contradiction today between being a feminist and being a manager in education today, although not between being a feminist and working with a feminist management style. There is an inherent contradiction between maintaining feminist principles and holding a powerful position in a linear hierarchy (Adler, Laney and Packer; 1993: 135).

Women in Public Service Management

Deborah Sheppard (1989, 1992) identified the invisibility of women's voices in organisations. She interviewed a small purposive sample of fifteen women managers in ten large public and private organisations in Canada to elucidate themes of their experiences in organisations. She asked them to compare their experiences with those of male managers.

One of the contradictions experienced by the women related to having to be both "feminine" and "businesslike". The women developed strategies of gender management to ensure they were "feminine enough" and "business-like enough" (Sheppard, 1992: 155). Most wanted "to blend in" as opposed "to claiming a rightful place" (Sheppard, 1989: 146). Problems around gender focused on femaleness, not maleness or genderedness, further evidence of the pervasive male organisational culture (Sheppard, 1989: 144).

Isolation was a common experience for the women in the Sheppard (1992) study. They did not have a map to guide them through the organisation; they did not have the informal networks and access to significant information. They experienced a lack of support as well as exclusion from various activities. They talked of not being heard or understood. They spoke of men, and some women, not accepting them as bosses. Power and politics, strategies for organisational survival and change, victimization and double standards, other women's experiences and relations with other women, and competing demands of work and family were amongst issues of significance for them. A double standard was felt particularly in relation to sexual harassment. Sheppard believed that sexuality pervaded organisational life and helped to maintain the patriarchal power structure but until recently had been an unacknowledged factor in organisational life (Hearn et al, 1989 in Sheppard, 1992: 157). There was a perception

that women had to work harder than men for the same recognition. The women's decision-making style was seen as more "person - oriented". One manager referring to her experiences, reflected: "We don't speak the same language" (Sheppard, 1992: 162).

Sheppard concluded by noting that women's organisational experiences were characterised by tensions and ambivalence, that they experienced "sex-role spillover", that is societal gender expectations being transferred to the workplace inappropriately (Nieva and Gutek, 1981 in Sheppard, 1992:165). She believed that women having to balance work and family "walk the high wire" (Sheppard, 1992: 165). Sheppard postulated that:

The embeddedness of sexism in social structures beyond a particular organization continues to profoundly shape the reality of the individual workplace (Sheppard, 1992: 166).

Gillian Coleman (1991) was another feminist scholar who addressed the issue of gender in organisations. She studied women's experiences (not only managers) in predominantly public service organisations in Britain. As a trainer of women in organisations, she noticed one of the themes coming through her courses, was that the women felt that they were "not taken seriously" (Coleman, 1991: 7). Usually the women interpreted this as a personal failing and this resulted in feelings of inadequacy. At times she herself felt:

...a strong sense of discomfort, which I associated with my awareness of my gendered self, and which has seemed to me to link in with the sorts of feelings of inadequacy and voicelessness reported by women participants on training courses (Coleman, 1991: 7).

Coleman noted that her unstructured interviews gave the women the opportunity to minimise the differences between men and women, but instead they talked about:

...the compromises, contradictions and pressures that being female in an organisation gives rise to (Coleman, 1991: 41).

Coleman identified five themes in the interviews and the group discussions. Those interviewed had "a sense of being at odds" with the organisation - "an awareness of difference" (Coleman, 1991: 41). This resulted in the women working harder to prove themselves. The next theme was that of "self-imposed restraint and withdrawal" (Coleman, 1991: 42). Some of the withdrawal was about self-preservation while some was about not being prepared to sacrifice things that were important to them. One woman said: "I let it drop. It was damage limitation for me". The third theme was the way they viewed work after becoming mothers, and the resultant tensions. The fourth theme was the "inward-orientated, relationship and process-based focus" of the women compared to their senior male colleagues (Coleman, 1991: 45). The final theme was not being understood. A manager commented: "You have to be able to speak the lingo or you can't get on " (Coleman, 1991: 47). Overall the women felt they were different from the male norm. One woman when talking about her experiences declared: "I had an abiding sense of being a Martian who had dropped in among them" (Coleman, 1991: 48). The women felt that small organisational changes, like EEO initiatives, were not enough. The main issue was that women's ways of being were not in tune with organisational life as it was. What needed to happen was the creation of new forms of organisation where women felt comfortable and not "deficient" (Coleman, 1991: 52).

Much of the discomfort was related to problems of communication and being silent. Coleman summarised Shirley Ardener's (1975) theory that:

...a dominant group within a society may develop an explanatory model of the world which then inhibits the development of alternative models by subdominant groups, which she termed "muted". Muted groups then have no alternative but to articulate their world through the dominant models....Such a description seems to depict very well the position identified by the women in this enquiry, mutedness suggesting not silence, but something to which particular attention must be paid if it is to be heard, and which applies not just to speech, but to wider forms of articulacy, to acting confidently, claiming space for issues, seizing opportunities (Coleman, 1991: 56-57).

Coleman (1991) found that there was no language to explain the women's experiences that had organisational credibility; it was seen that women were the problem or had the

problem. According to Coleman (1991), different ways of thinking, doing and knowing needed to be valued so that organisations became inclusive rather than exclusive. This would mean previously excluded groups could articulate their values and perceptions and be recognised on an equal basis to those of white males. Then different forms of organisational life could evolve.

Women in Social Services and Social Policy Management

Diane Kravetz and Carol Austin (1984) did a study of the experiences of fifty seven women administrators in middle and top management positions in three different practice settings in social welfare agencies in Minnesota and Wisconsin. They noted that women managers had to:

...perform at a superior level because the successful manager is defined in terms of a male model and male characteristics (Kravetz and Austin, 1984: 28).

When asked about their relationships with their superiors 68 percent of the women had experienced differential and negative treatment from superiors.

Common issues were: being viewed as less capable than men; being given less responsibilities and less autonomy; not being heard or supported; and being treated in a patronising manner...[they] mentioned a strongly-felt need to prove they were not a stereotypic female (Kravetz and Austin, 1984: 31).

The majority of the women reported differential treatment by their subordinates. Some male staff had difficulties taking direction from female managers. Most managers felt that being female had a positive influence on their administration. They saw themselves as open, less formal and more understanding than men. The women experienced being outside of the old boys' networks which put women at a disadvantage. However they countered that by seeking out support from women. The women expended considerable effort to be seen to be as competent as men, especially in the early days after taking up a management position. As one said: "...you end up carrying a lot yourself to prove how competent and strong you are" (Kravetz and Austin, 1984: 33). Almost half had been sexually harassed on the job. This form of

victimization, placed stresses on women and impeded their progress at work. However many stated that being female had not directly affected their hiring or promotions or salaries. This was not surprising as these women were successful in the system. The women saw sexism and related problems as part of their job and something they had to manage. The researchers made the comment:

...one must wonder what could be accomplished if less female energy had to be spent on dealing with sexist attitudes, stereotypic expectations, exclusionary networks, and harassment (Kravetz and Austin, 1984: 36).

While the Kravetz and Austin (1984) study looked at the experiences and perceptions of female administrators no indepth feminist analysis of the underlying causes of the gender differences discovered, were offered in that paper.

Eley studied the supervisory role of senior social workers in the Social Services Department in Britain from a gender perspective (Eley, 1989). She did a postal questionnaire and received returns from twelve men and eleven women. She interviewed a small number from that group. She was particularly concerned about the future of women in management in the Social Services Department as the number of women in directors' positions had declined in the 1980s (Eley, 1989: 155). She found there were gender differences in how women and men perceived their role and the male one fitted with senior management's perception. Eley applied Bakan's (Bakan, 1966 in Marshall, 1984) fundamental tendencies of "agency" and "communion" to her study. She recognised that the women managers worked cooperatively with consideration to process and sharing; this Eley matched with "communion". Within a male-dominated hierarchy she noted that senior women's contributions were "at the best undervalued and at worst ignored" (Eley, 1989:171). She raised the question as to what effect the managerial climate which emphasised effectiveness, economy and efficiency would have on management style. The concern was whether care and quality of life would be less of a priority (Eley, 1989: 171). Eley acknowledged the difficulty women managers had in trying to manage in a feminist way to ensure women's experiences were incorporated in social policy and practice. She encouraged women to get support from

other women to reduce isolation and to prevent being absorbed by the dominant male culture.

Roslyn Chernesky and Marcia Bombyk (1988) found a leadership style similar to the Eley (1989) study. This style was one of cooperation, participation and sensitivity and empathy to others. Chernesky and Bombyk studied ninety two women executives in top and middle management in human service organisations in New York and their perceptions of the gender differences in their approach to management (Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988: 49). The majority of the women felt they brought qualities to their work that men did not. The women stressed:

...their sense of caring and their concern for people as well as the quality of the environment, sensitivity to the needs of women workers, investment in workers, a cooperative orientation, openness in communication, a global perspective, recognition of inequities, and intuition (Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988: 55).

Their management style was non-hierarchical, participative and cooperative. Developing and motivating staff and including them in decision-making were part of their leadership style. Showing concern for their workers, for example in relation to balancing dual roles at work and home, and valuing them demonstrated their caring ethos (Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988: 57). The researchers viewed the women's caring and relationship values and skills as essential to administration in the human services.

McKinlay (1990) interviewed ten feminists in social policy positions in Government departments in Aotearoa New Zealand. Her study was in response to Singh's (1987) question as to whether a feminist could retain her feminist integrity and principles when working in a bureaucracy. McKinlay (1990) concluded that it was possible to maintain feminist principles although it was a struggle. Sandra, one of McKinlay's participants, expressed how difficult it was:

...trying to keep your values, measuring things against those values, but sometimes having to tone them down to get things through (McKinlay, 1991: 84).

I had had similar experiences as an EEO officer. McKinlay noted that feminist

management styles in bureaucracies could be an area for further study and her paper motivated me to explore this further.

The women in McKinlay's (1990) study faced constraints, dilemmas, pressures and conflicts. McKinlay found that all the women tried to ensure that a women's perspective was reflected in their work. They all associated "feminism with a belief in the inequality of and oppression of women" (McKinlay, 1990: 81). They were aware of the pressure to conform, and the danger of co-option for feminists and they had developed strategies to manage that pressure. They recognised the conflict between bureaucracy and feminism and the use of power in organisations. They were committed to social change to bring about justice. Yet working in bureaucracies had made them aware of the need to compromise at times. One of the participants said: "You can't survive as a radical feminist if you don't compromise a bit" (McKinlay, 1990: 87). They had developed networks amongst other feminist women that sustained them and assisted them to keep their feminist critique to the fore. Ferguson (1984) believed that bureaucracy imposed constraints on women and on the achievement of their feminist goals. This was seen in McKinlay's study where the women risked criticism and isolation. What came through was the marginality of the women. They were:

...working at the edge, pushing the boundaries...even the small gains they made were often at the cost of some compromise to their feminist beliefs and that the goals they were seeking were diminished by a realistic understanding of bureaucratic possibilities (McKinlay, 1990:85- 86).

Some of the women had left positions when the conflict between their feminist values and bureaucracy became too great. McKinlay concluded that:

...as long as these women retain their ability to use feminist discourse, and remain, "ideologically bi-lingual" they can use one discourse to critique their involvement in the other and so retain sufficient of their integrity as feminists (McKinlay, 1990: 87)

In my experience feminist women in such positions constantly feel this ideological pressure, the conflict between the organisation and retaining one's feminist integrity. It

is often at considerable personal cost. McKinlay enabled women's experiences in organisations to be heard but she warned:

The bureaucratic experience does impose limits on the possible, and even major gains from within look like mere tinkering at the edges when compared with the changes that women's equality really demands (McKinlay, 1990: 93).

Summary of Chapters Two, Three and Four: Literature, Theory and Research

The literature and theory on women in management, combined with the research studies on women managers indicated a similarity of experiences and ways of managing, in a range of occupations, in the United States, Britain and Aotearoa New Zealand. Two main themes emerged. One was the discomfort that women experienced in organisations. The second was that female attributes and values combined with their way of managing created a distinctive management style. In addition the feminist organisational theorists (Smircich and Calas, 1990) challenged mainstream theorists to re-vise, re-reflect and re-write organisational theory to include women and other "out" groups.

Women managers often felt "at odds" with their organisation. They experienced a lack of support and a sense of isolation. Feeling that they were "not taken seriously" was a common experience. Other experiences of not being understood, feeling patronised, being underestimated, feeling not heard, invisible or faceless indicated a non-acceptance of the women managers in their work place. Another recurring situation was that of being tested and having to prove they were competent at their job. This was associated with the feeling that they had to work very hard to gain recognition for what they perceived took less effort for men. Relationships with men whom they supervised were often difficult, as some men did not find it easy to take directions from a female boss. Sexual harassment came up as a hindrance to women's advancement, but not in every study. Amongst the studies were examples of women suppressing or muting their gender as a strategy of survival, of gender management. Those women seemed to be denying their femaleness. A concern for the women was the stress that the competing demands of work and home had upon them. The women felt guilty at not being able to

fulfil the female roles of caring for the family. The cumulative effect of these stresses resulted in the women feeling out of step with the organisation or felt marginalised. Compromise and constraint were strategies they employed to manage those conflicts. It was a juggling act, balancing the female world of work and home, and the male world of the organisation.

There were contradictions and dilemmas. One was about feminism and how it was viewed. Some managers were proud to name their style "feminist", while others used the label "female" or "feminine". The variance in how women saw the impact of gender also was noticeable. Power was an issue that raised a variety of responses and permeated all aspects of organisational life. The relationship of power to gender was integral and complex. These dilemmas reflect the enigma of human service organisations as described by Hasenfeld:

The fact that in many human services both the recipients and the frontline workers are women raise the possibility that the enigma of human service organizations may be rooted, at least in part, in the conflict between the feminist orientation and the current values, practices, and structure of these organizations (Hasenfeld, 1992: 8).

This literature also gave a picture of the attributes and values of women managers. What was most important to them was people. They were caring and nurturing of others. They valued working cooperatively. They empowered and motivated others. They believed in being honest and authentic. They were aware of injustices and were committed to the elimination of oppression. They were committed to working hard and achieving results. They were risk-takers. They valued a balance between their family life and work life. Some of these attributes are not the attributes seen as traditionally necessary in leaders. What does this mean for feminist management?

Emerging out of the literature were some feminist management principles and methods. I draw them together in summary.

Feminist Management Principles

A feminist manager is committed to:

- Affirming women and validating their experiences.
- Acknowledging oppression and working for structural change to eliminate all forms of domination such as sexism, racism, classism and heterosexism from our society.
- Working cooperatively, valuing team work and interdependence.
- Caring for others and valuing quality relationships.
- Creating structures and processes that share power and involve others in decision-making processes.
- Empowering others by the sharing of information.
- Valuing a balanced and integrated life, acknowledging the importance of home life and the wholeness of life.
- Valuing every individual especially those from oppressed groups and appreciating diversity of people and ideas.
- Valuing both the process and the task, or people and results.
- Consciousness raising and linking the personal to the political.

According to the feminist organisational theorists (Acker, 1990, 1992; Sheppard, 1992) the feeling that the women managers had of being out of tune with their organisation reflected the genderedness of organisations. Management was a male world where women were the outsiders. They did not fit into the norms of organisational life. Women brought to management their femaleness and with it a style of management that was not the same as the traditional management style. The women themselves knew that they managed differently from the mainstream. Feminist theorists illuminated the absence of women (and others) from the traditional theorising and advocated for a re-theorising, to include the experiences, values and style of women and other ignored groups. Others questioned the purpose of organisation as we know it - the bureaucratic organisation. Did women want to be involved in maintaining the status quo as seen in the current economic life style?

The Focus of my research

The focus of my research was the experiences of women managers in the social services. I wanted to explore how women managers, with feminist values, experienced

organisations. Although I, at times, had felt out of step in organisations I did not want to assume others faced similar contradictions and dilemmas. However, the literature in the field also demonstrated the conflicts women faced in organisations and this seemed highly likely to emerge in a study. I did not though, actively seek out negative experiences.

In my work I had seen women managers who were effective as managers, yet they managed in a different way from the norm. In the literature and research studies ten feminist management principles emerged. With these in mind I proceeded with my study of a group of eight women managers in social service agencies to see to what extent the themes in the literature and the research findings, and in my experiences, were evident in this sample. In the next chapter I describe how I went about the research.

CHAPTER 5

UNCOVERING THE FACTS: FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

Feminist scholars are engaged in almost an archaeological endeavour - that of discovering and uncovering the actual facts of women's lives and experiences, facts that have been hidden, inaccessible, suppressed, distorted, misunderstood, ignored (Du Bois, 1983: 109).

I set out on "an archaeological endeavour" to uncover the facts about women managers' experiences. I used feminist research principles and methods in this study because the theoretical perspective is feminist, the subject is women managers with feminist values, and I am a feminist. In this chapter feminist research and methodology is described, I explain my position as researcher in this study and then the profile of the participants as a group, is given. The research procedure is explained including the interview process and the data analysis process. Throughout the chapter I critically evaluate my implementation of the research method.

Feminist Research

Feminist research emerged, in the 1970s, as a reaction to the positivist, objective approach of traditional patriarchal science. Prior to that time, positivist, empiricist research was the major paradigm in the social sciences. That research was assumed to be value-neutral, and scientific because its results were measurable, definable and objective, with the players being emotionally detached from each other:

Objectivity, predictability, generalizability, logic, rationality, order and control are usually attributed to the traditional, patriarchal research paradigm (Cummerton, 1986: 83).

In traditional science it was assumed that research findings about white males were normative and could be generalised for all. A male bias was present in most research and in knowledge creation (Roberts, 1981; Spender, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983).

Men have controlled the research questions asked, thus the research serves to reinforce the dominant societal values rather than challenging them (Oakley, 1981: 26).

Because of male hegemony it is difficult even for some feminists, to see androcentricity when it is present. This was demonstrated by Calas and Jacques (1988) who found that in sixty nine research articles by women, on women in organisations, in five academic management journals from 1967 to 1987, they were :

...solidly within the traditions of the most heavily researched management questions. In addition, they not only ask the same questions as the literature by and about men, but they implicitly assume that the standards from that research are applicable to all people, men and women alike (Calas and Jacques, 1988:9).

Within academic circles positivist science still holds sway. Feminist research is a challenge to the status quo as its aim is to provide research for women in order to transform a sexist society (Cook and Fonow, 1986). As knowledge is developed in universities which reflect the dominant patriarchal ideology, feminist research is a subversive activity. Marshall identified the dilemma this poses for feminists:

Feminists face a key dilemma in their relationship to the established academic world. The route to legitimacy currently lies through addressing research to "them", and attempting to identify de-personalized truth. But amongst its purposes feminism includes the re-vision of social values. Established models of knowledge, and the attribution of knowledge development to academia as an elite social group, owe much to patriarchal values. There is no one way to address this issue. A strategy I favour, as part of a repertoire, is to strengthen the internal dialogue and validity of feminist research; to concentrate on "me" and "us" rather than becoming over-dependent on, or attentive towards "them" (Marshall, 1986: 208).

In feminist research the personal voice, the "I" is central. My own gender and my gendered experiences impact on this research (Court, 1994: 37). Jones, on writing about feminist research believed that:

The old distant voice of the objective observer / writer is seen as fiction, as a mechanism of power which ensures the domination of certain accounts (Jones, 1992: 18).

I concentrate on "us" and "me". It is qualitative feminist research, subjective, interpretive, intuitive and holistic. Putting myself into the text was not straight forward, which was to be expected. I experienced what Alison Jones said feminist teachers struggle with:

...the hegemony of academic discourse, which still asserts that the personal voice in one's accounts is an unreliable (biased), illegitimate and trivial one. The personal is still largely counted ...as outside of, and inferior to, the distanced, neutral and measured public academic discourse (Jones, 1992: 28)

Feminist research is based on the premise that women are oppressed by a patriarchal society that structures and controls their lives, and that the research must lead to social change to improve the position of women. Implicit in this, is the acknowledgment that society and complex organisations are inherently gendered.

One of the goals is to make women's lives visible, to have their voices heard, to affirm and validate their experiences. By valuing their experiences, by articulating and naming them, by relabelling previously denigrated attributes it is hoped that women are empowered individually and collectively. The patriarchal society has rendered their experiences irrelevant, invalid and uninteresting (Mies, 1983; Smith and Noble - Spruell, 1986; Van den Bergh and Cooper, 1986).

It is not enough to put women in the picture as liberal feminists argue (Eisenstein, 1986) but the picture has to change, as the picture is androcentric (Koedt, Levine and Rapone, 1973; Briar, 1993). Feminist research is for women not on women (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Harding, 1986). The subjects are those of concern to women. It is aimed at bringing improvements in their lives as they are brought into a state of "conscientization" (Freire, 1972).

Stanley and Wise presented the five propositions for feminist research that were devised by Judith Cook and Mary Fonow (1986): a reflexive concern with gender as all-pervasive; consciousness raising as a "way of seeing"; challenging "objectivity" and refusing to see experience as "unscientific"; a concern with ethics and not treating

women as research objects; and seeing research as a political activity (Cook and Fonow, 1986 in Stanley and Wise, 1990: 38). Stanley and Wise also discussed Margrit Eichler's (1985) four epistemological propositions as follows:

...that all knowledge is socially constructed; the dominant ideology is that of the ruling group; there is no such thing as value-free science and the social sciences so far have served and reflected men's interests; and because people's perspective varies systematically with their position in society the perspectives of men and women differ (Eichler, 1985 in Stanley and Wise, 1990: 38).

A feminist analysis involves theories, methods, perspectives, ethics, the totality of an issue. Feminism pervades the how, why, what, who and when. There is no one feminism so there is no one way of doing feminist research. As a consequence of that, feminist researchers use a multiplicity of methods (Reinharz, 1992). In my study I engaged in participant observation, action methods, content analysis, advocacy and emancipatory research methods. I now elaborate on this methodology.

Feminist Methodology

Feminist research methodology is the practical implementation of the theory. The commitment to empowerment and to the oppressed involves emancipatory research wherein the researcher and the researched become "the changer and the changed" (Lather, 1986: 443). This calls for collaboration, non-exploitation, mutual respect and as equal a relationship as possible. The researcher shares her power, knowledge and her tools with those who are the subjects of the research. A dialectical relationship develops between the researcher and the participants labelled "inter-subjectivity: the reciprocal sharing of the researcher's and the participants' experiences" (Westkott, 1979 in Cummerton, 1986). As Ann Oakley (1981: 49) said there is "no intimacy without reciprocity".

The subjectivity of feminist research is a distinctive feature, where "partial consciousness", that is, partial identification with the research objects, replaces the proclaimed value-free research of traditional science (Mies, 1983). This requires the open presence of the researcher with her biases clearly enunciated. Maria Mies

believed that women and other oppressed groups were better equipped to study exploited groups because of their "inner view of the oppressed" (Nash, 1974 in Mies, 1983: 121). Mies said that women had "a methodological and political opportunity" because of their "double consciousness" (Mies, 1983: 121). This is the ability to know two worlds, speak two languages, one of women, the other of the dominant ideology. This gives women the "reflexivity" necessary in carrying out feminist research (Du Bois, 1983)

Reciprocity involves the active participation of the researcher. Oakley's (1981) interactive research with women and their experience of motherhood demonstrated that interactive self-disclosure was essential to develop mutual trust and understanding. This dialogic method is oppositional to traditional interview methods.

Implicit in this relationship is the understanding that the researched are subjects of the research, not objects - they act rather than are acted upon (Mies, 1983; Duelli-Klein, 1983; Harding, 1986; Smith, 1987). Too much research has focused on women as an oppressed group - as victims who are acted upon (Graham, 1984). Research *for* women emphasises women as empowered, strong and active (Mies, 1983; Harding, 1986; Thompson, 1992). With the aim of serving the interests of those who are oppressed, the focus of feminist research is "a view from below" rather than a view "from above" (Mies, 1983).

Within feminism, there are different strands of theory, including liberal, radical, Marxist, socialist and anti-racist / Maori. Feminists believe there is no one dominant reality. As Liz Stanley and Sue Wise said:

The experience of "women" is ontologically fractured and complex because we do not all share one single and unseamed material reality (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 22).

Stanley and Wise promoted "academic feminist pluralism" saying that there was no one feminist theory or method (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 47). Valuing diversity is a

significant tenet within feminism. Stanley and Wise warned feminists to guard against asserting a feminist hegemony.

Ethics

I was granted approval for this study by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. I abided by their *Code Of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects*. Specifically the ethical principles I adhered to in this research were (beyond) informed consent, confidentiality, avoidance of harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity. Beyond informed consent implies that not only is the research non-exploitative, but it is aimed at being beneficial to the participants. I shared with the participants the purpose of the research, its possible consequences for them individually and collectively, and how the material was to be used. An information sheet (Appendix 1) and consent form (Appendix 2) was provided for each participant with the details on confidentiality and anonymity, so that they were able to make a decision in their own best interests.

Disadvantaged and oppressed groups are particularly at risk when researched. I was faced with the dilemma of "How do we explain the lives of others without violating their reality?" (Acker, Barry and Essveld, 1983 in Lather, 1986: 451). Feminist managers could feel vulnerable or be at risk of condemnation or criticism as a result of this study, thus reinforcing existing oppression and prejudice. Every effort was made to avoid this happening. Keeping their identity confidential through the use of pseudonyms was paramount.

I tried to keep the research as non-exploitative as possible. Collaboration, interaction, dialogue and as equal a relationship as possible are essential to empower the participant. Stacey (1988 in Thompson, 1992) queried the exploitative and interventionist potential of intimate mutual relationships such as those encouraged in ethnographic research. A collaborative relationship is one that builds trust and this creates an additional problem of participant vulnerability. As trust develops, participants share more deeply of their personal stories. In my research this happened. Some of the women revealed personal, intimate material. I felt privileged that they shared with me and trusted me. There

were times when I felt a little uneasy about being the recipient of such information. I hope that I have honoured that trust. Although I shared a little, and more in some interviews than others, they offered far more to me, than I did to them. At times I felt I was looking through a gap in their office blinds, into their inner-most sanctum. Although the relationship between the researched and researcher is claimed by some to be equal, in feminist research it is "inherently unequal" (Thompson, 1992: 15). I was doing this research as part of the requirement for the Master of Social Work so I was the major benefactor. I had to ensure avoidance of exploitation and abuse of my position as researcher.

My Position

As a feminist researcher I placed myself in the research. I was passionate about exploring this subject. As Strauss exhorted researchers: "Mine your experiences. There's potential gold there." (Strauss, 1987 in Court, 1989: 56). As a feminist and a manager I was an "insider". Not only did I, at times share my experiences with the women during the interviews, but also in the findings I have occasionally added my personal experiences. This is seen as a valid research technique (Bell and Newby, 1976; Roberts, 1981).

I recognised the experience and wisdom of the participants. I viewed them as colleagues in the field, though most had more experience than myself. Most had recent tertiary educational experience in subjects related to my study, so I expected them to challenge me if they wished. Power differentials, I hoped, would be minimised between the participants and myself. I had quite deliberately chosen a topic that did not involve me "studying down" or coming with "a view from above". I knew all the participants and our contact would continue, to a greater or lesser extent, after the interviews because of the nature of our work. This made me particularly sensitive to ensuring I did not exploit them or do them harm.

I was aware of my "conscious partiality", of my own experiences but also I knew that others' experiences may have been different. It was important for me to "de-centre"

myself as I had only a partial view or voice; the unvoiced needed to be heard (Haraway, 1988). I wanted their experiences validated, "to be seen anew" (Regan, 1990).

Research Design

Participants

The participants in this research were eight pakeha women managers in social service organisations in New Zealand. Some were friends, some were colleagues. They were chosen by a non-probability method based on my knowledge as to their interest and relevance to the research - this is sometimes called purposive or judgemental sampling (Babbie, 1988: 178). Although they were chosen on a non-probability sample:

Each informant is studied as a perfect example, an organic representation of his (sic) cultural experience (Mead in Honigmann in Burgess, 1982: 83).

...Anthropological methods of sampling, Mead maintains, are logical as long as the field worker expects mainly to use his (sic) data not to answer questions like "how much" and "how often" but to solve qualitative problems, such as discovering what occurs, the implications of what occurs, and the relationship linking occurrences (Honigmann in Burgess, 1982: 84).

I selected these particular women because I wanted women who could "articulate particular experiences rather than typifying or representing a larger group" (Sheppard, 1992: 155).

The criteria for choosing the women managers were that they were or had been managers in a social service organisation (not necessarily the same one, nor continuous) for two years or more, that they called themselves feminist or had feminist values and beliefs. I decided all would be pakeha, because women of iwi descent and other minority women have additional issues which could not be dealt with adequately in a study of this size. I acknowledge that this research therefore does not focus on the diversity of women with regard to age, sexual orientation, class and ethnicity. There has been research done that has excluded women of colour and others but which has been generalised for all women (Cannon, Higginbotham and Leung, 1988; Stanley and Wise, 1990). This piece of research can not be universally applied to all women (McRobbie, 1982).

The women ranged in age from the late 30s to the late 50s. The managers collectively had a range of family life experiences including: parenthood, grandparenthood, working within the first year of their child's life, single parenthood, separation, divorce, lesbianism, remarriage, widowhood. Six lived with husbands or long term partners. Six had children but only two women had school-age children.

They all had tertiary qualifications and most had more than one tertiary qualification. The qualifications were in a wide range of disciplines: social work, community work, sociology, anthropology, education, theology, youth work, social sciences, nursing, languages, teaching, business and management. Six of the eight were currently studying, the other two were considering doing so the following year.

The organisations where the women were managers included: a medium-sized church social service, a small, autonomous, non-hierarchical community agency, a small unit within a medium-sized church social service, a large church social service agency, a large national non-statutory social service, a large multi-faceted service organisation and a large, statutory, social service department.

Six of the women identified as middle managers, one as a manager and the other as a senior manager. The number of years they had in management ranged from 2 to 16 years. The budgets they had responsibility for ranged from about quarter of a million to three and a half million dollars, with the median being one million dollars. The number of staff they were accountable for ranged from three to seventy, with 16.5 being the median.

Overall they were a group of urban, middle class, educated pakeha women.

The Method

The method I chose was that of the semi-structured in-depth interview, underpinned by feminist research principles. Initially I had planned to ask participants to fill out a short questionnaire first, to gather demographic information (See Appendix 1: Information Sheet). I then decided to incorporate that into the interview, and ask them those details

at the end if they had not emerged. I had also given consideration to discussing data collection and analysis with the participants as a group, as well as individually, but due to time constraints and the added complexity of the method I decided against this.

The Interview Process

The semi-structured interview schedule covered areas of interest which were posed in open-ended questions. The literature, the theory, the research studies and my experiences guided the design of the schedule. This was piloted first with myself, then with three women managers, two in the social services and one in health. I found the original schedule too rigid so I made some changes.

The final semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 3) covered the following broad areas.

1. Their management job and their experiences in the organisation
2. Their work relationships
3. Their management style
4. Their values and beliefs
5. Their experiences as women managers
4. Their views on feminism and whether feminism had affected their management style.

I made contact with the eight women by letter (Appendix 4) first to ensure that they did not feel pressured to consent to be involved, especially as I knew them all. Enclosed with the letter was the information sheet about the study and a consent form. This gave them time to consider their response. All of them responded to me by telephone or letter and all expressed interest in being involved, although some had queries they wanted to clarify first.

When they made contact with me, four of the women questioned me about my definition of a feminist. Because there are many feminisms I did not want to impose my definition of feminism. So I responded by asking them if they considered themselves feminist or if they believed that they had feminist values and beliefs. Their

participation in the study was on the basis of having self-identified as holding feminist values and beliefs. All the women contacted said that they held feminist values and beliefs but for some there was a little uneasiness about the term feminist. One woman related: "I *think* I'm a feminist, but others may not. So I asked my staff, 'Am I a feminist?' They said, 'YES!' " Another commented: "I'm not a political activist. Like I don't write for feminist journals." Another lamented: "I think I have had all the feminism knocked out of me." One felt perhaps it was better for her not to be part of the research because: "It is feminists who have caused me the most difficulty; I'm not sure if that should be noted". Most were concerned about whether they were feminist enough for my research. However as long as they considered themselves to have feminist values and beliefs, whether they called themselves feminist or not, I wished them to participate in the study. I was aware of the ambivalence some women felt about the label feminist because of the somewhat denigrating connotation it has amongst the general populace. It was a great encouragement for me that they all willingly agreed to be participants.

The participants chose the time and place for their interview. I reiterated what was in the information sheet about the confidentiality and anonymity of the research. They each chose their own pseudonym. Three interviews were held at the women's homes, two in their office at work, and three at my place of work, in a room separate from my work area. They were held in October and November, 1994. With their permission I audio-taped the interviews. The tapes were transcribed verbatim, including my questions and comments. Because of the length of time it took to transcribe each one I used three different transcribers, with each transcribing either two or three. The transcribers each signed a declaration of confidentiality (Appendix 5).

Sometimes the time and location affected the interviews. For example, I was apprehensive in the first interview, and we were competing with outside construction noise. I was also mindful that I had said it would require two hours, and we were going close to that time, so I did not follow up on some things. That interview was less in depth than those that followed. It made me aware that for the others I had to "loosen up", as well as explain that the interview may be more than two hours in length.

As I went on I became more flexible in my approach and was able to follow the participants more and fit the questions into their flow of discussion. I used reflective listening skills and open-ended questions and gave positive affirmation when appropriate. I wanted to give them space to be heard, as so often women in their position have few they can share with, as there are not many other women in like positions. Most of them expressed how they had enjoyed the interview and some said it was a helpful process for them. One said:

I got a real chuff at being asked....And it's nice to know there is another woman manager out there who had similar experiences. It's kind of like, ah, there are others of the same species, you know.....I guess this is also part of my healing process, being able to go on and knowing it is valid for you.

Another summed up the interview process for her:

Your framework...has actually put a lot of things into place for me that I hadn't actually analysed in quite that framework before.

The interviews seemed therapeutic for some. This process was described by Corrine Glesne and Alan Peshkin (1992: 123) as:

Good listening with its attendant reinforcement, catharsis, and self-enlightenment are the major returns researchers can readily give to interviewees.

I believed that happened in most of the interviews. The women talked openly and freely. For some it was like turning on a tap; as if they could pour it out because, at last, someone was listening and was interested. Yet no two interviews were the same; there was an unpredictability about them. Each one left me elated yet sad, as I marvelled at the women's strengths through so much adversity and struggle. I was struck by the similarities of experiences. The women were keen to please; they questioned me as to whether what they were saying was what I wanted. I was touched by the depth of sharing and honesty.

Validity and Reliability

The validity of qualitative research is sometimes questioned by positivist researchers.

But participatory research produces different criteria for validity. In the case of feminist research:

Validity finally rests in whether the analysis "resonates with the experiences" of women (Richardson, 1990: 35).

Coleman (1991: 67) said that as a feminist researcher she believed that research had validity if she "knew" by experience the "truth" of the propositional knowledge related by others. For me I could relate to the experiences of the women managers, and if other women can identify with this research, then it has validity.

Marshall (1986) put forward that the criteria of validity should be focused on the research rather than the method, which was the traditional focus. She stated it was important for the researcher to be critically aware of the process, that it was open and that the researcher was aware of her own perspective. Marshall felt there should be different interpretations of the data and that the level of theorising needed to be appropriate to the topic. She said contextually what needed to be considered was whether the conclusion related to other work in the field and if the account was recognisable by people in the field (Marshall, 1986: 197). I aimed for these criteria to be met in this study.

To ensure the reliability of the data and interpretation of it I requested, by letter, comments from the participants on the draft of the findings (Appendix 6) and on parts of the final chapter (Appendix 7) before I finalised the thesis. I made some minor adjustments as a result of those consultations.

Data Analysis

The data analysis did not begin till April 1995 because I had pressing family responsibilities immediately after the interviews. The five month gap did result in my feeling more distant from the data initially, but I was soon immersed in it again.

I used a method of data collection and analysis described by Sarantakos (1993) as content analysis where significant categories are selected as the means of analysis.

Qualitative content analysis researchers "will identify and evaluate the items that appear to be theoretically important and meaningful and relate to the central question of the study...This process obviously includes both data collection and analysis" (Sarantakos, 1993: 215). I went through each transcription several times identifying the different themes. I collated the themes from all the interviews and they numbered thirty two. Then I divided a copy of each transcription up according to the themes, labelling the various sections, paragraphs, sentences or words with the relevant theme in the margins. Where a matter was related to several areas I put it in the dominant one with a written comment on it cross-referencing it. Then I cut each copy up according to these themes and put them in folders. I then collated them according to broader categories. These broader categories were Organisational Change, Struggles, Women's Qualities, Relationships, Management Style, Feminism and Management, with a miscellaneous pile including those that did not fit neatly into any category.

As I sorted the data I was exhilarated when I recognised the commonality and the universality of women's experiences. The words the women used were, at times, identical to some spoken by women managers and quoted in British and American literature. It seemed amazing. Yet there were other things that indicated that we, in Aotearoa New Zealand, had our own uniqueness and our own specific issues.

After all the transcriptions were completed I found something I would have liked to have explored more. One transcriber recorded every word, stutter, every "you know", all the repetitions the women made. The other transcribers sanitised the speech by removing the "ums" and stammers. It was only after reading Marjorie Devault's (1990) article entitled 'Talking and Listening from Women's Standpoint: Feminist Strategies for Interviewing and Analysis', that I realised how the women's manner of speech gave clues to what was behind the words. Devault postulated that our language does not always fit women's experiences so they struggle to find the right words to describe what has happened to them. The women's hesitant, halting and tentative talk is indicative of them trying to articulate previously unspoken experiences and then translating them into a language whose vocabulary is inadequate to describe them. Women's hesitancy of speech is demonstrated by this excerpt from one of my interviews :

I mean as I say, I've got a, a good mind and can do that kind of rational thing so I've never had any....in that, in that area....I don't, I, yeh, I don't know, Dianne, I (laugh), I'm not sure that I...

To do an in-depth analysis of the women's language and underlying meanings would now require me to listen to the tapes alongside the transcriptions and adding in what had been left out; a topic maybe for another paper.

Devault also noted that when "you know" was said to her during an interview, it was in fact, a request for understanding from her. She said that on each occasion she did know what the woman meant, it was a shared experience, and one that the participant was finding hard to articulate. She commented that: "researchers' own experiences as women serve as resources for this kind of listening...[it is] based on a type of unspoken knowledge" (Devault, 1990: 104, 105).

Editing women's speech to make it easier to read, Devault believed, distorted women's words and ignored those experiences of women that are difficult to express. She said: "Talk and interaction are thoroughly gendered" (Devault, 1990: 112). This is something I did not explore but it made sense to me as I perused the transcriptions.

In the spirit of feminist methodology the women tell their stories as it is their story to tell. Links to the literature are made as unobtrusively as possible to affirm and to validate their experiences. Let the polyphony of women's voices begin!

CHAPTER 6

THE MANAGERS' STRUGGLES

Social services departments are therefore...important sites of struggle and change for women (Hallett, 1989: 43)

Two major themes came through clearly in my study of eight women managers:¹ their struggles and their strengths. These themes, discussed in the next two chapters, mirrored those described in the literature as well as my own personal experiences.

In this chapter I focus on the struggles, which I discuss under the headings of organisational struggles and personal struggles. The first section is on the organisational struggles the managers had with the current emphasis in management on efficiency, effectiveness and economy, which was superimposed upon an already masculinist culture. The managers found there was a dissonance between their management style and the demands of the managerial climate. In the following section I discuss how the organisational issues affected the managers personally.

In the first two or three minutes of six of the interviews I was hit by a wave of strong feelings about the frustrations, struggles and difficulties experienced by the managers in their work. One said she was glad to be involved in research as it was "a place where I can be heard" and where her story could be told about the difficulties of being a woman manager in a male-oriented organisation. Another spoke of the "long torturous journey" of getting there. Another talked of her frustrations due to the lack of support and training, the clash of cultures and being "appalled" that there was an almost total male management where the large majority of the staff and clientele were female. Yet another expressed her feelings about "the aggro, manipulation and innuendo" she experienced. One woman reflected on the paternalistic tradition and the "floundering of management". Another told of the constraints of working in a bureaucracy which was hierarchical and headed by a male, dictatorial director. The final one spoke of "the

¹ I introduce the managers when I first quote them by describing their particular uniqueness within the group of participants.

constant struggles" and the frustrations of "constantly being walked over". These comments were in response to me asking them to talk about their experiences; there were no prompts to encourage them to focus on negative experiences.

Coleman (1991) had the same experience when she interviewed her women participants. She asked them whether there were points in their work when they experienced themselves as women rather than as employees, and rather than minimise the differences between men and women:

...they used the time instead to explore the compromises, contradictions and pressures that being female in an organisation gives rise to, and the extent to which they saw these issues as being questions of personal choice or responsibility, or an organisational responsibility (Coleman, 1991: 41).

That was exactly how the dialogue went with my group. There was a traversing of many issues moving back and forth from the personal to the organisational. Struggles, battles, fights, frustrations, survival, compromise were words that were used frequently in the interviews indicating that the managers experienced dilemmas and conflicts. The depth of discomfort varied from woman to woman but for the majority there was a sense of ill-fit or a dissonance for the managers who were in bureaucracies.

In presenting the results I usually begin with the women's comments to acknowledge their expertise and to have their voices heard, which is in keeping with feminist research methodology. I then provide a commentary reflecting on the literature, the research and theory. The primary focus of these two chapters however, is to hear the reality of the organisational lives of these women managers, and the secondary aim is to locate them within the context of similar research. I do not claim that my results are generalisable to all women managers but by linking them back to comparable research some justification can be seen for the generalisations I may make.

Organisational Struggles - The Impact of Managerialism

In this section I discuss six aspects of organisational life where the women experienced a sense of being at odds with their organisation: accountability, contracting, new

technology, conflict with practice, downsizing and organisational culture, bureaucracy and patriarchy. These issues were interconnected and were largely a result of managerialism (Yeatman, 1987; Eley, 1989; Hallett, 1989; Lupton, 1992; Duncan, 1995).

Accountability

The managers interviewed had no issue with the need for accountability and cost effectiveness. As Rachel noted:

Cost effectiveness isn't a problem; it's proving that we do what we do that becomes the problem.

Rachel, the youngest manager interviewed, made a deliberate decision to move out of a hierarchical bureaucracy some five years previously. She managed a small, autonomous, non-hierarchical organisation and was the only person from such an agency interviewed.

The quality of social work services is inherently difficult to evaluate and measure (Hasenfeld, 1992; Duncan, 1995). The service provider, the consumer and the funder have different needs and consequently have different criteria for success. Requirements of funding bodies were for outputs which could be easily measured. Anne Opie (1993), when researching caregivers of people with dementia, discovered that social work records in hospitals only recorded service provision. She was concerned that the emphasis on a "tangible, easily measured output which was seen to be responsive to the organisational action culture and fitted in with current political priorities" would lead to the elimination of the therapeutic component of social work because of the difficulties of measuring it (Opie, 1993: 8). Sarah saw this happening:

...it's more like "countability" to get more accuracy in measurement of the amount of what we do. The "accountability" in terms of the quality of what we do has been given a minus to second best place.

Sarah was the only manager in this study who had worked in a feminist organisation. She had been involved more actively and for a longer period in the feminist movement than any of the others.

Jess had moved out of her management position, with a sense of relief, into a non-management job some months previously because of the conflicts and tensions she faced in a rigid, hierarchical, bureaucratic organisation. Jess ruefully described what she saw as that organisation's driving principle:

They [the senior management] valued economics, that I could run the agency as cheaply as possible.

The managerial focus of accountability according to the managers in my study, was on costs rather than on monitoring quality or effectiveness of service provision. As Grant Duncan (1995: 162, 163) said when commenting upon quality control in CYPS: "The emphasis on outputs creates a further barrier to a high-quality, client-centred service....There appears to be an obsession with satisfying internal and political financial agendas."

Contracting

One way to monitor accountability was through contracts. The deregulated social service industry was expected to bid for services thereby encouraging competition between providers. The implementation of the market model philosophy of "Let the market decide", meant community agencies were forced to compete for scarce resources. This philosophy was contrary to both social work and feminist values of cooperation, sharing and collaboration, and to the way these managers wanted to work. The managers were placed in a dilemma. To gain a contract might be necessary for the survival of their programmes, but if they were successful that might mean the agency down the road might miss out and therefore not survive. However the managers of voluntary agencies spoke of being committed to working together to provide services and working to complement one another rather than to duplicate services. Rachel actively resisted getting into competition with other agencies:

We maintain our determination not to get into a competitive mode because I think that's what current policies and funding requirements and so on are actually pushing agencies to do.

The gaining of contracts was closely related to how service delivery was reported to funding bodies. The emphasis on measurable outputs could result in agencies concentrating all their efforts on quantifiable results rather than quality of service, to ensure financial survival. As mentioned above this could lead to the erosion of the therapeutic part of social work. This seductive aspect of contracting was a professional ethical dilemma for the managers. The tension between being accountable quantitatively to the funder and/or parent body, on the one hand, and accountable for professional service provision to the clients, on the other, while maintaining one's feminist values, was ever-present. It was these often conflicting demands on managers that caused the discomfort and stress they experienced. Yet they were all aware of these issues and worked hard at maintaining their professional and personal values while balancing the requirements of the organisation.

New Technology

The advent of managerialism and the introduction of the new technologies changed the nature of the tasks of both social workers and their managers. Even small agencies had to computerise, and staff had to quickly learn new technological skills. Computerisation changed social workers' jobs considerably and rather than releasing them to do more face-to-face work, more time was spent inputting data into the computer. The demands for more detailed information about costings and outputs resulted in managers having to be proficient in a wide range of areas. New systems were introduced with little training or time to readjust or consolidate. The systems introduced to monitor the increasing demand for accountability caused stress and a sense of being imposed upon. At times as a manager I questioned the usefulness of the statistics gathered and certainly whether the most appropriate data was being collected. Sometimes it felt like an exercise in futility. What was really the point of it all? The "bureaucratic nonsense" (Jess) arising from the stringent demands of funding agencies like CFA weighed heavily on some managers:

Bureaucratic issues [were] getting in the way of people issues (Jess).

Alyce, one of the oldest managers in the study, had the longest length of service in one

organisation. She made the following critical analysis:

The whole management theory is interfacing with practice issues.... In effect [managerialism] has changed the whole culture of the organisation too, right from the bottom to the top ...what they tend to be measuring with computerisation is not the competency for social services; it's actually the competencies of recordingor whether you can fill out the right bit of the computer to make the numbers count

Conflict with Practice

Jess, too had strong opinions on the managerial focus that the management of her organisation had taken on board:

...and the other thing that drove me out of management was all I was asked to do. One of the things that was hugely time-consuming was all those damn statistics...It used to drive me insane, then all the budgets on top of that. Management is becoming a balancing of the pennies really.

The implementation of managerialism led to philosophical conflict for the managers, between management goals and the focus of the social work profession. Each of the managers had their own way of responding to the demands of managerialism:

...one of the primary management tasks I see...is that we have got to be really conscious of the fact that the task we do is a client-centred task. It has to be client and family-centred and we have to manage that competently, and we have to find ways despite the mechanism and stuff to manage that properly (Alyce).

Anna, at the time of interview, was going through a re-assessment of her career; she talked about being confused and preparing for her exit from her agency. Anna did not agree with the direction her organisation was taking:

I don't want to be in this organisation any more. I think it is morally bankrupt...I think it has been so obsessed with new managerialism...I've had to say to myself I can't be part of this any more; this is wrong...The E business [efficiency, economy and effectiveness] actually conflicts with how they [the social workers] want to do their job...so what I do is I take the Es and try and translate them in such a way that it makes it O K for them to do their job.

Duncan (1995:164) when reflecting on the impact of managerialism in CYPS said: "The clash of cultures at NZCYPS is between a managerial culture and a professional social work culture." Overseas the influence of managerialism upon social services has been critiqued in a similar way (Yeatman, 1987; Eley, 1989; Hallett, 1989; Lupton, 1992). In Britain Eley, made the following comment:

The climate in which the social services departments now operate, with an emphasis on efficiency, economy and effectiveness, with strict central controls, encourages a model of management which encompasses competition and change, is achievement orientated and is based on control (Eley, 1989: 171).

The managers in my study faced dilemmas and conflicts due to major organisational changes. They felt as Alyce did:

Can I walk along the line that allows me to do what I actually believe is right to do as a professional social worker? Can I walk along that line and still remain credible enough to the organisation to keep a job?

Down-sizing and Masculinisation

Restructuring and downsizing of statutory organisations and the larger non-statutory agencies occurred as a result of fiscal restraints. The social work industry was in a constant state of flux as exemplified by staff stress, a diminishing sense of loyalty and the development of resentment towards change. One manager interviewed believed there was a "mismanagement of the restructuring" (Alyce). Comments about the new models of management indicated the degree of cynicism within middle management about current changes. Anna felt that it was just another way of saying "Let's get rid of the managers." Alyce reflected with some feeling about its effects:

I think that it is a really neat little idea someone's got in their head to cut out an awful lot of salaries...It's so down-putting. It devalues everything that you believe is important (Alyce).

As agencies went through the restructuring process the managers felt some anxiety as their own future became uncertain:

I'm going downhill at the moment - rapidly. It seems with each restructuring I lose some sort of level (Alyce).

With the downsizing that occurred in the larger agencies the managers observed that it was women managers and Maori who lost their jobs:

With restructuring ... Maori and women lost their jobs.....they were good women and they were strong women (Anna).

There are now less women in senior management than there were a year ago (Alyce).

The women believed that the management of the social services was becoming more male-dominated with the implementation of managerialism. Margaret was dismayed at the developments:

The organisation is going through quite a change...At Board level and senior management level currently it's almost all male. And I think it is appalling in an organisation that has got a work force which must be over 90 percent female and clientele that must be over 90 percent female too. So that's been fairly recent ...we've been looking to business for managers...Which is not exactly all we've ended up doing. We've ended up getting males.

Eley (1989) also noted this trend towards masculinisation in Britain, and Rino Patti (1984) in the United States. Not only was the masculinisation in terms of numbers and proportion of men but also in the style of management that was rewarded in the managerial environment.

Various feminists in the Australian public service have recently critiqued the effects of managerialism (Bryson, 1987; Yeatman, 1990; Eisenstein, 1991). Bryson noted that a senior female Victorian public servant said that not many women had faith in "the technocratic processes and bureaucratic measures" (Bryson, 1987: 266). Bryson described managerialism as having:

a particularly distinct masculine flavour...One top male public servant has described the current enthusiasm for restructuring departments as "a macho way to display organisational manhood"...[it] largely ignores the human dimensions of the work environment (Bryson, 1987: 265).

Organisational Culture, Bureaucracy and Patriarchy

The managers of this study worked mainly in bureaucratic, male management dominated organisations. However there was considerable variation in organisational cultures and how they were viewed by the managers. Several managers indicated early on in their interview that they felt relatively comfortable with the culture of their organisation but their later comments showed that the level of comfort might have been somewhat less than initially indicated, evidence of women's strategies of compromising, adapting and fitting into a male environment.

Rachel who had left a large, hierarchical bureaucracy, vowing never to return to such a structure, managed a non-hierarchical agency where the ethos was one of openness and consensus decision-making, underpinned by Christian values. She had built up this culture over five years as manager and naturally she felt very comfortable with it.

The organisation that Robyn worked for had a philosophy which was based on community development principles of consultation and empowerment. Robyn had been in a management position for the shortest length of time of the group and she was the only manager who specifically stated she wanted to be "the CEO" (Chief Executive Officer)². In discussing the organisational culture of her agency she stated:

It doesn't work perfectly but there's a cultural fit for me.

Barbara was the first manager I interviewed and she had overseas training and experience in social services. The organisation she worked for had a Christian philosophy with:

...a charitable culture in terms of working with the most disadvantaged...I have a level of comfort with it. I thought it would be more difficult than it has been but it could be because I have become part of the organisational culture. It doesn't jar.

Barbara qualified her statement on "comfort" with the thought that she could have been

² Chief Executive Officer, in this thesis, will be abbreviated to CEO

co-opted by the organisation and thus had her awareness blunted. The risk of being co-opted by the organisation was identified by all the managers in this study. Singh (1987) questioned whether feminists could work in bureaucracies because she believed they would "sell out". McKinlay (1990) however found in her study of ten women managers in the social policy area, that they were all conscious of this possibility and guarded against it happening, as did all the managers in my study.

Other managers in my research had more critical views of the organisational cultures in which they worked. Margaret had the longest management experience amongst the participants. She had just left her position a few weeks previously (without another position to go to) having experienced considerable frustrations within the organisation. Margaret spoke, on several occasions, of the "clash of cultures" evident within the agency: the family values culture, the industrial relations culture, the bureaucratic culture and the ethnic-sensitivity culture. Added to those was the male management culture. As a consequence Margaret felt:

They need to analyse their cultures and structures to see where they graunch...it seems that nobody hears (Margaret).

Sarah also portrayed her organisation as a mosaic of cultures where there was a Christian ethos, paternalism, a hierarchical structure, plus both traditional and modern management ideas. This resulted in what Sarah described as "the constant floundering of management":

There seems to be a wobble between bending over backwards to consult with staff and to encourage participation, and then to come down with something heavy-handed and autocratic.

This complexity of cultures, said Sarah, was the result of a mixture of traditional management theory, which reinforced the technical, rational approach, with the more modern approach which promoted consideration of people and processes.

The women spoke about the bureaucratic and patriarchal nature of their organisations:

[It was] patriarchal ..it was very controlling, you could hardly make any decisions without checking them all first (Jess).

Basically it is a male dominated organisation functioning on those sorts of white middle class Pakeha principles (Alyce).

Anna noted at her place of work:

These are mostly male things. You have to be seen to be doing the right thing, performing well, not causing trouble, not embarrassing anyone...Don't speak out of turn. It is still the patriarchy; the patriarchal models still apply...The good boys are the performers, the ones who perform well. They're always the boys because the boys know that despite what this organisation might say about EEO...You will go further if you are male...There is an issue of tradition in terms of the maleness the organisation and I think it still protects itself in terms of that...They have a culture all of their own (Anna).

Kerreen Reiger (1993) writing about gender in organisations believed like Anna that the technical, rational bureaucracy continued, just a little disguised as she described the characteristics of a more feminine style that men have taken on:

[It is] successful impression management - putting on a good face, knowing how to get around them, the ability to work in groups and to conform to the normative consensus of a group, and reliance upon the informal message systems as avenues of change...rather than the development of an environment really conducive to women gaining equality, fundamentally patriarchal relations remain, simply having taken on a different "face" in advanced Western societies with this change in organization style (Reiger, 1993: 22).

The experiences of women managers have been theorised by various women academics. Kanter (1977) believed there was a "masculine ethic of rationality" in bureaucracies but she thought that as more women moved into management positions so the culture would change. Ferguson (1984) took a more radical stance being adamant that feminism and bureaucracy were not compatible as bureaucracy was the source of oppression, creating and maintaining gender inequality as well as those of class and race. She rejected hierarchy and believed that bureaucracies had to be eliminated. Marshall (1984) too viewed bureaucratic organisations as a site for the male domination of women where women, especially managers, were "the other". The women managers' experiences in my study confirmed these points.

Summary of their Organisational Struggles

Organisational and societal changes and demands caused considerable angst for the women managers. Managerialism, lately imposed upon social service organisations, reinforced the technical, rational approach already present in the large bureaucracies with their masculine aspects of traditional management such as hierarchy, control and quantifiable outputs. This management approach conflicted both with the women's social work values and their feminist values. They wondered how long they could stay implementing policies which they did not totally agree with; at what point was their integrity and professionalism being jeopardised. Patriarchy and male hegemony was being maintained in these organisations. The women managers struggled professionally, as well as personally, as to their place in such organisations.

Personal Struggles

In this section I discuss the personal struggles that the women experienced as managers as a result of the organisational environment described above. They are presented under the following headings: invisibility; constraint, compromise and co-option; undervalued; isolation; put to the test; difficulties in relationship; demands of work and home; "out of kilter"; and re-evaluating their lives.

Invisibility

Several of the managers talked of feeling invisible, or not heard or not understood within their organisations:

You felt not listened to (Anna).

...being able to see clearly some of those things that need doing and not being able to get the message through somehow (Margaret).

I think if I'd been a male the sort of requests that I made for training and for other kinds of experiences would have been heard (Margaret).

In one of my positions I experienced difficulty in getting my viewpoint acknowledged or even listened to, when discussing matters relating to stereotypic male spheres, such as finances and buildings, with some men. It was as though my opinion was not valid,

not only because I would not have the knowledge, but also because I should not have the position that gave me the responsibility to make decisions. At times I felt that we were "talking past each other", a term used by Joan Metge (1974) in relation to cross-cultural communication which seems appropriate to apply to communication between the sexes.

Feeling invisible or not heard or not understood is an experience of women managers that has been identified in other research. In a British study a woman manager expressed a similar situation to Margaret's above:

I personally experience great difficulty in being allowed to go on any kind of training courses. My requests are either ignored altogether or brushed aside with stupid, uninformed comments (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991: 167).

Kanter (1977) coined the concept of women managers being "tokens" in organisations. She drew attention to the paradox that women managers were invisible as individuals because their personal characteristics were subsumed by stereotypical assumptions about women, yet highly visible as representatives of that group because of their small numbers (in Sheppard, 1989: 155). The managers in Court's study (1989), spoke of feeling "faceless." Marshall (1984) postulated that the experiences of the subdominant group, that is women, were muted (or silenced or distorted) to maintain the dominant group's sense of reality. Catherine, a woman in Coleman's study, commented on not being heard:

Sometimes you feel as though you are talking a different language, even though it sounds straight forward to you (Coleman, 1991: 47).

Gilligan made a similar comment:

Men and women speak different languages which they assume are the same (Gilligan, 1982: 173).

Do women managers have to be bilingual? That is, be able to speak the language of bureaucracy and that of the female world, interchangeably, as appropriate? This is

expecting women to adapt to fit in to the norm, the male norm. To counter this, feminist research aims to make women's voices heard with the need of no translation and to render women visible and valued (Mies, 1983, Stanley and Wise, 1983; Harding, 1987). In a patriarchal society, Marshall said feminists have to "listen to the voices of the muted tradition" (Marshall, 1984: 64).

To speak and not to be understood, to go to a meeting and to be ignored, to be interrupted and talked over are experiences of many women, managers or not (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980). These experiences suggest to them that their professionalism is seen as less developed than that of the males.

Constraint, Compromise and Co-option

Some managers felt constrained by the lack of autonomy they experienced within their organisation. Margaret was frustrated by:

...not being able to do some of the things which I felt as though I could do.

Jess felt controlled from above:

I felt like a puppet really...I had to struggle to be allowed to do things.

Anna used the words "dangerous", "safety", "fear" indicating the restrictions that she felt under:

I work for a government organisation that says there is a hierarchical power thing and I am part of that. So there is a part of me that says I can't let that go and if I do there will be chaos. And that gives you a lot of self-doubt and that's fear and it's safety...Yes, there are other things [feminist leadership] I want to look at and it feels like, sometimes it's a little dangerous to explore those things.

Another area of self-constraint came in resisting playing the boys' games as a means to achieve their goals. Several of the managers vehemently expressed their distaste of this practice. Along with the sense of constraint came the awareness of self-restraint often in the form of compromise:

You recognise that if you stick your head out too far in the wrong direction you're going to get it chopped off - and that worries you too because if you survive you wonder whether you've survived because you haven't stuck your head out enough (Alyce).

The managers were aware of the dangers of colonisation by the organisation. Alyce mused that it could be difficult to know if one is being seduced or not:

I don't know that I'm not being seduced into managing the budget in a particular way that I am...it's pretty hard to see when you're actually in the dimension.

There have been feminists who have left organisations rather than lose their integrity, disillusioned with the seemingly insurmountable barriers to social change. While others:

...sit here and try hard not to be co-opted, colonised, but they are part of it, I think you all become part of it at the end of the day (Anna).

Others stay, considering it worthwhile even if it is "just chipping away at the edges" (Alyce). They accept the nature of bureaucracies and do what they can:

So maybe I have sold out to the bureaucracy! I don't feel like I have, but I can see that there's room for the bureaucracy to change and I see there's room for me, and others like me, to facilitate that change (Robyn).

Some of the women felt they had to modify their behaviour to fit into what was expected. Feminists in organisations have been challenged about being co-opted by the organisation (Singh, 1987). This accusation had been levelled at me. When I was an EEO officer I became aware that some feminists saw me as a puppet of management; they saw me as having sold out. I was battling with management to bring about change but the organisational barriers, both visible and invisible and some not even known, made the task a gruelling one. I realised I either had to compromise and be satisfied with small gains, or leave. I left, when I realised my values and integrity were at stake. However some women work within the system fully aware of the constraints. Sandra in McKinlay (1990) spoke of :

...trying to keep your values, measuring things against those values, but sometimes having to tone them down to get things through (McKinlay, 1990: 84).

Sometimes it was a matter of strategic thinking; having gained credibility deciding how to use it in the most productive way. Occasionally that meant deciding what to fight for and what not to pursue. Sometimes the constraint was self-imposed for self-preservation. For example some women would choose what to challenge and when, to conserve their energy for significant issues. Coleman (1991: 42) identified this when she quoted Caren:

I stopped myself from engaging in debate in that [anti-sexist] training event, when I saw that the material was ridiculed. It was damage limitation for me.

Lynette Carpenter recognised this when she spoke of the dilemmas feminist teachers faced. They could remain teachers and not have to compromise too much:

Or we can choose to become administrators in the hope that at best we can effect significant and structural change and at worst we can influence small scale monetary and policy decisions and present a feminist viewpoint in political debates; in exchange we agree to pay the price of compromise (Carpenter, 1989: 44).

The managers in my study like feminist managers elsewhere, modified their actions to feel less vulnerable and as a means, long term, to achieve some of their goals. It was something that they consciously had to work on; to adapt and modify to fit in. McKinlay saw these strategies were a result of marginality:

Feminists are working at the edges, pushing the boundaries of the bureaucracy, pushing the margins of what is legal, what is acceptable or accepted, challenging the behaviour and language used within the system, and straddling the boundary between bureaucracy and community (McKinlay, 1990: 85).

Undervalued

The managers became frustrated when they found themselves under-valued or under-utilised. They knew that they had the skills and abilities that could benefit their

organisation but sometimes these were ignored. After Anna did some satisfying work for an outside organisation she thought:

...I've got some skills. I've actually got ideas...In my organisation after a while you get to the stage where you actually feel personally undervalued, that you have no skills, you have no ability... As a manager, as a woman, as an employee I felt undervalued ...You feel you have no currency in the organisation.

Another manager believed she was overlooked by the male management because her skills were "a challenge to their positions". When the women did effective work, they found sometimes the credit went to someone else, compounding the feeling of being unacknowledged and not appreciated for their abilities:

The other frustration is that of constantly being walked over - like constantly providing ideas for other people who get the recognition for them.....and when the crunch comes you apply for the job and you don't get chosen; the guy gets chosen...you wonder why you can't be seen; it doesn't matter what you do or how you posture yourself you're not going to be seen (Alyce) .

...when anything went wrong I would find that I received the blame for it and when everything went right he would take the credit (Margaret) .

When I listened to them I perceived a strong sense of responsibility in all the managers. They were committed to their work, worked hard and set high standards. But they felt unacknowledged.

Marshall too noted these aspects in her research:

These people consistently felt that their abilities were either unrecognised or ignored (Marshall, 1984: 131).

Marshall in a later study concluded that "organisational cultural resilience is a major factor limiting women's organisational acceptance" (Marshall, 1991: 5). She analysed literature on women in management in Britain, Canada and Australia and noted that the authors hinted at "covert, persistent resistance to women" (Marshall, 1991: 5). A similar theme emerged in another study:

Senior managers in particular appeared suspicious, even threatened, and were often unwilling to entrust responsibilities to women managers, even those who were obviously more efficient and experienced than males (Alban- Metcalfe and West, 1991: 167).

For my participants not being valued resulted in some self-doubt. Not only did the women's self-esteem suffer but they also questioned the organisation's policies and practices:

...so I applied for the position after it had been advertised twice. The first time I didn't because I thought, "Well, they don't want me". You go through that: "They don't want me," because I think nepotism still rules (Anna).

I sometimes needed to ask myself whether this was a matter of personality or perhaps it was something lacking in me, or whether it was the actual organisation and the way it was run that used to make me frustrated (Jess).

Some of the women in the interviews swung, within minutes, from being secure in themselves about their ability, to a hesitant questioning of their skills - they knew they were good but:

I know I am valuable. I know I am better than what I feel I am at the moment (Anna).

Robyn, one of the educational managers in Court's study, recognised these contradictions:

I don't know why I am so confident 'cos I've always felt quite insecure underneath (Court, 1989: 137).

Court reflected:

Thus, even for women as outwardly confident as Robyn was, self-doubt would creep in. This is not surprising in a culture where women are not ascribed a traditional right to be authoritative (Court, 1989: 137).

Women managers have entered a male realm where they are seen as "disturbing the established order" (Marshall, 1991: 7). As a result their abilities are not valued and they are often disregarded.

Isolation

Because women are in a minority in management there is not a tradition of female support, like the "old boys' network". This leads to a feeling of isolation. Even though the women seemed to have good personal relationships with their staff there were times when they felt alone. Some of this had to do with their role as manager:

[I felt] very isolated, very lonely...It doesn't matter if you try to be friends or be on friendly terms with people; you're never "one of us", you're still the manager (Anna).

The problem is, you do need to be alone - there is a difference between a manager and a staff member (Alyce).

When I was manager of a small unit within a large organisation I found the position lonely. Because of the special nature (in my mind) of the owner of the agency I distanced myself from the staff to a degree, because I thought I could be the translator or mediator between the two parties. To overcome that isolation I had a group of people with whom I consulted regularly. Middle managers are at that interface between top management and the staff, and move from one to the other constantly. For women that particular position can be very lonely.

However most of the isolation experienced by the participants and by myself was a result of being a woman manager in a male-dominated management structure:

You're isolated from the boys because the boys are the boys...You are not part of the boys' club...you're not part of the whole informal network like going to the senior management meeting on a Wednesday morning and they're discussing the latest rugby match or...how the yachting went...Women are excluded from that (Barbara).

The managers knew they appeared strong to others but at times they did not feel strong. This outward show of strength was, for some, a source of isolation. People thought they could cope, and often support that may have been welcomed was not forthcoming:

You see, I don't believe I'm as strong as other people perceive me to be. My strength sometimes isolates me, well, a lot...So I'm perceived to be a person who

doesn't need other people. I do, but I'm perceived to be a person who doesn't...Look, I'm just real ...I bleed you know, I cry (Robyn)

Robyn said that she felt "very alone", and when I shared with her the isolation of other women in management positions she responded: "Oh, I'm glad you say that. I thought it was just me".³ She was relieved to know that other women experienced what she did, then realised it was a broader issue around management and gender.

The theme of isolation was identified in other studies (Marshall, 1984; Marshall, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1989; Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991; Sheppard, 1993). For example in her study of the literature on women managers in educational management Shakeshaft found:

Women principals and superintendents, because they are tokens and because they are not included or do not choose to be included in all-male activities, often report less collegueship with male administrators and a deep awareness of loneliness at the top (Shakeshaft, 1989: 172).

Similarly in another study:

Another strong theme that ran through many comments from women was the feeling of isolation at work, of seeming to operate according to principles quite different from male colleagues, and the constant sense of being under close scrutiny and being tested by a suspicious audience who never appeared to accept you as one of them (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991: 167).

The feeling of loneliness was magnified when the managers felt under scrutiny as to whether they could do the job.

Put to the Test

Most of the women I interviewed felt "put through the mill" in the early days of their management position; they found they had to prove that they could do the job, to the staff or management or themselves or family:

I was still like an incredible outsider for a long, long time (Anna).

³ See Oakley, (1981) about reciprocity between researcher and researched.

The first year was a nightmare (Alyce).

One manager learnt after some time in the job that the staff had wanted a male; some managers knew that several staff found it hard to accept a female boss for cultural reasons:

I work in an office which is multi-cultural in make up and, of course, different people have different ideas about the perception of where women fit in their culture and you can see them looking at you with, "She's a woman and she shouldn't be there and she shouldn't be making these decisions and she shouldn't be telling me what to do" (Anna).

As Anna declared, the managers felt they had to prove to themselves, or to their parents (even when deceased) or to our patriarchal society, that they could do things:

I can achieve so much more and as a woman yes, there is a lot to prove.

I remember a comment that was made about me when I was appointed as manager of a small agency: "She will be a nine day wonder". I felt that in some quarters, people were waiting for me to fold and leave. I stayed four years.

This experience of being under close scrutiny has been identified elsewhere. Court found in her study that women managers in education had similar experiences in that they had "to win authority and the right to lead" (Court, 1989: 189). Neville commented on how female managers sometimes faced resistance as they were establishing themselves (Neville, 1988: 49). Marshall discovered that women managers: "...faced extra testing when others assumed that women could not conform to administrator norms" (Marshall, 1985: 138).

Though the women in my study were in a management job they knew that they had to work at retaining it. To gain promotion was another challenge:

The glass ceiling is there...whether I'll ever be allowed to get beyond now is what I don't know and I haven't been able to so far (Robyn).

The word Robyn used "allowed", inferred that other people held the authority and power to open or close the gate to promotion. Even though Robyn was reasonably comfortable in her organisation this comment showed she was aware of the organisational barriers that exist for women in bureaucracies.

Difficulties in Relationships

The women experienced some difficulties in some relationships primarily as a result of their gender. These were with three groups of people: with feminists, with men and with people of iwi descent and peoples from the Pacific.

With Feminists

Two managers, Robyn and Jess, talked with considerable feeling, about difficult experiences they had had with women who described themselves as feminists.

Robyn, when asked to participate in this study questioned her appropriateness to be involved because of the hard time she had had with women colleagues, most of whom identified as feminists. Robyn did not want to distort the study because she thought the situation would be quite unique to her; she also wondered whether this situation should be kept quiet as it could be seen as "letting the side down". However other managers in this study, as well as myself, had had similar experiences, so I considered this issue having arisen, was important to acknowledge. Robyn spoke of her situation, where having been one of a team of women, was without consultation, elevated by her manager to be their supervisor, introducing another level in the hierarchy. Following this, Robyn experienced eighteen months of :

...aggro and manipulation and innuendo about the way I work and other negative things aimed at me personally...It's the last thing I expected and those women claim to be feminists...I found it so hard to deal with, I think, because it was such a shock.

She was constantly challenged about her style of management and was accused of being non-consultative and autocratic and not having specific skills necessary for a manager in the particular field of work. Implicit in this was that she was not performing

according to her professional practice or feminist values. These experiences continued for a long time resulting in Robyn feeling hurt, disempowered, not respected and the victim of a poor process by her superior and the "professional jealousy" of her colleagues:

I guess there's a lot of pain still there for me...It hasn't put me off feminism...And my self-esteem still suffers, you know. I don't necessarily feel good about myself but I keep telling myself I'm okay (Robyn).

As a consequence of this Robyn struggled with her style of management. How consultative should she be? How much should she direct staff? Robyn was subjected to personal and professional criticism that was traumatic and debilitating:

I'm still not 100 percent clear on what I should consult on and what I shouldn't...and I used to be clearer and I think it's because I'm really very cautious about it and they've forced me to the point where I consult to death and I feel like I don't have any spine sometimes (Robyn).

Sarah, a veteran of the women's movement, was not a stranger to that kind of behaviour where a woman was attacked:

because of their lack of political correctness...that you're not being good enough from a feminist value point of view.

Sarah believed that people who had a commitment to social change also had a passion for being right. Conflict could arise where there were different interpretations on how those values should be operationalised. Sarah recalled that "women's organisations have been doing this to each other since the 1960s, in my experience".

The situation Robyn experienced could be viewed at the personal level as there were various personalities and their inter-relationships involved (which I have not explained), so it would be easy to see it only on that level. It could also be seen on the wider organisational level; that it was a result of organisational procedures and practices. Additionally it could be seen as the effect of a male-dominated bureaucracy on women (Ferguson, 1984). This last analysis could be difficult to uphold as all the "actors" were women. However those above Robyn's boss were men, as was most of the management

structure. Why did the women blame Robyn instead of Robyn's boss, or the procedure? Why did it become so personal? It could have been the disappointment that, in their view, professional and feminist values were not being implemented. Maybe it was easier for the women to blame Robyn, than to tackle their former boss and management. Bureaucracies constrain individuals as the hierarchy, through rules and protocol, prescribe what happens when and by whom. Both Robyn and her boss were working in that system. Some feminists believe one can not be a feminist in a large bureaucracy (Ferguson, 1984; Singh, 1987). Maybe it was the confining effects of the bureaucracy that created an environment for that conflict to arise and fester. None of the women felt comfortable; all were unhappy.

Jess had a different encounter. Jess felt she was being oppressed by her female superior who called herself a feminist. She found her boss controlling and directive. She sometimes by-passed Jess's supervisory relationship by giving Jess's staff directions contrary to those Jess had given. Jess did not have the autonomy she felt her position, experience and qualifications equipped her to have. She felt undermined and restrained:

I had to click my heels and salute all the time and was told I didn't show her enough respect...The relationship with the person above was suffocating...it was a long time before she could trust me to run my own ship.

Jess believed that her woman boss was brought in to manage the agency like a business as she had little background in social services:

She would say she was feminist but I would say maybe feminist in understanding about women's issues, but...managerialism for her actually stopped that from happening.

This is an example of where the ideology of the market, manifested in managerialism, conflicted with how Jess thought feminism should be implemented in management practice:

My idea of a feminist is that, as a manager...I am worth no more or less than she is, or worth no more or less than the people who work for me - it's just that I do a different job...But she didn't have that philosophy (Jess).

Her boss, a feminist, continued to implement instructions from above that could be described as managerial. Jess's values were clearly out of kilter with those of senior management which was part of the reason why she left.

In Robyn's and Jess's stories we were reminded that feminists do not think and act in an identical fashion. We also heard how disempowering conflict between feminists can be. Respect for people and a commitment to non-oppressive behaviour are tenets of feminism. These were seen to have been violated in these two situations which caused stress and disappointment. It is a struggle for women to manage in a male world; tensions with other feminists add to that struggle. The male hegemony of organisations prescribe the norms of behaviour in bureaucracies. As women managers move up the hierarchy they are pressured to conform to the rules. They try to fit into the organisational ways and simultaneously try to balance that with their own personal values and practices. It is "a juggling act" as Sarah said, or it is like "walking the high wire" (Sheppard, 1992). It is an uncomfortable place to inhabit. One is liable to drop the balls, or fall. One alternative is to compromise; another is to be co-opted by the organisation; another is to leave. Carpenter (1989) argued that feminist educators could stay as teachers where there were fewer compromises or move into management to try to effect some significant structural change in policy, but to do so would result in compromise. She exhorted those who chose to remain teachers to support the feminist administrators while acknowledging those limitations:

We need to be willing to extend some trust that [sic] feminists whom we regard are doing the best that they can do within the constraints imposed upon them (Carpenter, 1989: 44).

The difficulties that women managers face are inextricably linked to the fact that organisations are gendered (Hearn and Parkin, 1983; Hallett, 1989; Sheppard, 1989; Acker, 1990, 1992; Hasenfeld, 1992). Where women are managers in bureaucracies they are faced with conforming to the masculine norms of the organisation in order to

succeed. Women who appear to be co-opted by the organisation are seen as having sold out on their feminist ideals (Singh, 1987). McKinlay (1990) mentioned the dilemmas feminists faced working in bureaucracies where one could be required to operate in an authoritarian way at times. She also observed that to work in an egalitarian way could put feminist managers at risk as in a hierarchy the manager was accountable for the work of their staff. McKinlay also quoted one of her participants as saying that some women managers could be particularly hard on their staff because the bureaucracy pressurised people to conform (McKinlay, 1990; 91-92). Two respondents in another study had difficulties with female bosses "who appeared as discriminatory as past male bosses" (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991: 167). I believe it is the genderedness of organisations and the increasing masculinisation of management along with the continued thrust of managerialism, that exerts enormous pressure on women managers to "toe the party line".

Virginia O'Leary and Maureen Ryan (1994) took another perspective: that of the sex-role spillover. They suggested that there were "no established norms" for women to women relationships at work and as a result gender-based roles come into play with women subordinates expecting nurturing, caring women bosses. If women bosses acted in a different way there was a negative reaction. They added:

...therefore it is not surprising that women at work tend to react to women bosses as "women" and to men bosses as "bosses" (O' Leary and Ryan, 1994: 73).

An example of this was described by one of Court's participants who was faced with antagonism from women staff and Court (1989:117) suggested it could be because she behaved in "inappropriate ways for a woman".

Confronting the reality that feminists do not think and act like clones is a significant issue for feminists but one that has not been publicly aired to any degree. Hester Eisenstein (1991) commenting on the reluctance of feminists to wash their dirty linen in public asked:

But why is it impossible for us to find a way of discussing the sometimes terrible and searing conflicts that have arisen? The differences in perception, in style, in tactics, in negotiating manner and in political views among femocrats are significant...It is almost as if there is a reluctance to admit the possibility that women, and indeed feminists, might have as wide a range of views of the world as would a similarly located group of men. We would be better served if differences could be examined so that we had a better sense of how they arose, in what structural contexts they erupted and then - oh, unattainable ideal - if we could find ways to mediate them and restore solidarity (Eisenstein, 1991: 39).

I certainly found that it was with reluctance and some sense of disloyalty that Jess and Robyn discussed their situations. Some feminist theorists have called for understanding and discussion for resolution of these issues. There is not a large amount of literature on dissension between women and feminists with different value bases and different modus operandi in organisations, making this an area for further research.

With Men

Most of the managers found their relationships with men at work more difficult than those with women. Men tended to keep the relationship on a more formal level:

There's not the same kind of relaxed informality I guess I have with my women colleagues...there's not the same kind of friendship (Rachel).

Half the managers had experiences of some tension with men who were responsible to them:

My leadership is challenged constantly...I just deal with it for what it is; that it's his problem (Alyce).

...and of course they [men] found me offensive because I was a woman...I think they found me quite threatening (Anna).

Margaret recalled that some men were "argumentative," and "challenging" and treated her "contentiously":

In some cases I think I had to become reasonably heavy-handed. But in most cases I didn't. I just answered them non-defensively and gradually the challenging whittled away.

A similar non-aggressive but firm approach was taken in these situations by the other women who faced men, reluctant to accept a woman boss. The managers tried to build a collaborative relationships with them and were clear about their expectations of them. Anna reflected that all the men who were there when she became manager had since left:

I wonder if it was me? I think they couldn't stand the heat frankly.

Anna observed that she had appointed men since, all of whom she worked well with:

Other men when you bring them onto the staff are actually a lot easier to deal withbecause you were the one who brought them on.

The managers were equally clear and assertive about their role and the requirements of staff:

There have certainly been times when I have been treated patronisingly... but...There's only ever a few minutes that people would treat me like that and I don't necessarily have to confront it and say: "You're being patronising, don't treat me like that." I can turn it around by simply the way I manage the rest of the conversation and my tone of voice and my personal manner (Sarah).

Kravetz and Austin (1984: 33) in their study of women social work administrators noted that: "Several women mentioned that men have difficulty in taking direction and constructive criticism from a woman". Women managing men is a role reversal according to the norms of a male-dominated society. For both women and men this brings tensions that come with any so-called social aberration.

With People of Iwi Descent and Peoples of the Pacific

The managers spoke of their commitment to implement the Treaty of Waitangi and their support of Maori initiatives. They understood that to work in a Maori way sometimes did not fit the dominant (pakeha) way of doing things. They acknowledged the imperative to manage in a culturally-aware manner. Margaret said:

I found that in relating to Maori groups I can understand the sort of frustrations that Maori have in trying to work with a mainstream New Zealand society.

As an example Margaret explained that to call in the whanau in a personnel dispute, as is sometimes appropriate for Maori, might affect the organisation's legal position in terms of industrial law, implicitly acknowledging the conflict between the legal system and Maori custom. As she said: "It's actually quite difficult to marry them or work in one way or the other".

The managers were committed to justice and equity, being fully aware of the needs of disadvantaged groups particularly ethnic minorities. The managers believed in non-discriminatory practice but more particularly in the sharing of resources and modelling of partnership. In some cases the parent organisation that the manager worked for did not have an explicit commitment to the Treaty, and the women found they had to model the action they believed was required, and lead the way:

...what I'm doing is handing a lot of the power over to the marae to really make the appointment and there's not a lot of understanding [by the Board] about what I'm actually doing there...They [the Board] are saying if you think that's right...you've got the responsibility to do that...but there's a lot of doubt at first (Rachel).

However, despite their commitment to supporting and resourcing people of iwi descent and people from the Pacific some of the women experienced difficulties in their one-to-one relationships with people of ethnicities different from themselves. Several of the managers described situations that highlighted differences in ways professional practice was viewed in a cross-cultural situation:

We found ourselves debating the areas of boundary issues in terms of social work and counselling with staff...Is it appropriate for you to get your son to pick up your clients or to bowl into their houses?...So those professional issues become quite tricky in trying to work out what is culturally appropriate and safe professionally. Very, very hard. I don't think we've got all those answers yet by a long way (Margaret).

There were also examples of cultural differences in attitudes to women bosses:

I think there was a very strong hierarchical kind of structuring within his mind and he found it very, very difficult I think. Number one, operate without being told what to do all the time and two, to work for a woman really...I think working with people of a different ethnicity is like a...it's a discovery for me in a way...I've seen myself in the learning role if you like, in those relationships...that's been quite difficult at times (Rachel).

As evidenced in their comments above, both Margaret and Rachel, as did the other participants, wanted to understand and learn about other people's perspectives so that they could work together; they took responsibility for that. But they did not find that easy.

Different customs and ways of communicating impacted on the managers. Being pakeha women leaders sometimes placed them in an awkward position in regard to cultural protocol at meetings and special occasions, such as whether it was appropriate for them to speak or not. They had to work in different ways on occasions, acknowledging cultural differences. Barbara gave an example of when a great deal of talking had to take place with the whanau to reach a decision that, if she had been working in a pakeha way, she would have moved more quickly and consulted less widely. Margaret commented that Maori and Pacific Island people lived more holistically, with less division between work and family, implying that that was not always accommodated within the current pakeha organisational structures. Alyce too experienced tension between herself and others of minority group status. On her appointment she was aware that the staff wanted a manager of a different ethnicity from her:

Some of those people...were tirelessly confronting and I think they were doing what they had to do...but I'm still not the person they would want in the job (Alyce).

Alyce understood why they felt like they did, so she did not see it as a personal issue but rather an ideological one.

Because of different modes of communication, and different values and perspectives, some managers experienced tensions in their relationships with some people different

from themselves in terms of ethnicity. This was not easy for them as they were committed to working cooperatively with staff and committed to social justice. They felt conflict at times between their commitment to empower and resource people of iwi descent and peoples from the Pacific, and their professional and personal responsibility as managers in the social services. Matters that arose one to one with staff could be related to wider ideological issues, especially to power issues. As power-holders themselves in institutions that perpetuated their own value systems, the managers experienced tension between their formal position as manager and their feminist and social work commitment to empowerment.

Structural issues were never far from the managers' minds, and sometimes ethnic and gender issues were interwoven. In fact the difficulties between the managers and other ethnic groups arose mainly with male staff. This highlights the complexity of the interaction between women of the dominant culture with men of a minority culture. It raises the question of what is the professional responsibility of pakeha women managers in social services in Aotearoa New Zealand today, especially in relation to the tangata whenua and peoples from the Pacific. The racism of our society is reflected in the socio-economic and educational situation of the tangata whenua and other peoples of the Pacific. Pakeha women managers can be seen to maintain the structural inequalities and reinforce the racism. Therefore there is a need for pakeha women managers to examine their positions in the light of these issues. This study, by focusing on gender only, does not deny the need to examine the impact ethnicity, culture, class and sexuality have on organisational matters. Those are complex matters which warrant more in depth study than this paper allows.

Demands of Work and Home

All the managers felt conflict between the demands of work and the demands of family life. When asked about life outside of work three responses were: "Oh, is there such a thing, home and work?" and "What life, what life outside of work?" and "What about home? There's no time for it". All were committed to a balanced life. Their families were important to them as were the people at work: (5)

Basically things have gone in my life. My relationship I think is a bit tenuous. My housework has not been done...I don't have a social life at all...I end up feeling I have got obligations and it's not just my son or my husband...It's twenty people who sit behind me and who are a part of my life (Anna).

Anna spoke of the housework not being done, implying that women and housework go together, further evidence of our gendered society. Most of the women stated that they had to be very conscious of not allowing work to intrude too much into their personal lives. Some did this by ensuring there was planned time with their partner, time at the gym or some space for themselves. Most found little time for themselves. However one manager, Alyce, was at a different stage:

I've got to that stage in my life that life outside revolves around the second generation family...that's very, extremely, satisfying. You can go home and whatever has gone on during the day is totally unimportant to a six year old who comes to visit Grandma; you've got to switch it off really. So I have quite a life outside really.

Alban-Metcalf and West's study in Britain came up with similar themes. They found that the women wanted a responsible job and a satisfying home life, but as one manager said:

I'm accepting the fact that if you work in a male-oriented society you must solve domestic problems first (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991: 165).

Another manager from the same study summarised the situation that women managers face:

The interest of combining a family life with a professional life is complex, disturbing, satisfying and fulfilling - and one which need more research (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991: 165).

"Out of Kilter"

The majority of the managers felt "out of kilter" with the way their organisation worked. The focus on quantifiable outputs and the realities of managerialism with its emphasis on cost, was in conflict with their goals as professional social service workers

with the focus on client need. Alyce spoke of the dilemmas of having to remain in budget but knowing you were not doing the job properly because of lack of money:

...that's pretty difficult to live with and pretty hard to go home with if you are principled about those things.

Some managers spoke of being expected to implement policies that they did not agree with. Jess and Anna struggled to explain their dilemmas:

I felt I needed to be...What can I say?...faithful...loyal to the agency, but I would say to my workers, "This is a whole lot of codswallop and I don't want to be part of it". But I am. So I think, "Should I be doing this? Should I be saying this to them? Is this the right thing to do?" (Jess).

It's all this dissonance that goes on in your own head believing for your client group, the children, somehow their needs have got to be represented...but believing that other parts of the organisation are out of kilter with that. I mean it's like being a professional and being an administrator and those mixes and trying to get them to gel and to get them to actually mesh together (Anna).

The women also had an awareness of managing differently from the male norm. They did not want to act like men or to play games to get on. They wanted to be themselves, as women. This awareness of difference indicated the marginality felt by the managers:

The risk is you play the game of being the guy; that you start to operate how they operate. I can't do that...Posturing themselves with the people that make the decision so you'll be seen to be in tune with what they're saying...Doing it in the set pattern that's done and never trying to challenge it...We might do the nurturing and all the things to make sure we do the job properly but we don't nurture the boss to make sure we are O K. That's actually not part of the game and it's not acceptable (Alyce).

Barbara made a similar comment:

I think some women can succeed in management by playing a man's game like manipulating and playing up to them, telling them they are wonderful and all that sort of thing...That's not something I've admired or liked or actually been able to do...So there are other ways.

Women's awareness of their difference in organisations was identified by Coleman:

...a sense of being "at odds" with the prevailing "style" and value system of the organisation, an awareness of difference...Beth commented..."I have a totally different perception, almost of the world, of what's important and what needs to be done".....being a member of an organisation is an uncomfortable experience, at times profoundly so. It is an experience which articulates in many different ways, the "difference" which organisations are at pains to deny (Coleman, 1991: 41,54).

I have worked in several bureaucracies in positions that involved some management responsibility and which were concerned with issues of significance to women. I have often felt "the odd woman out". I have had to learn "the rules", and I am still learning! After one such "learning experience" in an organisation, I took a male ally with me to significant meetings, who was an expert in the subject being discussed. I did not, in the eyes of some of the male decision-makers, have mana. In order for me to achieve the results I wanted, it was necessary for me to have male support.

This theme of difference, of being "out of kilter" with the organisation pervaded the majority of my interviews. For the women the sense of being at odds with the organisation was exacerbated by their responsibilities at home. They wanted a better balance in their lives. For many, it was a time of re-assessment of their professional and personal lives.

Re-evaluating Their Lives

The majority of the women in this study felt so dissatisfied with their experiences as managers in large organisations that they were either going through a stage of re-evaluating what they wanted to do or had changed direction. Two had recently left their management jobs, one with no job to go to, the other to a non-management position. The third, some time previously, had left a bureaucratic organisation not wanting to return to a hierarchical organisation. The next was in a state of uncertainty and spoke of planning her departure. Another was concerned about her future because of the restructuring and would leave if she could get a comparable job. The next was "treading water" until she worked out what she would rather be doing. Another was

non-committal about how she felt and where she was going. The final manager wanted to stay and go to the top.

The degree of dis-ease felt by these women managers raises questions about the woman-friendliness of such organisations. A study by Marshall, being published at the moment, is on senior women managers who leave their positions. Early findings of this study reported in 1994 indicated some of the reasons for this, including the feeling of being undermined, wanting to be in control of their lives, the conflict, pressure and isolation, not being particularly self-confident and re-evaluating their own worth and values (Marshall, 1994: 195). My participants expressed similar feelings.

Anna was questioning herself about her future:

Then I realised for me I have compromised all the way along the line. Like you compromise your social life, your married life, your children's lives, and then I thought. Enough's enough. Maybe this is the right time. I still am young enough to move on and do other things...I want to reclaim my life...[we are meant] to be all things to all people. Which bits are mine?...It's like everyone wants a bit of you and you feel so filled up and where do you have a life for yourself and where's your bit? Your cup runneth over and some of your cups didn't get filled along the way (Anna).

Jess who had recently left a management position because of the frustrations explained:

It's really fighting up and supporting down...There were too many compromises.

Margaret who had recently left her position without another one, reflected on her future:

I'm really wondering whether I want to go into an organisation at all or whether I want to work for myself.

More women are thinking similarly. Women are beginning to look outside of traditional organisations for employment. It is evident that bureaucracies are not easy places for many women and some are entering into self-employment or entrepreneurial activities where they can be in charge and can create their own working environment.

This recent development in women's working lives would make an interesting study. Another direction for women who are dissatisfied with patriarchal institutions is to work in women-only organisations. In the social services there have been groups such as refuges and women's health centres established by feminists (Hyde, 1992) and run along feminist lines with "counter-bureaucratic organizational structure" (Rodriguez, 1988: 214). Yet another option is for them to go into ventures that operate in a more cooperative way. Alternatively some women are deciding to relinquish their management role entirely.

Summary of their Personal Struggles

The intrinsic genderedness of where the women managers worked, resulted in the women feeling, at times, invisible, not listened to, undervalued and not taken seriously. These things undermined their self-confidence. They felt keenly the conflict of their dual commitment to their family and to work. To survive in this unsupportive environment they used different strategies. They compromised, they restrained themselves, they managed their behaviour. In the literature this was called gender management; that is, to fit into a male world women modified their female ways to become acceptable to the masculinist norm. They were aware they could be assimilated into that organisational culture and were alert to remaining true to their own values. The feeling of being out of step affected the managers who were less experienced more than those who had been in management longer. Even so it was stressful for most.

Summary

The women managers did not find life in their organisations always easy. Most struggled with managerialism, a technical, rational, masculinist style of management. They were capable of managing in that way but this style clashed with their values and ways of managing. Although they agreed with the need for accountability, they felt that the emphasis on costs and economy threatened the provision of quality of client-focused service. Personally they found these issues difficult to deal with as they felt outside of the mainstream of the organisation.

For women managers there were dilemmas, conflicts, tensions, compromises, fights, battles, confusion, insecurity and pain. As Alyce described:

It's a constant struggle and it's never, ever over. The struggle never ends.

Why do they stay? It can be no surprise that the majority of the managers in this study were considering new directions.

However despite those stresses I recognised a vitality in the women managers. Maybe it was what Marshall identified:

The wild spirit of womanhood...the energy for female being (Marshall, 1984: 81).

This spirit of womanhood imbued their ways of being and doing which are described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE MANAGERS' STRENGTHS

She'd given up all the tangible things, but not her spirit...My mum learnt at an early age how to look after people and how to be strong in her spirit (Robyn).

Despite all their struggles, or maybe because of them, what shone through clearly was how strong the managers were. All the women exuded an inner strength, a strong spirit, often born out of adversity or struggle. They had genuine commitment to social justice values, underpinned by an ethos of caring. Interwoven with that was a quiet determination to perform to the best of their ability. Their management style portrayed those values and qualities, being a balance between providing quality of service while taking cognizance of the needs of interested parties, and grounded in a commitment to improving the quality of life for all, especially women. I discuss the managers' strengths in two parts; firstly their management style and then their values and qualities. Continuing the format of the previous chapter I generally start with the women's voices, followed by some reflection and linking to other research and theories. In the spirit of feminist scholarship I believe the women's stories are self-illuminating and need little commentary.

Management Style

The women's management style was not from the traditional mould. It was more people and process oriented; some researchers have described this style of managing as one of affiliation, meaning connection and association (Grant, 1988; Neville, 1988; Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989). These findings add to our understanding of the nature of feminist management. I describe the various aspects of the women's ways of managing under the following headings: service, participation, use of power, empowerment, relationships and commitment to the task and to excellence.

Service

One of the dominant themes that came through was that the women viewed the role of the manager as a service role - servicing the people doing the work of the organisation:

They [managers] service the needs of the staff; they service the needs of the organisation (Anna).

Management is one of the roles that an organisation needs to have in it that makes things run smoothly...It's pivotal. I don't know if it is actually more important because you can't do the work without the social workers. I am one of a team of people ..doing a task (Alyce).

These managers saw their role was one of facilitating and supporting other people's work. They affirmed and valued everyone's contribution seeing each person as having a valuable part to play. It was not a heavy handed, top-down approach of control and command, but one of enabling, with the focus being on serving the clients. All of them spoke of the pleasure of being part of a team and working together to achieve the common goal:

...bringing a team together and having a team of people who feel good working with each other and good working with me (Anna).

The creativity happens when the people are supporting each other (Margaret).

I don't get the mana but my team gets the mana (Robyn).

...I' d just be a resource person to be there to support people, encourage them, build trust (Barbara).

Marshall (1984) in her study spoke of the service approach taken by women managers and this came through strongly in my research too.

Participation

When asked to describe their management style the words that were used by the managers were consultative, participative, collective, collaborative, open, consensual and negotiative. These managers valued their staff and involved them in decision-making as much as possible:

...for me it's getting as much information as possible, talking to the people it affects mostly ...and then just going from that point on (Anna).

...if it's going to affect other people I don't want to impose myself on them. I do want to work in a collaborative way (Margaret).

Generally the managers did not involve the staff in financial matters like budgets or funding applications as the managers were responsible for those, or in personnel matters of a private nature.

We had to be culpable [sic] for that [financial] decision - that's why you can't always be collective - it's not fair to pass your responsibility down (Alyce).

Although the words consensual and collective were mentioned, in fact most of the managers used more a consultative or participatory approach where they presented situations to staff for discussion. Sarah believed that collective decision-making was a radical feminist approach but within a hierarchy this was not always possible though she "gave it her best shot". She described consensus as trying to reach agreement but if that was not possible, then everyone was prepared to live with the decision that she, as manager, would make. The managers wanted to be open about who would ultimately make the decision otherwise it could be misleading. For example, Robyn would be quite explicit as to where the responsibility lay for a final decision:

I'm going to ask your opinion, but I've been delegated the responsibility to make the decision.

It was also expressed strongly by several of the participants that if a hard decision had to be made, or if agreement could not be reached, they would make the decision knowing they held responsibility for the operation of their unit. Sarah said that she tried to work collectively but sometimes she "imposed a decision".

A comment made by a primary school head in Adler, Laney and Packer's study could equally be applied to how the managers in my research made decisions:

Decisions are made democratically but I have a non-negotiable bottom line to do with equality and quality, rigour and high expectations, but within that framework everything is discussed (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 123).

Participation by all is a feminist principle that is seen in its purest form in women's collectives, which use consensus decision-making. In management positions in bureaucracies, because there is accountability upwards, the degree of involvement is limited by the structure and is more of a hybrid. There can, however, be enclaves of feminist decision-making within bureaucracies (Weil, 1988), some examples of which were mentioned earlier.

Use of Power

All the managers had experienced the abuse and destructiveness of power in organisations and that made them wary of how they used their power. Their background in feminist values and social and community work philosophy made them very aware of this issue. They spoke of patriarchal organisations and power structures and their oppressive effects, the feeling of powerlessness as others exerted power over them. Sarah summed up how power was generally seen by these women:

To make the distinction between power to and power over: it's when people are using power over other people, so that it's an abuse or an oppression of the other people, rather than using power to bring about change that's positive and constructive.

The women did not want to be seen wielding power in an abusive way:

I don't want to look like I was exerting power....I don't exert power for power's sake...Because it diminishes people's worth and it erodes people's ability to grow... Seeing the CEO as someone who exerted power...makes me work totally the opposite (Jess).

Robyn said she was "cautious" of her power; Sarah said she used it "economically, sparingly". These women were responding to "power" in the traditional sense, meaning control. They saw power to be shared and used to energise people and empower others. Some of the managers felt they had no power; that the structure of the organisation and the power of those above them restricted their actions and decision making. One felt like "a puppet", another "quite powerless". Some of the managers identified that they had formal or position power because of their role as managers and that gave them

considerable authority. However they chose not to exercise that power in an autocratic way:

If I chose to exercise power all the time instead of working in a consultative and participatory way with staff and working basically on consensus decision making, I would have a much less cohesive team....It's just dead stupid to exercise power like that because you just don't get the performance (Sarah).

Some also identified that they had personal power because of who they were, their expertise, their reputation or their personal qualities:

...there are people who have technically got power but they don't have mana. So in fact people go around them (Margaret).

Some openly acknowledged they enjoyed having power:

I'll exercise a lead in a facilitating role with great comfort. I mean I quite enjoy it (Margaret).

If I'm honest, my own organisational power is quite neat. I think that people are dishonest if they don't recognise that they are in a position of some power (Alyce).

But Alyce was also aware that:

...if I start picking up the sword and try to use it as a powerful weapon then I'm in deep strife.

Some were still working at coming to terms with their power and "what it means to be personally powerful". The women were aware that being a woman manager could be seen as a contradiction in terms, because managers were seen as people with power but stereotypically women were not meant to be powerful. They knew the stereotypic view about women and power which depicted powerful women as being aggressive and not feminine. As Sarah said, she wanted to engage her "power" or "influence", as the women preferred to see it, in a positive way as power to bring about changes. Anna's view was the same:

What does power mean to me? It actually means the ability to effect some changes.

These managers came into management because they saw that was where the action was; where they had a chance to bring about change; "where I felt I could make a difference" (Robyn). Robyn had come back to a women's project some twenty years after she had started it to find that little had changed - the women were still being abused and the project was only providing band-aiding. It was then that she decided she wanted to be in a position where she had a chance to influence policy that might achieve long-term structural change.

Marshall (1984) described four kinds of power: power over others; structural power, personal power and power through and with others. The participants of my study recognised and were secure in knowing they had personal power; they were strong in themselves. They used their power to empower others by actively encouraging others' development, through mentoring and coaching. Although they recognised their position gave them power over others, they did not want to wield a heavy-handed type of power; nor did they see themselves having significant power within the organisation to effect structural change. Adler, Laney and Packer (1993) found the managers in their study too were ambivalent about power:

Many women in our study appeared to be caught between the male view and a feminist alternative, which we find unsurprising, as many, like ourselves, were working in environments reflecting the androcentricity of society as a whole (Adler et al, 1993: 105).

Feminists see connections between power and men, and see patriarchy as male power in action, with bureaucracy its primary location. For feminists, power is for sharing, it is empowering and it is infinite. The managers in my study were hesitant when they talked about power; they qualified what they said and showed ambivalence towards it. This was because they were uncomfortable with the connotation of control and abuse; they saw power for sharing through empowerment of others, to bring about collective action for social change. To me they were strong women, powerful in a way that was inclusive of others. It was not an individualistic type of power, it was a presence the

women had, a mana that was there for the benefit of others. They were generous, concerned and genuine people who had influence that they used for the betterment of humankind not, for self-aggrandisement. Adler, Laney and Packer talked of demystifying power and redefining it:

In redefining power, feminists seek to counter the emphasis on individualism, hierarchical relationships, bureaucratic rationality and abstract moral principles (Adler et al, 1993: 112).

I saw this focus in this group of managers in their commitment to empowering others.

Empowerment

The women were committed to the empowerment of others by developing their potential, by sharing information and having open communication systems and by encouraging the autonomy of staff. This seemed to give them the greatest satisfaction in their work. They actively supported and encouraged their staff in their ongoing education and their practice:

There's one thing that really turns me on; where staff line up at the door...they go through this scenario and they have an "aha" for themselves. And you see their face light up and they go off and it works for them. That's a really good feeling (Robyn).

Alyce spoke of encouraging women to do further study and how she watched one woman:

...move from that tentative, "I can't do it, I'm dumb", sort of stuff to the excitement of learning. Seeing that happen is absolutely exquisite; it's really lovely to see and watching that being integrated into the work and things changing.

The mentoring and facilitating of other's work by women managers has been recognised in other studies including those by Astin and Leland (1991) and Loden (1985). For the managers in my study, part of the process of developing staff included delegating responsibility to them. Giving individuals responsibility and encouraging them to take control over their own job was described by Jess as "giving them enough rope". Jess

was particularly strong on this as she felt "suffocated" by the hierarchy above her which limited her doing what she felt was professionally appropriate. To empower those disempowered like Jess, was an essential ingredient of the managers' agenda.

Relationships

The valuing of quality relationships and connections with others underpinned how the managers practised. They demonstrated respect for people and a desire to develop satisfying relationships with them:

I set myself to know all my workers' children's names and what was happening to them (Jess).

I still believe you have got to be in someone's orbit to be part of their liveswhen things go wrong I don't hide in my office, I keep walking that floor (Anna).

On the other hand one manager commented how her boss, a woman, reprimanded her for being "too friendly" with her staff, apparently believing friendliness could negatively affect the managerial relationship. Traditional management theory and practice, for example Taylor's scientific management (Bartol and Martin, 1991) accentuated the differences between management and workers. This fostered an attitude that managers keep separate from their staff. Although the women acknowledged that their role as manager automatically set them apart, they tried hard to create good relationships with staff and "reduce the distance". Rachel was quite explicit that friendship was very important to her at work. Others talked of the close relationships they had with some staff:

I can sit down and talk to staff on a personal level...I tell them about some of the stuff that causes me sadness and grief. I talk to them about my family problems (Anna).

However they were aware of the balance between being responsible for the operation of their unit and having good personal relationships. Sarah's comments reflected that dilemma:

My staff are all women...I think I relate in a very personal way with my staff. I don't keep myself very distant as a manager...Like in order to maintain yourself in a position of power you need to be reasonably remote and aloof from staff and I don't maintain that sort of thing. So I'm quite open to people and allow them to be open to me. In fact it's an area in which I work all the time to try to keep that in check, because I think I go a little overboard in that area. I move too close and I have to, from time to time, pull back,...[there are] some situations in which I have to exert my management control, for instance to keep people from spending too much time talking...or getting to meetings on time. On the whole I'm very open and one of a team and I value that because I think, especially in a small team, people need to be able to share themselves personally in order to keep functioning well with each other (Sarah).

However others preferred to keep a little aloof from those they managed, like not socialising too much out of work hours. Robyn commented that when one socialised with staff "it does change the way they perceive you" implying that for a manager it was best to keep a little distant.

Effective communication was the key to good relationships, according to the women. They believed it was necessary to share information; they worked at creating a culture of openness with information that went both up and down. The women also expressed their commitment to being available to listen to people. Several managers said they had an open door policy as far as was possible. Two women spoke of "walking the floor" to make contact with their staff on a regular basis. It was important to these managers to deal openly with issues as they arose and with the people directly involved:

I've got a real belief in making the covert, overt...I believe [I] have got a good, open relationship where they [the staff] feel that they could say anything to me and I can say whatever I want to say to them and that there is a mutuality, a meeting at a common ground (Rachel).

The managers found themselves being the go-between or the interpreter between senior management and the staff; they were the ones who translated communications up or down in a way that brought the outcomes desired by the woman manager. To be able to do this successfully required the managers to have highly developed skills in negotiation as well as knowing the rules and protocol of the higher echelons as well as those at the grass-roots. At the interface with the bureaucracy the managers had to be

able to easily slip from one world to the other; they had to be bicultural, that is comfortable in the bureaucratic culture as well as in the world of women and workers:

I'm a moderator and a mediator between my unit and the hierarchy a lot of the time. It involves me in developing my wisdom because it means that I have to frequently make wise choices about how I inform the management higher up about what's happening ... I'm doing quite a juggling act (Sarah).

This echoes what Weil (1988), McKinlay (1990) and Yeatman (1990) said about being bilingual and being able to move from one world to the other.

The managers had networks of support of various kinds and for almost all of them these support systems were essential to their survival:

The most important things for me are not the skills ...but it's been supportive relationships with a good variety of people (Robyn).

Over half of them referred to their partners as sources of encouragement and support. The women spoke of "off-loading at home" and were pleased that they had a safe place to express their feelings and someone who understood them and the work they were involved in; it was not that their partners resolved their issues but rather offered a sounding board and a listening ear:

...if I'm actually honest about it the most informal and most productive network that I have had to make me survive within the organisation was a man, an old man, my husband, because we both had a clear understanding of what we were working for and that he had an understanding of where I was working - he knew me well and when I was in a space that was bad he could actually be really supportive (Alyce).

Friends, both within and without the organisation, encouraged and supported the managers. For Sarah she found it helpful that her two best friends were outside her field of work, yet she found that:

It's been also important that in my working environment I have always developed working friendships that have given me people that I can consult with and unload to in a colleague/friend situation as well.

Friendships amongst women colleagues seemed to be one of the sustainers for the managers. Barbara, who worked in an organisation where all her peers and seniors were men, except one, had scheduled for every Friday afternoon, a telephone call with her female colleague. Some managers met on an irregular basis with other women:

[We] have lunch and sit down and blow steam (Alyce).

There was a range of arrangements for formal supervision. Some had had it regularly for years while others sought it when crises arose and a few hardly ever had supervision. Jess had to pay for her own as the organisation did not see it as their responsibility. Some were members of support groups of women, outside of work. The managers seemed to value their informal networks as much as, if not more than, the formal.

Developing and maintaining positive, effective and satisfying relationships was important to the managers. Well-developed and versatile communication skills were needed and the ability to work in the world of men and bureaucracy, as well as in the female world of people and care.

Commitment to the Task and to Excellence

These women were also committed to the task and to excellence. All managers talked about hard work, commitment to the task and a drive to do things to the best of their ability. They believed in going the extra mile to achieve quality. Robyn's comment demonstrates this:

They [the bosses] know when they ask me to do something it will be done really well.

They modelled to their staff high standards of service.

It starts with a leadership issue - I am really quite clear on what we are there for and I'm really quite clear that I set standards for myself and expect other people to adhere to those standards. In fact I think I'm probably quite a hard task master... I'm the leader and I've got to get on and make it work (Alyce).

They were not afraid to take a stand if it was about quality of service:

There were times when I had to pull a hard line. There were times when I would say to my workers, "Look, I'm sorry, that's not how it's going to be done. It's going to be done like this"...But those were issues of good social work practice that I would come down heavily on. If I caught them doing it [sloppy social work practice] I would haul them in and say, "I said not to do it. You're putting yourself and the agency's reputation in danger and I won't have it." So I was quite firm in that line, and I didn't feel bad doing it (Jess).

Setting high standards and expecting them to be attained did, on occasion, mean that the managers had to be directive and uncompromising. This could be seen as non-feminist, but the women held fast to their professional standards both as social workers and as managers. A number of studies quoted earlier had identified that women managers demonstrated "consistent performance" (Astin and Leland, 1991: 157). Being "high performers" was a characteristic also found by Loden (1985). The women managers in my study were achievers and "high performers".

We see that these women managers were both task and process-oriented which was in keeping with other studies (Helgeson, 1990). The women were systematic and valued their rational thinking as well as their nurturing side. They identified that they had skills in conceptualisation, analysis, organising and planning, as well as in relating to people. They had logical, technical skills often associated with a task-centred approach, which was seen as essential for managers. They were competent, effective managers, well-respected in the community. Their feminist values did not mean they were weak or easily manipulated or that they were less than balanced in their actions and decisions. They had a task to do, they were focused on it, and they believed in doing it well.

Summary of their Management Style

All the aspects identified above, that the managers served the people and the organisation, that they consulted and involved their staff, that they empowered people and shared information and that they valued relationships, are ways of being and behaving that reflect how women operate in the private sphere, that is, at home. They brought with them the skills and attitudes that they had developed as women, into their

management role. The metaphor of "mothering" that was used by Jess highlights this point.

These women did not reject their female ways when they became managers. These ways of managing are not styles that have been portrayed in the traditional management literature. We see women managing in ways that are non-traditional or different from the mainstream (male stream), yet are effective.

These managers had a confidence also in their ability to get it right and seemed to be able to balance the need to consider people processes alongside goal achievement:

I'm quite task-oriented in a sense and I like to get things done but I actually have a real fascination in the group dynamics and the processes that are used (Rachel).

The women varied their management style according to the situation. Anna described her style of management as "fluid", "contextual", "portable", "adaptive" depending upon the situation and this seemed like the way the others worked too. This is akin to the contingency approach to management (Bartol and Martin, 1991). Bakan's concepts of agency and communion as described by Marshall (1984) could be applied to the task orientation and the caring, relationship-building focus which we see combined in the ways these managers work. Regan's (1990) concepts provide an alternative way of theorising. Moving from the concept of soft and hard qualities she developed into the concept of the double helix (Regan, 1990). This was portrayed as two intertwining strands, one focused on role-specific tasks and the other focused on team-specific tasks (Regan, 1990). The women managers moved between the strands according to circumstances, thus operating in a holistic way.

Values and Qualities

The other significant area of strengths I identified in the managers was their qualities and values. These included: commitment to social justice, care and support, feminist values, self-confidence tinged with self-doubt, and emotionality, authenticity and rationality.

Commitment to Social Justice

All the managers were strongly committed to social justice and equity. They believed in fairness, non-exploitative actions, empowerment and opportunity for all. Recognition of Maori as tangata whenua was either explicit or implicit in all the interviews, as was the commitment to implement, in practical ways, the Treaty of Waitangi. Robyn was the most explicit about this:

What we see [in our organisation] is in ten or twenty years, if not before, there really will be tino rangatiratanga, truly self-determination by Maori....And it's been so exciting being involved in doing those plans.

This issue, which is of vital importance to Maori and pakeha, was not explored in this thesis. The position of pakeha women managers in relation to this warrants a separate study.

The women were committed to bringing about social change "to ameliorate things for people" (Robyn) as they believed there was no equity. Robyn was very strong in her conviction that:

there's not enough justice for me....We're not all born equal and opportunities are not equal and that's got to be redressed, addressed.

Robyn believed the place to bring about change was in management. She did not want to work any more to change people to fit the system, to mould them so that they adapt: "I want to change the system". Barbara expressed her values:

One hopes there are core values you would carry around in terms of justice, equity and empowerment.

The women individually operationalised their values differently with regard to this - some were quietly working in the background, others were more political about it. Social change was a prime motivator for them all. Their commitment to equity was for all oppressed groups, not just for women. Being female managers however resulted in them being particularly sensitised to the situation women face in management. Implicit

in the managers' ideas was the belief that we live in a patriarchal society that has resulted in women being subordinate to men.

Astin and Leland (1991) identified this same commitment in women educational leaders in the United States, as seen in the title of Chapter Four of their book: "The Common Thread: A Passion for Justice and Social Change". The leaders in that study "created opportunities to solve problems and to make a difference" (Astin and Leland, 1991: 157). So too did these managers in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Care and Support

Pervading the words the women used and the actions they described was a people-oriented approach. The managers wanted to make connections, to develop and maintain relationships. They valued people. They respected their colleagues, believed in the potential of people and worked to develop their staff. Gilligan, when writing about men and women's experiences, postulated that women follow "an ethic of care" (Gilligan, 1982: 164). This ethic of care can be seen in how women value making connections with people, building and maintaining relationships and responding to others. This concept of "ethic of care" could be likened to Marshall's concept of "communion" (Marshall, 1984) as described earlier. These women cared about their colleagues, their families and partners as well as their work. They worked at developing a sense of mutual trust which involved sharing some of their own life and having an open relationship with staff. Several of the managers remarked about the importance of friendship for them at work.

Those interviewed described collaborative ways of working, stressing cooperation and interaction. Their sense of belonging to the human race came through. These women managers cared, supported and nurtured. They recognised that they carried the mothering role into work without apology:

What you are trying to do is come alongside people and nurture them using that mothering metaphor again (Anna)

The managers felt it was important that people were happy and that part of their responsibility was to create a friendly and caring working environment. They did not stand alone but valued others' support and wisdom. The managers were not individualistically focused but had a collective approach. They were interested in their staff not just as workers, but as people with lives outside of work. The mothering metaphor was also used by women in Court's (1994) study. She remarked that this expectation (of providing nurturing) added to the work and stress of the female manager. Court drew attention to the contradictions that face women managers who are expected to be both consultative and caring as well as to lead and make decisions (Court, 1994: 40-41). These aspects of caring, nurturing, working cooperatively, building relationships and having connections have been identified in other studies (Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988; Grant, 1988; Helgeson, 1990, Coleman, 1991).

The caring aspect was evidenced in the desire of each manager for themselves and their staff to maintain a balance between home and work. Rachel, having moved out of a bureaucracy into a female-dominated agency, seemed more content with her balance of life than some of the others. Most of them were searching for a better balance and that was the reason several of them were looking to move out of their present positions because they felt too pressured. They valued home life, family and recreation and did not want their work to intrude too much.

Feminist Values

Feminism was an influence on all these managers' lives, both professional and personal. Nearly all the managers hesitated when asked about feminism. They were reluctant to label themselves as feminist managers. The ones that showed some ambivalence wanted it known that they were not of the "extreme variety", one passing that comment off with a slightly embarrassed laugh. Two made statements that they were not of the "male-hating kind". Most wanted to disassociate themselves with the extreme radical end of the continuum. They seemed to be reacting to the somewhat pejorative connotation the term "feminist" has within the general population. However two of the managers were unequivocal about being feminist and did not qualify the label. Despite

their mild protestations all the managers strongly and clearly expressed their feminist beliefs as evidenced in the following quotes:

I've always believed that women have the right to be who they want to be...I think women have been shackled, colonised or whatever you want to say, in a number of areas...I think choice and freedom for all women to be themselves is the foundation thing (Rachel).

If we're saying feminism is to assert the importance of things female and say, "Yes they need airing space in this world and they don't have it right now." Yes, I'm a feminist (Margaret).

Maybe it hasn't been all knocked out of me because I still believe I can make a difference, and I am a woman and I believe I use things that are natural to women, intuition, caring, nurturing...I still believe they are not valued (Anna).

...the realisation of the unequal place that women hold in society and that it has to be actively addressed...I have a fundamental belief that women can do anything (Barbara).

My beliefs are about each individual, and specifically each woman, having a value and an integrity and being valued for themselves, and not being judged according to their gender...It just doesn't mean equal opportunity, it means valuing the characteristics of women that have been traditionally devalued because they were women's characteristics (Sarah).

These comments collectively define feminism as including the following: an acknowledgment of the oppression of women in a patriarchal society; the valuing of every individual and particularly women; the valuing of the difference of women's attributes; a focus on the caring aspects of women's ways of living; and the need for social change and transformation to bring about justice and equity.

Some of the managers however, reacted in a negative way to the label feminist. They believed that men were threatened by the concept of feminism, and to label oneself a feminist manager was not wise, as that would raise the anxiety levels of the men one worked with, and would make things more difficult:

To protect myself I say I am a woman manager...I think the feminist label is a little dangerous because I think it scares a lot of people...maybe even me too...it's the issue of the label (Anna).

Anna used the words "dangerous" and said the term feminist "scared" even her. These are emotive words and are indicative of the misogynist society we live in. It seemed that some of the managers disguised their beliefs to avoid drawing attention to themselves and attracting antagonism. The managers had learnt how to strategise around such prejudice. They operated as feminists, label or no label:

If I really felt I was being instructed to do something that was quite unjust then I'd argue that, but I probably wouldn't be arguing it on feminist grounds. I'd be looking at things like the industrial relations issues, the human resource issues, the employment contracts. I wouldn't necessarily be saying that this is not a feminist way to do it; I'd be drawing on other value systems, I think....I'd look at what was most likely to be useful....In order to have any success in challenging a system about the way it's operating you've got to be able to appeal to values that that system has said it commits itself to, even implicitly...Feminism is not a value system that exists in a vacuum. Feminism has points at which it shares its values and makes links with values that are in all sorts of other values (Sarah).

The managers' feminist beliefs were formed in a variety of ways including their early family life, their education, their experience of discrimination and through positive role models. Two of the women recalled the hard lives their mothers had, and how they learnt from them about the importance of education, of striving and being strong and tenacious and of survival. Anna spoke of her mother as one who stressed the need for an education, as a means to get a job which would make a difference in life. Her mother became a widow while Anna was a child:

We saw her having to survive looking after all these kids...She always believed that women have value...My mother did [succeed on her own terms] in a quiet, unspoken way (Anna).

Tertiary education in sociology, the social sciences and social and community work had introduced some of them to feminism while for another reading *Broadsheet* as a teenager encouraged her embryonic feminism.

For some managers personal experiences of gender discrimination influenced their beliefs. More than one manager had her career options limited because of the length of training her choice required. Alyce, when competing for a job in the same organisation

as her husband, found he was offered a position before her, while the employers were concerned about her responsibilities for her dependent children (who were his as well!):

So that made me really conscious of the fact that you had to fight for your space. (Alyce).

Anna was disappointed to find that even after gaining a degree she faced sexist stereotyping in the employment scene:

You suddenly realise it's not about, "You are valued as a person". It's the issues of male control of organisations; it's still the boys; you are still just seen as "the little woman". You are still seen as the person who will make the coffee.

Rachel, when training in a male-dominated field discovered she had to be twice as good as the men to get accepted. Others found they got overlooked in promotions, even though they had the experience and qualifications.

Others came to feminism through positive influences. The example of other women who had succeeded in management was one such influence - the role models. Anna admired the "real gentle souls that got there quietly" and those who empowered others. Some of the women were brought up in families where it was believed that "girls could do anything". Another's strong socialist family background was a contributing factor.

The variety of experiences and influences on the managers is reflected in the different slants on feminism that was taken by them.

Risk-Takers

These managers were risk-takers and they often "took a punt" (Alyce). They were confident in stepping outside the boundaries of safety and security. They all showed considerable strength and determination to pursue careers and goals that were challenges to them:

I still see a challenge in every day. If there isn't, do I want to be there? (Alyce).

I was constantly aware of their strongmindedness and their sense of purpose. Their determination in some cases came out of the difficulties and barriers they had faced. Margaret, for example, had wanted to become a doctor but her parents thought the training was too long. There seemed to be resigned regret in her voice as she spoke. Much of the women's drive and determination focused on improving life for others:

I want to see things change...Keep fighting your good fight (Anna).

On listening to their stories I was aware of how hard they worked at doing their job and at accommodating the vagaries of it. They were not light-weights who disappeared at the first sign of trouble; they hung in there believing they had something of value to give:

...if you keep looking to avoid the mistakes you don't take the risks and risk-taking is part of management, you've got to be able to take risks, you've got to be able to take a punt on something and get the best information you can (Alyce).

These were women who were not afraid to take risks, to step out and to go against the grain of how society is structured, by working in a male-dominated area. They variously described themselves as "bloodyminded" or "stubborn" or "a risk taker". For them the challenges energised them and motivated them. This was demonstrated in their career paths. Most of the women moved around, either within one organisation or changed employers every several years. They did not stay where it was comfortable:

I think [I've succeeded] because I've got a lot of bloodymindedness and I'm extremely stubborn and there were times in my life when I wasn't prepared to give way and compromise (Anna).

In the literature the theme of risk taking came through clearly (Loden, 1985; Neville, 1988). Astin and Leland said that their participants had:

Appetites for challenge, problem-solving, and risk taking (Astin and Leland, 1991;126).

A couple of the managers in my study spoke of the influence their mothers had on them and that their mothers were their inspiration to aspire and pursue goals, even in the face of adversity. They described the hard lives their mothers had lived and how they had managed in severely testing situations:

...what I learnt from her [my mum] was how not to let go of your spirit (Robyn).

Robyn spoke of how her mother was "strong in her spirit". All the managers in my study were certainly "strong in their spirits".

Self Confidence Tinged with Self-Doubt

That the managers took up challenges showed they had a quiet confidence in their ability:

The whole range of experiences I've had over eleven years has given me so much more confidence to be able to move into lots of new settings. And be confident there is not a hell of a lot new under the sun (Alyce).

I come from a position of a kind of confidence in myself, in my ability and what I'm doing (Sarah).

All of the women displayed a strong sense of self. They knew their strengths and the areas that required developing. Some spoke of having had counselling or done personal growth work which enabled them to become more self-aware. They knew within themselves that they had skills and wanted to put them into practice. Most of them had a gentle sureness about themselves, but from time to time comments of self-doubt crept into some of their conversations showing a diffidence about the depth of their confidence. Robyn's comment demonstrates this:

...deep down I think I can do this and do it well.

All the managers recognised that they had abilities and skills and that they did a good job. It seemed as though some of the managers were a little surprised to find themselves now as managers because society did not expect women to be managers.

They were proud to have succeeded and it was a bonus when this was acknowledged by others. There was the satisfaction of:

...hanging in there for as long as humanly possible and being recognised eventually (Anna).

...if you survive as a woman manager there is a good deal of satisfaction in doing that, not only for yourself but for other people...well, you make an impact. You can actually do things that matter, as well as doing a good job. But it is a battle (Alyce).

I suppose, yes, there's a general kind of satisfaction about being a woman and being a manager and being in a position now ..that I would never thought of myself as being in (Sarah).

I am here, and I am a woman, and I feel good about what I do and how I do it (Rachel)

Much of the satisfaction appeared to be linked to the fact that to be a female manager was a struggle and to be able to achieve your goals despite the struggles was rewarding. One of Marshall's participants summed up this feeling:

Deep down you have your doubts, but outside...I am larger than life (Marshall, 1984: 140).

Emotionality, Authenticity and Rationality

Stereotypically reason has been associated with men and is valued, while emotionality, with a more pejorative connotation, stressing illogical, uncontrollable outbursts has been associated with women. Traditional management and organisational theory value reason, instrumentality and logic, and emotion is excluded. As Elaine Swan said:

Emotion is out of place in the rational organization ...The representation of reason as order and emotion as disorder is a symbolic constriction which has real effects for people working in organizations (Swan, 1994: 90,98).

The societal belief that the showing of emotions publicly is not acceptable, impacted on how the managers handled their emotions. However within the group there was a variety of responses. Some managers talked about how tears could give the impression

of weakness; others did not see it like that. Two spoke of when they cried for the first time at work, and how they wished they had not, but that they now let it happen. For some it was something they would prefer not to do, especially not in a meeting situation:

I just felt myself dissolve. I hate dissolving into tears in front of my boss because your natural reaction is he's a man, he'll just think you're a sappy woman and you can't cope. But it's not not coping; it was frustration, it was anger...I lost it. I lost the plot (Anna).

Tears come fairly easily...I find it awkward in a work situation (Margaret).

Anna, Margaret and others believed that it was good practice for them to control their emotions at work, yet recognised that they were emotional people. This was demonstrated in the way some of the managers cried behind closed doors. They chose to act like managers as portrayed in the rational and scientific model of management, which can be understood because that is the dominant model of management practice.

However there is another view of emotion that was held by some of the managers that emphasised the humanity of emotion. Rachel and Robyn demonstrated this. They wanted to be themselves at work and "be real", and if they were angry or frustrated, and cried as a result, then so be it. They wanted to be authentic, to be real and to be themselves and not to play a role. Rachel said she wanted to be "not afraid to be real and if I cry I cry":

I am who I am, you know, and I'm not prepared to be different than what I am in my work...I've learnt to accept the fact that I, Rachel, I get grumpy and bad-tempered and impatient at times and that I, Rachel, as manager will get like that at times too (Rachel).

I present exactly as I am. There's no pretensions...I did a lot of crying in those early days...But people know I'm human (Robyn).

It was the same for the managers in Marshall's study who wanted to be natural and authentic and not to put on an act (Marshall, 1984: 162). When personal issues arose at work Sarah maintained: "I feel confident in my right to be emotional". Some preferred

not to cry in public, which as I have postulated may have been to ensure they were not seen to conform to the stereotypic feminine behaviour of showing weakness or not being able to cope. Others felt they wanted to be themselves and they found that to show their emotions was, in a sense, empowering. Grant postulated that the ability of women to be emotional could be an asset to an organisation:

That women's ability to express emotionality, vulnerability, and helplessness may actually add a humanizing dimension to organizations is not a notion that is much in evidence in the management literature. However this humanizing dimension could have a very positive effect on the quality of life in organizations (Grant, 1988: 61).

The managers saw themselves as being both rational and emotional people:

I have quite a strong rational mind I think...but I don't hide my emotion (Rachel).

We've spoken a bit about the importance of emotions...and I think that's there. But I do pride myself that I bring some rationality and analytical skills. I think I have those quite highly developed and I enjoy using them (Margaret).

These managers were able to integrate these abilities (seen by some as diametrically opposed) into a holistic way of seeing and doing. Jess talked about women as "marvellous managers":

It's the same things you carry across: it's organisation; it's caring for people; it's managing the money; it's all those things. Those divisions are false (Jess).

Others too spoke of the integration of rational, task-oriented ways and people and process-oriented ways:

I think I've got good organisational skills and good conceptual skills ...I think I have a genuine concern for people (Barbara).

I'm good at organising, setting forth how things ought to be done, seeing the whole picture and I think I'm really quite good at motivating people to do things, and the way I do that is through this team collegiality thing (Jess).

The managers knew they had valuable attributes in terms of people skills and emotionality and nurturing, which could be seen as feminine. They also knew they had stereotypic masculine attributes of organisation, logical thinking and rationality. They knew that the masculine qualities were valued more but they prized the qualities and skills of their womanhood as well. As Swan said:

Masculine attributes symbolize good management. Feminine attributes may symbolize good female management but not good management per se. Women managers, like emotion, are marginalised, put behind the construct of "female management" and kept controlled within the spaces of specialized "female" roles and lower ranks (Swan, 1994: 107).

In conclusion, we need to consider the nature of society that creates such knowledge:

In the past it has been white, middle-class, homophobic men who, to the exclusion of all women, have devised the symbolic structures which define what is legitimate (Swan, 1994: 107).

Summary of their Values and Qualities

These women were caring and committed to social justice. Although they were outwardly confident they had periods of self doubt. Being true to themselves was important. Feminist beliefs influenced their values and actions. They showed considerable inner strength - they were "strong in their spirits".

Summary

These managers had integrated their personal values and beliefs into their own unique way of managing. Most of them felt at peace with their style of management. The majority of them called themselves managers who were feminist, rather than feminist managers. For some it was because they were working in hierarchical organisations that had no stated commitment to feminism while for others it was that the term feminism scared people and that may work against them. Some felt it was because feminism was only one part of their beliefs and style as they incorporated into their work other values as well as feminism. For most, all these dimensions applied to greater or lesser degrees:

I have come to my way of working now as a way of bringing as much of my feminist principles and values to bear as I can, given that I am working in a hierarchical setting where there is no acknowledgment of that value system (Sarah).

I saw in these women a wholeness, a completeness about them that could not be labelled or put into a box. They were themselves, uniquely shaped by their experiences as women. They liked being women. They were all articulate, reflective, caring and feeling people. They valued their experiences and they believed they offered something that may be different but equally valuable: women's ways of being, knowing and doing.

I take their qualities and values and ways of managing, consider them alongside the literature, and in the last chapter present a model of managing in a feminist way.

CHAPTER 8

AN INCLUSIVE AND TRANSFORMATIONAL STYLE OF MANAGEMENT

To "live one's stance in the world"...is a transformational act (Bricker-Jenkins, 1991: 301).

Women managing in a feminist way have much to offer organisations. They are a "goldmine that the organisation does not value as much as it should" (Anna). Before I began this study I observed women to be effective managers, even though they may have had a different style from what was considered the norm in organisations.

In reading the literature, I identified ten main attributes of feminist management. Feminist managers were committed to: affirming women; acknowledging oppression; working cooperatively; caring for others; creating democratic structures; empowering others; valuing a balanced life; valuing every individual; valuing both task and process; and consciousness raising. I found that these attributes were also evident in the practice of the women managers of my study, all of whom had self-identified as holding feminist beliefs and values. What emerged was an in-depth, rich understanding of the skills and strengths of these women managers.

It was not my intention to generalise or be prescriptive. Firstly, not all women are feminists therefore not all women practice in the way described. Conversely, women may manage in a feminist way without necessarily labelling it as feminist. There is no one feminist management style. Each woman manager develops a style that suits her way of being and working, the organisational context, the situation and the people with whom she is working. The feminist management practice principles that I now present are the results of my research and are how I see feminist management.

My study also identified the struggles that women experienced as managers. I postulated that the struggles were the result of both the gendered nature of organisations and the impact of managerialism, a tool of the market economy. The managers struggled to meet the demands of organisations whose culture did not fit with their way

of thinking, doing and being. Yet in spite of the struggles experienced by women managers I propose that feminist management practice can be a vehicle for social transformation.

In this final chapter I present a model of feminist management practice, I draw together the key strands of the study, and I conclude with some suggestions for further research.

Feminist Management Practice Principles

Managers with feminist values are committed to four principles of theory and practice. The first principle is the commitment to inclusive relationships. Four specific principles make up this first general principle, caring for people, empowerment of others, working cooperatively, and encouraging diversity of peoples and perspectives. The second principle is the commitment to social transformation. The third principle is the commitment to women's well-being. The fourth principle is the commitment to quality of service. Feminist managers operate in an holistic framework of inter-relationships as illustrated in Figure 2. The details of feminist management practice principles are shown in Figure 3.

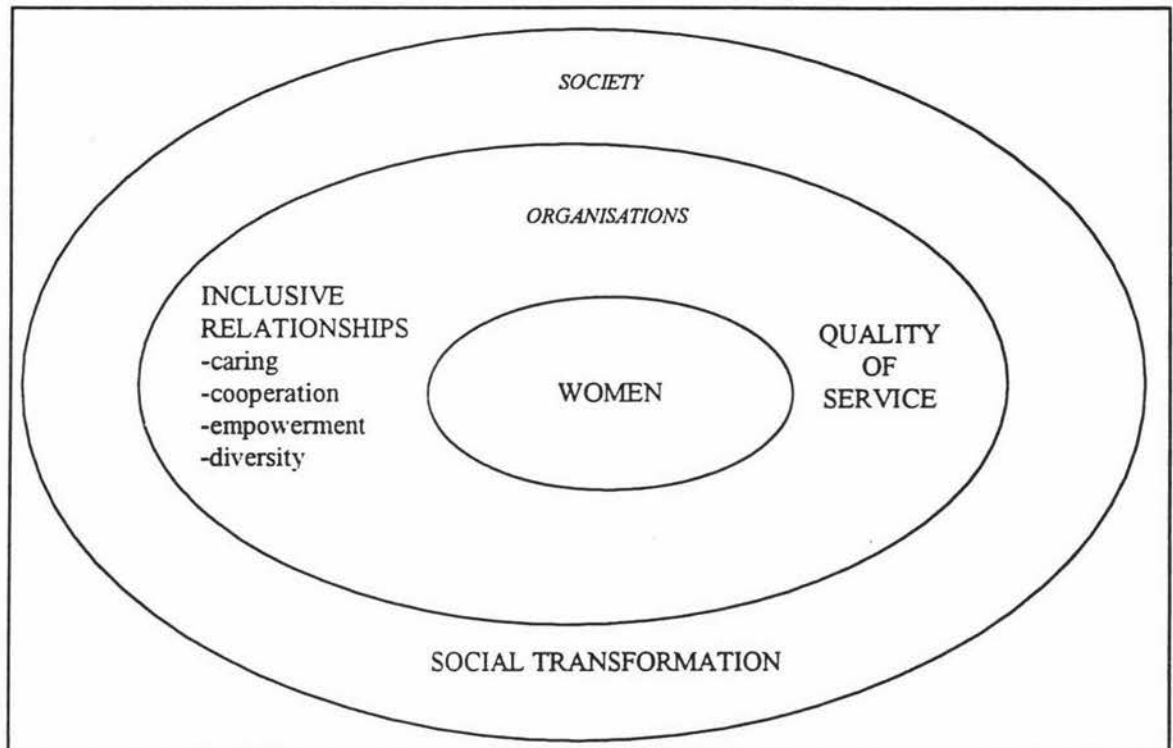
1. Inclusive relationships

Women managers who work in a feminist way value quality relationships in the work place. This involves four specific practices: caring, cooperation, empowerment, and the encouragement of diversity. Each of these practices show respect for individuals and demonstrate a commitment to building community. Inclusivity is the thread that links them together.

Caring

Caring about people is the strongest value that underpins women's relationships. Gilligan (1982: 17) said that women "judge themselves in terms of their ability to care". The key characteristics of women's approach to administration that emerged from Chernesky and Bombyk's (1988: 56) study were their sense of caring and concern for people, their sensitivity, compassion and empathy and their tendency to nurture or to mother.

FIGURE 2
FEMINIST MANAGEMENT PRACTICE PRINCIPLES



Women value quality relationships, have an awareness of others' needs, and recognise the interconnectedness of people. This attitude of concern for others was demonstrated by the way that the women in my study saw their role as a service role, to support others in their work. Margaret's comment illustrated this support:

I believe the real work gets done by the people who are the front line...and people like managers are there to actually service that. My job is to make that front line work as easy as possible.

Anna's remark that management was just "mothering on a big scale" is another illustration of this approach. Rachel occasionally took the office tea towels home to wash, which is further evidence of how women managers care about the little things that help to create a caring, homely place. Court (1994: 40) drew attention to the contradictory expectations feminist managers face, that of caring and of leading. I perceive that some of the stress women managers experience is created by the

juxtaposition of these two competing (in the male model) or complementary (in the feminist model) aspects of a woman manager's life.

Feminist managers acknowledge the multiple commitments that people have, seeing the private and the public spheres as entwined with one another. Margaret described feminist management as:

...one that acknowledges the other parts of life, the family and so on...So I would say seeing people have time off to go to prize giving and things, I would say that was a feminist manager.

In caring for staff, feminist managers aim to develop and maintain quality relationships, which requires empathic listening and creating a safe environment. Policies and practices that enable people to meet their obligations to both work and family are promoted. These include family-friendly leave provisions, child care facilities, flexible hours of work and place of work.

Women managers with feminist values strive for a balance in life both for themselves and for their employees. As Margaret said: "There's more to life than your paid work that goes on for forty hours a week". They particularly foster in their staff the importance of a balance in life. I found they were good at encouraging employees to look after themselves and their families, but were less successful at applying this to themselves.

Acknowledging the continuum of home and work is an example of how women managers display a caring attitude and see interconnections between the various parts of life. A feminist approach is a holistic one, an inclusive one. As Sarah reflected, women have the ability:

...to see things as a whole and I mean to consider emotional knowledge and intuitive knowledge and rational knowledge as a whole, rather than to have them separated out...It's connected also with women's ability to stay connected to those various bits of themselves, and not to compartmentalise.

Barbara summed up women's approach:

Women do have a more nurturing, generic, encompassing, caring sort of approach, and a more holistic one.

Caring, nurturing, and recognising the wholeness of life and the interconnections, are qualities identified, valued and promoted by feminist theorists (Gilligan, 1982; Blackmore, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989; Martin, 1993). The participants in my study displayed all those attributes and so confirmed the theories.

Cooperation

Working together cooperatively on goal achievement is a feminist way of managing. Participation, building community, teamwork, inclusion, consensus-building, mutuality and interdependence are process values promoted by feminist management (Loden, 1985; Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986; Chernesky and Bombyk, 1988; Weil, 1988; Hyde, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989; Rosener, 1990; Martin, 1993). Feminist managers believe it is their responsibility to create an environment where staff members feel they belong, that they are included as part of a group or community. They "walk the floor" (Anna) and "connect with every member of staff reasonably frequently" (Alyce).

This cooperative spirit flies in the face of the current dominant ideology of the competitive market place. Although we see the adoption of cooperative ways of working, using teams and quality circles, in some areas of business today and the stereotypic female characteristics now being acclaimed as good management practice (Peters, 1990) this is not as pervasive as the individualistic, competitive drive of the market. Part of the struggles women managers experience is the tension between their collaborative, caring approach and the anti-collectiveness of the market, as evidenced in some aspects of managerialism. As Adler, Laney and Packer said about the women managers in their research: "They valued cooperation rather than competition" (Adler, Laney and Packer, 1993: 119).

To ensure cooperative values are acted upon involves the creation of democratic structures and processes (Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986; Hyde, 1989). This

collective approach rejects strongly hierarchical structures and the status that accompanies the higher positions. Structures are kept as flat as possible to diffuse power. Teamwork is encouraged, as Jess described:

We had a real team and decisions were made by the team. It was my responsibility to see that they were carried out.

Matrix structures can be created to reduce power differentials, and to value the diversity of knowledge and wisdom that lies within a team of people with different backgrounds. This connectedness is illustrated by the metaphor of a web where all are linked to one another (Gilligan, 1982; Helgeson, 1990). This acknowledges that by tapping into the resources of the group the results will be greater than the sum of the parts (Hyde, 1989). This collective, synergetic approach is in contrast to that operating in hierarchical, rigid bureaucracies. It de-emphasises individualism, competition and control, and encourages a focus on relationships and working together to achieve a common goal. Robyn explained it as:

Instead of me battling the world alone, we've got all these people beavering away who are all coming from the same philosophy and the same values as me and we're trying to do it together.

Staff participation, consultation, consensus, and collaboration are all variations of a feminist decision-making style. It is not always possible to share everything or to involve everyone, nor to use only consensus decision-making; it depends where the responsibility lies in a given situation. For example, personnel and financial matters may be areas where all staff are not fully involved. As well, managers at times have to reconcile their feminist values of openness and fairness with the policies of the hierarchy. These conflicting expectations add stress to the life of a feminist manager. Generally however, there is a commitment to involving the staff as much as appropriate. Rosener (1990) recognised the "interactive" style of female management, one that involved participation and inclusion. Alyce drew together these dimensions:

...the key to it is open communication and allowing people to actually be participants in decisions, trying not to make closed door decisions; to operate as collectively as is possible to operate.

Martin clarified the boundaries of this participative style of management:

Encouraging employee participation does not mean that "everyone is equal" or that bosses lack authority. Rather, feminist managers exercise authority carefully and they share rather than hoard information, resources and opportunities (Martin, 1993: 285).

Empowerment

An analysis of power is central to feminism. To rid the world of traditional patriarchal power in the form of control and domination, is one of the goals of feminists. They believe that this type of power results in people being subservient and having a sense of powerlessness. Instead of power being seen as power over people, power is viewed by feminists, as power with others. Power is influence, the ability to effect changes and "to make a difference". Power is seen as infinite, to be shared, enabling, facilitating and varying with the task to be performed (Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986; Hyde, 1989):

Empowerment, or claiming personal power, is a political act because it allows people control over their own lives and the ability to make decisions for themselves (Van Den Bergh and Cooper, 1986: 6).

Feminist managers do not deny the power implicit in their position; power differentials are acknowledged. They strive to utilise that power in tune with feminist values. According to Martin (1993: 286) feminist managers are judged on how well they use their authority to support the work of their staff. Rachel described her understanding of power:

It's to do with sharing power... recognising and owning my own power and not abusing that, of being willing to share it ...a commitment to understand people and their growth and development, particularly that of women.

This requires that managers let go of control, delegate and give the staff autonomy. Traditional management is based on control being held by the upper echelons. Feminist management rejects that form of masculinist power, replacing it with a more collective sense of responsibility.

Feminist managers empower people by supporting and encouraging them to reach their potential. They are facilitators of others' growth by motivating and energising them and mentoring them. To empower, one has to be willing to disclose information and provide access to resources. One of Astin and Leland's participants described how she empowered:

As an empowerer, I really think the highs for me have been making people do things they could never do before. Giving them the confidence and the criticism and the help and the ideas (Astin and Leland, 1991:107).

Jess, as did all the women in my study, encouraged women to further their qualifications and she was delighted at their success:

I feel so excited when they [older women] get their certificates; when they say: "This is just the beginning for me"...That's a real thrill for me...a real buzz.

Encouragement of Diversity

Respect for each individual is fundamental to a feminist way of working. Consideration is given to everyone's needs, not just women's. Feminism is inclusive, not exclusive. Anna learnt about respect from her mother and she described it as follows:

The issue of equity for me is important...Not just between cultures, between men and women, but just in how we treat each other.

Feminism today promotes a non-oppressive, anti-discriminatory orientation because of the growing recognition of the specificities of oppression according to gender, race, class, age, disability, religion, socio-economic status and sexual orientation (Langan, 1992). Feminism recognises that each of us has only partial knowledge and that by everyone sharing their knowledge, understandings and wisdom the collective outcomes will be richer:

It emphasises the diversity of experience and the validity of each person's experience (Langan, 1992: 3).

FIGURE 3

FEMINIST MANAGEMENT PRACTICE		
PRINCIPLES	QUALITIES	METHODS
INCLUSIVE RELATIONSHIPS ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowerment ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of Diversity 	People-oriented ----- Empathic and care about the "whole person" ----- Able to share power ----- Secure in their own personal power ----- Non-discriminatory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * give attention to process ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * acknowledge home and work * nurture and support * strive for a balanced life * see things holistically ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * involve others in decision-making * work in teams * build community * listen, consult, cooperate, connect * democratise processes and structures ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * enhance self-worth of others * share resources and information * energise, motivate, mentor others ----- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * value everyone * encourage diversity * open to challenge
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION	Committed to eliminate all oppressions and motivated "to make a difference"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * act collectively for justice * consciousness raise * advocate with the oppressed * strategise to change systems, processes, structures
WOMEN'S WELL-BEING	Grounded in their womanhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * recognise women's oppression * value, affirm, and support women's lives, experiences, beliefs * work to improve women's lives * ask the woman question
QUALITY OF SERVICE	Committed to excellence in service and practice.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * model and set high standards * make hard decisions * take risks and work hard * value rationality as well as intuition

Diversity is viewed as a source of strength, not something just to be tolerated (Hyde, 1989; Helgeson, 1990; Hooyman, 1991). This involves being open and willing to share ideas, as well as to listen to others' ideas, and to change one's points of view. Flexibility and a non-discriminatory attitude are required, and a way of working that is inclusive. People are encouraged to be involved "so that reciprocity and mutuality exist" in interactions (Hooyman, 1991: 263). Managers place themselves in positions where they can be challenged because they believe that openness honours the wisdom of others. Rachel displayed this when she said that she saw herself in a learning role when working with a man of a different ethnicity from herself. Alyce also demonstrated that she was open to challenge:

I haven't been really threatened by the whole issue of the development of tangata whenua in the organisation... I have been prepared to sit myself in places where that's been a challenge every day, and instead of letting that threaten me I've actually allowed people to develop the possibilities of that.

This acceptance of the value of diversity and difference necessitates challenging the application of universal rules to everyone as advocated by Bartlett:

Feminist methods reject the monolithic community often assumed in male accounts of practical reasoning and seek to identify perspectives not represented in the dominant culture (Bartlett, 1990: 855).

Seeking other perspectives acknowledges the value of a multi-dimensional view of life which Chernesky and Bombyk (1988) described as having "a global perspective". By valuing each individual and encouraging the diversity of humankind all can enjoy the benefits of the heterogeneity of perspectives, values and approaches.

2. Social Transformation

Feminism recognises the multiple oppressions that exist and states a commitment to working about a just and equitable society. This begins with consciousness-raising when women share their personal stories and begin to make sense of their world (Bricker-Jenkins and Hooyman, 1986; Van Den Bergh and Cooper, 1986; Weil, 1986; Hyde, 1989). Women learn their personal experiences are shared by others, revealing "a

collective experience of oppression" (Bartlett, 1990: 864). The analysis of oppression involves recognising where personal experiences are related to institutional and societal inequalities. In so doing the link is made between the personal and the political.

Social work has always faced two ways: one toward the individual and one toward structural change. Feminism's primary objective is the elimination of subordination and privilege and to bring an end to patriarchy (Ferguson, 1984; Hyde, 1989; Bricker-Jenkins, 1991). Feminist social work managers are in a pivotal position to work for the elimination of domination, to be agents of social change. They have placed themselves there for that purpose. All the managers in my study expressed their commitment to social justice:

I want to see justice and not just out in the community but... there must be justice and openness...within the organisation (Rachel).

I want to make a difference (Anna).

...as a feminist you're looking at injustice, you're looking at hierarchies and you're looking at all the things that are not right that inhibit others, be it women or ethnic minority groups. And if you don't acknowledge that then you're not a feminist (Robyn).

Being at the cutting edge of social change is not a comfortable position to be in. Stories of the harassment of women involved in social action are evidence of the invidious hold patriarchy has on society. Jess expressed how stressful it was to be a social change agent:

It was awful fighting up all the time. It becomes so wearying... It was a perpetual struggle.

A feminist teacher acknowledged the slow process it was to bring about significant change:

Real change is by no means as easy to achieve as it appeared to be from the outside...a feminist administrator [is] merely a single mutation, the effects of which may take years if not centuries to become visible (Carpenter, 1989: 45).

Alyce spoke of the need for strength and persistence:

The weaker people, or maybe the sane ones, would give up the fight and leave, but it is a battle because it keeps coming back. You don't win anything quickly.

Social transformation is about ridding society of all forms of oppression including sexism, racism, heterosexism and classism. It requires collective political action through the solidarity of the oppressed groups against the forces of domination, especially patriarchy. Feminist managers hold positions in organisations where they can exert some influence on policy and practice. Hyde and Bricker-Jenkins when talking about feminist social work practice said:

It provides a vision of a radically different society in which the oppressive means of power and privilege are eradicated (Hyde, 1989: 169).

We change the world as we change ourselves as we change the world (Bricker-Jenkins, 1991: 301).

This can be applied equally to feminist management. Sarah summed it up:

...It means a revolutionary change in society...When I use the word revolutionary I mean a transformation of our society and of our culture which has been entrenched for centuries in beliefs about male superiority and in the fact of male dominance.

Feminist management is about making a difference in the world, so that justice is seen to be established. To be a female social change agent in patriarchal institutions is stressful and scary, and requires perseverance and considerable inner strength and resources to withstand the personal struggles.

3. Women's Well-being

Feminist management acknowledges and validates the diverse perspectives, values and experiences of women (Hyde, 1989; Hooyman, 1991). Belenky et al described the holistic nature of women that is all-encompassing:

These women want to embrace all the pieces of the self in some ultimate sense of the whole - daughter, friend, mother, lover, nurturer, thinker, artist, advocate. They want to avoid what they perceive to be a shortcoming in many men - the tendency to compartmentalise thought and feeling, home and work, self and other. In women, there is an impetus to try to deal with life, internal and external, in all its complexity. And they want to develop a voice of their own to communicate to others their understanding of life's complexity (Belenky et al; 1986: 137).

In traditional organisations, female attributes have been negated and discounted. As Marshall (1984) noted, women in management have had to mute their femaleness to fit into the male world. Feminist managers however, engage traditional female values and incorporate them into their management practice. Womanhood and all that it encompasses is valued. Jess, in the study, described what women have to offer management:

...it's something within a woman, that essence of the soul, that warmth, that caring, that ability to see where people are at.

Personal experiences naturally influence our practice. Amongst my participants were women who had suffered abuse as children, who had been part of families where there was physical abuse of women, who had experienced discrimination in training and employment and who had been subjugated in early marriage. Yet others had a strong sense of the value of being a woman which they had acquired from their home life. Barbara described her upbringing:

I was always valued very much not because I was like a man but because I was a woman and women were valued.

Feminist management acknowledges the totality of women's experiences as well as the diversity. Validating women's lives encompasses the recognition that there is a life outside of work, and that that life can affect life at work.

Feminist managers support, motivate and advocate for women, encouraging women to take training opportunities, to go for promotion and to reach their potential. This requires being aware of the individual needs of women staff. For instance, one manager in my study encouraged a pregnant worker who was not well, to work at home

for half of each day so she could keep her feet up. Challenging decisions and systems that discriminate against women and other disadvantaged groups is a tenet of feminist management. Jess disagreed with her agency's policies about hours of work and travelling allowances and she commented on how she was always fighting to improve the working conditions of staff. Fundamentally, the goal of feminism is to improve and enhance the lives of women. Sarah expressed it as:

...each woman having the ability and right to be mistress of her own destiny, to actually be in charge of her life and to be making decisions for herself.

Feminist management is about liberating women from the oppressive, patriarchal nature of organisations.

The supporting of women as described above is accompanied with an analysis of and a challenging and questioning of "ostensibly gender- neutral norms" (Martin, 1993: 283). Bartlett explained her feminist legal method of "Asking the woman question":

[The woman question] is designed to identify the gender implications of rules and practices which might otherwise appear to be neutral or objective....The woman question asks about the gender implication of a social practice or rule: have women been left out of consideration? (Bartlett, 1990: 837).

The use of this method is to ensure rules, policies, practices, assumptions, values and organisational culture do not perpetuate women's subordination. Its aim is to uncover the masculine bias of organisations, the gendered nature of organisational practices. Alyce described a situation which cogently illustrated this method. In her office there were fewer toilets proportionally for the women than for the men. She had no control over the building and the matter was not seen by those with authority as a priority. She asked the question:

Do guys need better toilet facilities? I think the answer is certainly not; they don't have the same toileting problems that women have.

Bartlett also wrote of how white women's feminism excluded others. She suggested that the woman question be converted to the question of exclusion for inquiring into

other oppressions for example, racism and heterosexism, by considering the assumptions that were reflected and whose interests were invisible. Bartlett discussed that Spelman believed that:

[to fine-tune] feminism to encompass the breadth and specificity of oppressions actually experienced by different women - and even some men - can only make feminism clearer and stronger (Spelman, 1988 in Bartlett, 1990: 849).

Advocating for an end to procedures and practices that oppress women and others in organisations is at the heart of feminist management.

4. Quality of Service

Alongside the emphasis on inclusive relationships, social transformation and women's well-being, excellence in service delivery is equally important to feminist managers. The literature gave a strong message that women managers work hard, and set themselves and others high standards. Sarah stated that commitment to quality and effectiveness was important to her:

...so that the work is being done at a high quality and very well...I am quite a perfectionist and getting a good job done is of a high value to me.

Women managers have to continually prove they are capable and competent (Kravetz and Austin, 1984; Marshall, 1984; Loden, 1985; Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991; Coleman, 1991). Loden (1985) spoke of their strong work ethic, their high performance standards, their belief in quality outputs and how they worked harder to succeed. Commitment to doing the task well is clearly part of the ethos of the woman manager (Helgeson, 1990; Astin and Leland, 1991). The women lead the way by modelling their standards and expect staff to follow their example, as described by Alyce:

I believe that we can deliver a good quality service...some people slip up from time to time but they know I expect us to be the best office in the country. It's a clear leadership one...I know it's my job...and I have a drive to make sure I do it properly.

The women in my study had a strong commitment to excellence in both social work practice and management practice.

Part of the commitment to excellence involves being able to make hard decisions and to take risks. Rosener (1990: 22) quoted one of her participants as saying: "I prefer participation but there are situations where time is short and I have to take the bull by the horns". This echoes Sarah's remark:

The decisions are made collectively...[but] if it comes to a point where a decision has to be made and there are differences of opinion I will actually impose a decision.

Women managers are risk-takers (Neville, 1988; Astin and Leland, 1991). Alyce described how she was: "...willing to take a punt..[and] along with the risk-taking here's been a bit of hard work". To survive in a male-led domain and do a good job requires tenacity and strength of character. As I perceive it, women managers have a special quality which I suggest, is passed through the female line. This perception is also shared by several of my participants who mentioned the positive influence of their mothers in the development of their character and their values. Certainly my mother has been a risk-taker and intrepid in her own way.

The issue of accountability is closely related to quality of performance and of service. With the managerial emphasis today on measurable outputs, feminist managers are conversant with what is required to be cost effective and efficient. Anna stated that:

I believe the issue of accountability is so important...it is a given that you are accountable...I have no problem with accounting for what I do or for what my staff do...performance is everything.

However the criteria on which accountability is measured is subject to debate by many, as is the whole thrust of managerialism. That issue aside, commitment to excellence in practices and quality of service is a paramount value for feminist managers.

It is clear from the foregoing that feminist managers focus both on people, as well as

the task to be achieved. Marshall (1984) spoke of agency and communion and how these were integrated in a feminist management style, with agency being the more instrumental, achievement-oriented approach and communion being more relationship-focused. This was similar to the way Regan (1990) described her feminist style of management using the metaphor of intertwining parts of a double helix (role-specific and team-specific tasks) that move from one focus to another as appropriate. Feminist managers combine these elements, valuing their analytical and rational abilities and being committed to achieving high standards of work, while equally being committed to positive relationships. When Jess was asked what she valued as a manager she replied: "Quality of service and happy workers". Her statement incorporates two of the feminist management principles identified, that of commitment to relationships and to quality. The other two principles, commitment to women and to social transformation underpin feminist practice in any field. Feminist management practice is dynamic and responsive to the organisational requirements of today and is being implemented by those who are "strong in their spirits".

Conclusion of the Study

In my study of women managers in the social services I set out to understand the experiences of women managers in the social services and to explore their management styles.

I discovered that they shared a common experience of discomfort and struggle that was related primarily to the practices and ethos of the patriarchal organisations in which they worked. The intrinsically masculine culture was reinforced with the implementation of managerialism which has been imposed with vigour on social service agencies. Feminism and managerialism are grounded in very different ideologies resulting in these managers feeling increasingly out of tune with the current managerial climate.

A parallel theme was the strengths of the managers, both professionally and personally. They displayed a management style that was distinctive and effective. Their personal

attributes and values were the foundation of their management practice. This approach offers a viable alternative to the competitive managerial one currently being promoted.

If managerialism continues to be a significant influence on social service organisations, and if those organisations become more masculinised as a result, competent women managers may be lost to the profession. Organisations need to recognise the "goldmine" they have in their midst and give social work women managers their rightful place. Social service organisations will then maintain their professional social work principles and practices, including their primary goal of being client-centred, and gain the benefit of an inclusive, transformational, woman-centred and service-oriented leadership.

When feminist management becomes the norm in organisations then, to adapt a comment of Rachel's:

All may be able to be who they want to be freely, passionately, loudly and without restriction.

Further Research

The scope of this study was limited as the participants were eight pakeha, urban, middle class, mainly middle managers in the social services in Aotearoa New Zealand. So the findings are not generalisable. Although the results had similarities to other studies and were in tune with much of the theory, further research needs to be done to examine the experiences of others.

The results cannot be applied to women of other ethnicities or other groupings of women. People from these other groups need to have their stories told. Research carried out by alienated groups, for their own benefit, would expand knowledge, give their ways validity and result in a greater diversity of approaches.

Research about women in social services management, world-wide, is scarce, and almost non-existent in Aotearoa New Zealand. Social services, like most human services, is a female-dominated occupation, yet is led by men. If male hegemony is to

be eliminated, women's beliefs and ways of knowing and doing must come into the mainstream of organisational life, and not remain in the margins, muted and unacknowledged. As there is a trend towards the masculinisation of the social services research into this area is imperative.

What emerged strongly from this study was the tension between women's ways of doing things and the dominant ideology of the market place, competition and individualism. The ongoing impact of managerialism on women, women managers, the tangata whenua and minority groups needs to be monitored, both in terms of numbers and also the level of comfort or discomfort with the philosophy, practices and policies being implemented. The effect of managerialism on the quality of social services provision needs to be evaluated to ensure that social work principles and practices are not eroded away.

This study raised for me the question of the role pakeha women may play in the oppression of people of other ethnicities in organisations. As women and people of iwi descent and other subdominant groups struggle to be heard, pakeha women managers, being of the dominant culture, can be seen as competition and a barrier to the advancement of those other groups. Disadvantage can be both created and perpetuated in organisations by those with power. Most feminists are committed to equality for all, not just women. Further research on how pakeha women see their position in regard to the practical applications of Treaty of Waitangi could provide the basis for an increased understanding of this issue.

The effects of sexuality in organisations was an area I did not pursue but it would be a subject worthy of investigation. In the past, within outwardly genderless organisations, it was understandable that sexuality and all its ramifications was invisible. With the growing recognition of the androcentric nature of organisations, the pervasiveness of sexuality is beginning to be seen. The impact of this on women goes well beyond sexual harassment to the more subtle effects of sexual power relations.

There are enclaves of feminist management within bureaucracies. Some survive, some

do not. Some feminists believe a feminist unit in a bureaucracy is an oxymoron; others including myself, believe it is worth practising feminist management within institutions, because it can be incremental, as we have seen with the political situation in South Africa where very recently there was sudden and momentous change. I mentioned a few examples of feminist management within bureaucracies, but more in-depth research could identify in detail what makes a feminist unit successful, what is success, what are the benefits and what are the losses.

It is disappointing when we struggle in a male world, to find we have occasional dissension amongst women with feminist beliefs. There is not a great deal of data on this phenomenon, maybe because it has been kept in-house. It is an important part of the stories of women. More research could illuminate these issues.

Devault's (1990) article opened up an interesting area for me. Further research on women's language could be a tool for greater understanding in this gendered world. Devault believed that women's hesitancy indicated both the muted tradition of women and the inadequacy of language to articulate women's experiences. The interpretation, or misinterpretation of language in research such as mine, has significant impact upon the results of the research. It is an area that could usefully be included in the curriculum for qualitative researchers, as language interpretation impacts on the validity and reliability of the research.

How does one go about changing a patriarchal society? How does one change the male hegemony of organisations? How does one change the commonly-held attitudes of individuals in the dominant majority? The anti-racism movement has grappled with this. To bring about lasting structural change people have to value diversity and difference, and accept that there are many perspectives and many truths. Research into how entrenched attitudes about gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class could be changed would be helpful for educators.

Finally, feminist organisational theorists need to continue to critique organisational theory so that it encompasses ethnicity, race, class, sexuality as well as gender and to

challenge the application of universal rules to everyone. This challenge acknowledges the multiplicity of perspectives and truths, and a commitment to the inclusivity of humankind. In doing this, questions will be raised about the kind of society we want and the type of organising that is required.

INFORMATION SHEET**WOMEN MANAGERS IN SOCIAL SERVICES
A FEMINIST ANALYSIS**

The Researcher	Dianne Hawken
The Supervisors	Associate - Professor Rajen Prasad Dr. Marilyn Waring Massey University, Albany Campus

The Research Project:

This project is about women in social services management in Aotearoa / New Zealand. Although social services are a female-dominated occupation management positions are held predominantly by men. This study will explore and analyse the experiences and practice of eight women managers (who are feminists) in the social services.

Involvement Required of Participants:

1. You will be required to complete a short questionnaire on your work history and relevant demographic details.
2. You will be required to participate in a semi-structured interview which will be audio taped. The interview will take about two hours and will be conducted at a mutually agreed location.
3. You will be required to be available for a short follow-up interview or phone conversation if necessary.

Time Involvement:

Your involvement will be for about three hours in total

What Participants can Expect :

Confidentiality of Material

- * Interview tapes will be listened to only by the researcher and the transcriber who will sign a declaration of confidentiality.
- * Pseudonyms will be used on the transcriptions for you and the agency for which you work or worked.
- * All identifiable data will be deleted or altered so you and the agency can not be identified.
- * The completed questionnaire will only be seen by the researcher.
- * The tapes and the questionnaires will be stored under lock and key during the period of the research.
- * The tapes and the questionnaire will be destroyed after the thesis is marked.

Feedback

- * A transcription of your tape will be provided for you.
- * A summary of the findings will be sent to you.
- * You will be informed when the thesis is lodged in the library and how it can be accessed.

Your rights

- * You have the right to refuse to answer any question and to withdraw at any time without penalty or question.
- * You have the right to ask any further questions about the situation that occurs to you during your participation.
- * You have the right to provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researcher.

Consent to the use of the data

The information gathered will be used for academic study and research. Apart from the Masters of Social Work thesis, articles for professional publications and conference presentations may be written from the data. By participating in this research you consent to this use of the data.

APPENDIX 2

CONSENT FORM

**WOMEN MANAGERS IN SOCIAL SERVICES -
A FEMINIST ANALYSIS**

Researcher: Dianne Hawken

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is completely confidential.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. TO START OFF CAN YOU DESCRIBE YOUR WORK TO ME? WHAT DO YOU DO?

How long have you been there?

2. HOW DID YOU GET TO YOUR PRESENT POSITION?

What were the obstacles?

What were the encouragers?

Why did you want to go into management?

3. TELL ME ABOUT YOUR ORGANISATION.

What services does it provide?

What's its size?

Who makes up the staff?

How would you describe the "culture" of organisation?- (what values, beliefs, "rules" implicit?)

How does that sit for you?

4. TELL ME ABOUT YOUR PLACE IN THE ORGANISATION.

Are you a middle or senior manager?

How many people are accountable to you?

What size budget are you responsible for? (under \$100,000 under \$500,000 under \$1mill over \$1 mill)

How do you feel about you in the organisation?

5. HOW DO YOU DEVELOP RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PEOPLE YOU WORK WITH?

Firstly, think of those to whom you are responsible:

How do you relate to female staff?

How do you relate to male staff ?

How do they relate to you?

Secondly, think of those who are responsible to you

How do you relate to female staff?

How do you relate to male staff ?

How do they relate to you?

How do you explain these relationships?

6. HOW DO YOU MANAGE? WHAT IS YOUR MANAGEMENT STYLE?

Can you give an example?

How would your staff describe your style?

7. HOW DO YOU MAKE DECISIONS?

Example?

What's important to you in that process?

8. HOW DO YOU SOLVE PROBLEMS/RESOLVE CONFLICT?

Example?

9. TEAMWORK AND COLLABORATION; AND THE THREE "Es"-EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVENESS AND ECONOMY ! HOW DO YOU VIEW THESE DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO MANAGEMENT?

Who or what has influenced your management style?

What has been the influence of social work practice on your management style?

Do you manage in a similar or different way to others?

10. WHAT VALUES AND BELIEFS ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU AS A MANAGER? WHY?

How do you put these into operation?

What particular qualities do you bring to management?

11. WHAT'S IT LIKE BEING A MANAGER?

What have been some of the difficulties?

What have been some of the satisfactions?

You've succeeded in a male arena -management. Why?

12. WHAT DOES POWER MEAN TO YOU?

What power or influence do you have in your position?

How do you use your power?

Who has the most power in your organisation?

On what basis did you make that decision?

How have you experienced power in organisations?

How do you explain this?

13. WHAT EFFECT HAS YOUR GENDER HAD ON YOUR MANAGEMENT PRACTICE?

When and how did you become aware that you were a woman manager, not just a manager?

As a woman, what do you offer organisations?

What are the satisfactions you have had in being a woman manager?

What are the difficulties that you have experienced as a woman manager?

How do you explain these?

What women's issues are of concern to you in the work place?

14. TELL ME HOW YOU CAME TO BE A FEMINIST.

What are your feminist beliefs now?

15. FEMINISM AND MANAGEMENT. WHAT DOES THAT CONJURE UP FOR YOU?

Can a feminist be a manager?

16. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU FEEL TORN BETWEEN YOUR PRINCIPLES OF FEMINISM AND THE PRACTICE OF MANAGEMENT?

Have you ever felt challenged, by yourself or by others, about not being "feminist enough"? How did you feel about that?

Some feminists believe there is a danger of being coopted by the organisation and "losing the cutting edge of feminist critique". What do you think about this?

17. WHAT FEMINIST PRINCIPLES DO YOU INCORPORATE INTO YOUR MANAGEMENT PRACTICE?

Would you describe yourself as a feminist manager? Or a manager who is a feminist?

How would you describe feminist management practices, principles and processes?

18. HOW DO YOU SUPPORT WOMEN COLLECTIVELY IN YOUR POSITION

What makes it possible or not possible?

19. HOW DO YOU SURVIVE AS A WOMAN MANAGER AND A FEMINIST?

What informal supports do you have?

What formal supports do you have?

What sustains you?

20. WE'VE TALKED ABOUT WORK. WHAT ABOUT HOME, LIFE OUTSIDE OF WORK? WHAT HAPPENS THERE?

21. COULD YOU SUMMARISE FOR ME HOW YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED LIFE IN ORGANISATIONS AS A WOMAN, A FEMINIST AND A MANAGER?

How do you explain your experiences?

What advice would you give to women who are contemplating moving into social services management?

22. WHAT CHANGES NEED TO BE MADE IN ORGANISATIONS TO IMPROVE THINGS FOR WOMEN?

What and why?

What will you be doing in 5 years time? Why?

23. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

I have a few details not covered in our discussions I would like to ask you. You can choose not to answer any of them if you wish.

What is your age range? 30s, 40s, 50s. 60s ?

What are your educational qualifications?

How many years management experience have you had?

What is your family status?

24. WOULD YOU LIKE TO ADD ANY THING?**25. WHAT PSEUDONYM WOULD YOU LIKE USED IN THE THESIS?**

THANK YOU FOR SHARING THESE THINGS WITH ME

LETTER REQUESTING PARTICIPATION

October 14, 1994

Dear

I am writing to you as a woman manager in the social services to ask if you are interested in being part of a study I am doing about women managers.

This year to complete my Masters in Social Work degree at Massey University, Albany Campus, I am writing a thesis on women in social services management. My supervisors are the Associate Professor Rajen Prasad and Dr Marilyn Waring.

I wish to interview eight women managers (who are feminists) in social service agencies. Do you consider yourself a feminist? If you do, would you be willing to be one of the participants?

I would be happy to discuss this request with you before you decide. Please ring me if you wish to clarify any issues. It is important that you have all the information you require to enable you to make an informed decision.

I enclose the Information Sheet and Consent Form for your information. You are under no obligation to agree. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you for considering my request.

Yours sincerely

Dianne Hawken

Enclosures: Two

APPENDIX 5**DECLARATION OF CONFIDENTIALITY**

Masters of Social Work Thesis: Women Managers in Social Services - A Feminist Analysis

Writer: Dianne Hawken

I declare that being the transcriber of some of the audio tapes of the interviews for the above research I will:

1. Keep completely confidential all the information that is on the tapes.
2. Keep them under lock and key during the period that they are in my possession.
3. Ensure that no-one else has access to the tapes or transcriptions.
4. Return the tapes on completion, to the researcher with no copies having been made.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

REQUEST FOR COMMENTS ON DRAFT OF FINDINGS

26 September 1995

Dear

In April I was able to resume working on my thesis after five months of all-consuming family events. Although I may not have been in contact with you much this year you have been very much part of my life as I have read and re-read the transcriptions and as I wrote the first draft.

As you will see when you read the draft of the findings so much was shared by the women. I really enjoyed putting all the data together and I am delighted with the richness of the collective stories. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me.

Enclosed is a copy of a draft of the findings and part of the methodology chapter which describes the participants.

If you have any queries, concerns or comments please ring me at home or work. I would welcome your feedback and some discussion with you. I hope to present my second draft on about 13 October so please contact me before that time. If I do not hear from you by that time I will assume you are comfortable with the parts that concern you as a participant and I will proceed to finalise it.

Looking forward to catching up with you

Kind Regards

Dianne

APPENDIX 7

REQUEST FOR COMMENTS ON DRAFT OF PART OF FINAL CHAPTER

9 November 1995

Dear

I appreciated your feedback about the findings of my study. Thank you.

Please find enclosed a copy of the draft of part of the last chapter. This section also includes some of your comments.

I am giving a paper at a conference on women and leadership in February at Massey University. This is what I am going to present. A copy of the paper was due a few weeks ago-I'm running late as usual. I hope to be ready to send it away on next Wednesday 15 November. If you have any concerns or comments could I please have them before then. I realise this is really pressurising you and I apologise for that. I just finished writing it today! If you do not contact me I will assume it's O K. I do not think I will have time to ring you this time.

Thank you for your wonderful contribution to this work. I could not have done it without you.

Kind regards

Dianne

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