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'I'M THE BOSS' -

A study of leadership and the labour divide in some secondary schools

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Philosophy
in
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by

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Abstract

When is a principal not a principal ... when s/he is an associate principal.

The position of associate principal in secondary schools in New Zealand is a site of contradiction. At the same time as the associate is a principal she (often he) is not a principal. As schools with a population of more than 1400 students expand their rolls (Sergiovanni, 1995, Grace, 1995) they can choose (O'Neill, 1996; Armstrong, 1991) whether to include an associate principal in their management structure. While some of these schools turn down the offer, others choose to do so. That such a possibility is available suggests that hierarchical structures (Court, 1993; Regan, 1995) in these organisations are breaking down. It would appear that schools can design the management structure that best suits them, and that their leaders create their own 'badge of office' (Raymond & Cunliffe, 1997), and enact 'their' particular vision (Hegelson, 1990; Belenky et al, 1989).

Devolution of power (Lukes, 1974; Smyth, 1989; Deem et al, 1995) to community level contains the possibility of more democratic and participatory leadership (Wilson, 1995; Brosnahan, 1996). The role of the state (O'Neill, 1996; Armstrong, 1992) in endorsing

and effecting these changes is central. In contradictory fashion the state is both present and absent in the operation of secondary schools. It claims to be an unequivocal advocate of Equal Employment Opportunity practices (James & Saville-Smith, 1992), yet at the same time will allow one principal only to lead and manage (Grace, 1995; Olsson, 1996) a school. The power that schools have to make decisions around leadership is not as clear cut as it might seem.

Historically and persistently schools have been led by men (Grace, 1995). Common belief, largely unquestioned, (Connell, 1987; Court, 1994) suggests that 'strong men' (Connell, 1996; Eveline, 1996; Hurty, 1995; Court, 1989) are required in the schools of today. Women seem (Wodak, 1997; Eveline, 1996) not to fit the bill (Still, 1996; Acker, 1991; Evetts, 1996), thus are not appointed. Many more women, it is generally asserted, prefer to teach rather than manage (Shakeshaft, 1989). Typically women are thought to have a different style (Rosener, 1990; Ferrario, 1991; Southworth, 1993) of leadership which may not be suitable in the competitive educational marketplace of the present (Wilson, 1996; Smyth, 1989), but suited to a collaborative (Brosnahan, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994) organisational culture, perhaps of the future.

The position of associate principal can function as a transitional position, providing a formal mentoring opportunity (Woodd, 1997; Ehrlich, 1995). Whether it can facilitate the movement of women into senior management, and reduce principal isolation, is explored in this thesis.

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Introduction

In New Zealand the educational marketplace, as it has become, is rife with competition, and numbers of students are what counts. The importance of 'image' is clearly visible in the modern marketplace (O'Neill, 1996; Jones et al, 1990) where branding is an all pervasive and consumptive process. A pyramidal metaphor (Regan, 1995) prevails, its clean lines representing efficiency (O'Neill, 1996), and the apex representing leadership with vision (Hegelson, 1990; Hargreaves, 1994).

At the time I started thinking about doing this research I had been promoted to the senior management team of a middle-sized secondary school. A quasi-kind of promotion, this is a short-term revolving position, designed to provide the opportunity for professional development within a workplace. Two other features of this team are atypical, namely a significant devolution of power both within the team and throughout the staff, and a co-principalship leading the team.

Communities, ostensibly, have the power through elected Boards of Trustees to decide how schools are governed and managed (Deem, 1993). This school's community endorsed through its board a new arrangement, the co-principalship, within an expanded team. Team management has proliferated in the last ten years (Grace, 1995), an outcome, it seems, of the removal of the state from its central role in education at local level. Formal approval from the centre, however, was withheld - while some flexibility is deemed

possible the state decrees (Armstrong, 1992) that no school is able to appoint more than one principal.

Coincidentally a friend and colleague was appointed to the position of associate principal in another school, a large school (Sergiovanni, 1995). Her struggle to define, and indeed name, (Court, 1989; Jones, 1991) her position, also not traditional in the sense of standing apart from the norm, grabbed my attention.

The state prescribes one leader, a prescription that is almost without exception swallowed. Only a few seek alternative medicine (Regan, 1995; Hegelson, 1990) that like its namesake remains marginalised. The concept of hegemony (Connell, 1987, 1996; Court 1994) illuminates my discussion, providing a framework in which I can find some rationale for this easy acceptance of sometimes bitter medicine.

Sharing power is an option that has not been fought for even though it is acknowledged that the job of a secondary school principal is more onerous, and isolating (Evetts, 1994) in present times. Nonetheless, the single principal reigns (Duerst-Lahti & Kelly, 1995; Still, 1996). Just who possesses the power to decide, and why the sector, not usually backward in coming forward, is mute on this issue I determined to find out. Power is difficult to define, and although in schools is usually associated with the position and/or person of the principal, it is anonymous, invested in everyone but no-one in particular. It has a subtlety, shaping people's perceptions (Lukes, 1974; Bartky, 1990; Foucault, 1980; Smyth, 1989; Deem et al, 1995) in such a way that they accept their role in the existing

order of things. A moving beyond the explicit is required to consider how, although contrary to people's interests, their beliefs and desires may be modified so that only certain outcomes are possible. Direct resourcing, size of schools, shared leadership are specific instances that this thesis explores.

School leadership is almost always assumed by men although women now dominate schools, at least numerically. Numerical dominance has not resulted in equality in the exercise of authority, financial remuneration or full representation of women in the areas of knowledge creation and dissemination (Court, 1994). The pervasive stereotype of the spinster teacher is now largely replaced by an image of a married woman. I explore presumptions that are commonly used to explain the dearth of women in these senior positions: her half-hearted interest in teaching compared to her family responsibilities (Acker, 1983), her lack of desire to pursue a management path (Eveline, 1996), her lack of appropriate experience (Burgess, 1989), her emotions (Hurty, 1995). Collectively a certain kind of male power and female sub-ordination is sustained (Connell, 1987; Court, 1989). Women who 'make it' model the exception rather than the rule (Davies, 1989).

Socialising institutions like schools construct an administrative world that is male-suited, and that largely excludes women (Ozga, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1989). Defining career aspirations in an hierarchical sense (Shakeshaft, 1989; Evetts, 1994), drawing a status divide between teaching and administration (Court, 1994), equating strength, narrowly defined, and successful leadership (Connell, 1996; Eveline, 1996; Court, 1989; Hurty, 1995) are unquestioned norms that act as barriers to women's advancement. Still,

organisational theory largely ignores gender and banishes sexuality and emotion (Acker, 1991; Wilson, 1996; Hearn et al, 1989), privileging rationality and efficiency. In organisational logic jobs are presented in an abstract sense, devoid of person, and linear progression up the career ladder is the normative path (Evetts, 1994). Qualities and skills inherent in female-dominated jobs, viewed as 'women's work' (Neville, 1988) an extension of natural abilities, are overlooked by evaluators (Marshall, 1994). There are serious implications given the climate of appraisal, efficiency and competition that characterises today's schools (O'Neill, 1996; Grace, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994).

Typically two separate hierarchies structure schools, subject administration the mainstream to the lesser hierarchy of pastoral administration (Court, 1993; Acker, 1991; Shakeshaft, 1987). A colleague, appointed to an associate principal's position in a large urban secondary school found herself framed in this way. An assumption of a power sharing arrangement in fact produced what seemed to be a gendered division of tasks (Burton, 1988, Court, 1996): the 'real' (Weedon, 1987), male, principal spends much time out of the school, shoring up old boy networks (Olsson, 1992; Armstrong, 1992; Eveline, 1996; Cockburn, 1991), negotiating about buildings and the like, while she attends to the daily business of the school, managing its population of students (Neville, 1988; Tong, 1992). I was keen to explore more deeply this division of labour, to determine how principals and associate principals decided (Tannen, 1994) 'who did what' (Still, 1996; Cunnison, 1989), and what this could mean for students (Davies, 1989; Watson, 1989; Smyth, 1989).

As a woman in the sciences I was no stranger to distorted sex ratios. Identifying strongly with the ‘roar of women’ voiced by Helen Reddy in the 1970s I knew about barriers to women’s advancement. Confident that I would have sufficient merit (O’Neill, 1996) to scale the hierarchical ladder I did not question the way in which this, and other concepts like choice, career, and indeed, women, were defined. Feminist poststructuralism (Weedon, 1987) with its opportunity to unpack ‘woman’, to consider transient, contested, contradictory subjectivities resonated. Access to the notion of discourse (Jones, 1991; Coates, 1997; Wodak, 1997) the ways in which our realities are constructed in language, lays bare the complex and multiple power relations of contemporary organisations. Different discourses position us in different ways in relation to the world but we also use these discourses to subvert, resist, effect change. Reconceptualising leadership is one such possibility (Regan, 1995; Lane, 1996).

This research specifically investigated six leaders (three males and three females) as detailed below, to find out how they had gained purchase in the world of school leadership.

School	Principal	Associate Principal	Type of School
Y	Male	Male	Boys
X	Female	Female	Girls
Z	Male	Female	Co-educational

Figure 1 : Leaders and school type

If conventional leadership (Hurty, 1995; Hegelson, 1990; Brosnahan, 1996) has so little to offer women, why and how had these female leaders been successful? Could, and should, the position of associate principal facilitate the promotion of women to the position of principal? These leaders, the subjects of my research, are three principals and three associate principals. Their accounts provide an 'insider' view. My record, and interpretation, of their experiences cannot be generalised to all leaders in secondary schools across different times and places. Nonetheless, the intersections and disjunctures with other accounts in the literature are instructive. Too often accounts of leaders in schools issue from the calm domains of those in academia, some of whom have eschewed a career as a secondary teacher. These are leaders in action (Southworth, 1993), and the context in which they operate has a significant impact on the way they practice their craft.

In order to do justice to my eclectic academic background and to more adequately represent the stories these leaders told me, I have adopted an idiosyncratic approach in writing this thesis. What is produced is an interweaving of the commentary of these leaders with my own narrative as a researcher-educator, supported by links to relevant literature. 'Relevance' is a significant term in this regard. A kind of stew is produced, the ingredients chosen by me and mixed in the way that I choose. Can this count as real research? I argue that speaking from the 'truth' of my own experience has validity, as no research is actually value-free. A so-called objectivity characteristic of traditional research gives way to a critical distance between researcher and subject (Reinharz, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Oakley, 1987; Mies, 1983).

It is necessary, then, to describe my own background given that I am positioned within a number of discourses, and am positioned by the discourses I am describing (Loveridge, 1992; Davies, 1996). In so far as experience is meaningful it is constituted so through language (Weedon, 1987). This does not mean that experience does not exist but rather that the ways in which we understand and express it are never independent of language. Experience can never be a reliable guide to 'the real' (Fuss, 1989) but still has a role in the realm of knowledge production.

In this thesis, then, I have included the voices of the six educational leaders, quoting from the interviews that I transcribed. At times I have left their voices to speak for themselves, though the context in which I have placed them will make my intent clear. Sometimes I have endeavoured to interpret their comments, and at other times I link the comment to the literature I have read. In other instances I offer as a counterpoint my working observations of a co-principalship in action.

This becomes a kind of metaphor where the structure of the thesis itself represents the spectrum along which I move, as a female, teacher, administrator, mother, researcher. Interview comments can be 'read' in a myriad of ways. The associate principal of X School describes one aspect of communication in the school:

The secretaries are adept at sorting out to whom parents and other callers need to be referred; they are dealt with according to need. Student welfare has passed to the Guidance Co-ordinator. Parents may be referred there first, and, if a disciplinary

matter, be referred back to the management team. Some parents still demand to see THE principal. (AP:X).

My immediate response is to read into this comment the ethic of negotiation and consultation, evidence of a reworking of responsibilities, a culture of caring (Blackmore, 1989), a recognition of the traditional hierarchical structure, and that schools are communities which include parents (Deem et al, 1995). None of this may seem remarkable but when I indicate that this is a girls' school (which may or may not be self-evident), add commentary about the kind of power that women typically display (Rosener, 1990; Wodak, 1997), and contemplate the unchallenged 'power over' mode prevalent in the discourse of school leadership, a different kind of narrative is constructed. If I then juxtapose this comment with one from the principal of another school a decidedly different story is told.

Office staff know that I am only available to take calls from the CEO of the Ministry, Review Office etc - other calls will be diverted to the associate principal as organisational leader of the school. Parents see the principal as the final appeal ... 99.9% of the time the actions of the associate will be supported ... the distance gained in this way is valuable (P:Z).

The problem of theorising experiences that are simultaneously diverse and similar can only be addressed by including the context in which these occur. While I have endeavoured to avoid the perpetuation of stereotypical essentialist discourses that describe male and female ways of operating in concrete and oppositional terms, I am interested in the ways in which

the three women and three men operate as leaders. I am not, though, positing a discourse of difference (Ferrario, 1991) which too often describes women as lacking, and men in possession of, the qualities deemed suitable for leadership. School leadership is an important constituent of the hidden curriculum of schooling (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1992; Grumet, 1988). It has to be understood within a network of power relations within schools and within the society in which it is located.

Recent changes in education (Grace, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; Southworth, 1993) have provided the opportunity to reflect on the way schools are led. Largely this has not occurred. The position of associate principal has the potential to reduce the isolation of the principal, to provide the opportunity to reflect on professional practice, to engage in meaningful appraisal with a knowledgeable colleague, to take the first steps towards collaborative leadership, to provide a path that may facilitate movement of women into leadership positions in secondary schools. This thesis explores the position of associate principal to find out to what degree its radical potential, as a challenge to traditional leadership in schools, has been unleashed.

Chapter One: Principals And Principles

1.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises one of seven that aim to explore the overlap and difference between two leadership positions in secondary schools in New Zealand.

As I write the word 'leadership' that of 'management' springs to mind: the ways in which I can read this word provides a useful framework for this chapter. That various readings can be obtained alludes to the intersection of feminism and post structuralism through language, that constitutes my theoretical framework. The apparently neutral term, 'manager', contains within it a reading that makes obvious its gendered nature. In the same way as 'women' are deemed to be included in the generic 'man', so have organisations been seen to be gender blind and inclusive. This assumption is explored in the thesis. What is suggested, too, is an invisible woman, the senior manager, a rare breed in secondary education. An exploration of gender, particularly in relation to power, is integral to this study.

As well, there is a reminder that changes to the role of principal in secondary schools, where the principal is leader, are often in tension with the principal as manager. Following the devolution of power to Boards of Trustees in 1988, the impact in terms of workload for principals has been significant. In nineteen secondary schools the potential to share this workload, via the insertion of another step in their management structures, is available. A description of the position of associate principal, its possibilities and limits, is sketched in this chapter.

My operating as both a scientist and feminist researcher is one of a number of contradictions that this study examines. Subsequently broached are the devolution yet retention of power by the state; being able to have two yet not two principals; organisations that are neutral yet gendered; equity versus efficiency; organisational structures that are hierarchical yet democratic.

This chapter, then, provides an initial exploration of these ideas, and the analytical framework for interview material extensively quoted in later chapters. Six school leaders, designated as P (principal), AP (associate principal), in schools identified as X, Y, or Z, as well as a co-principalship in school W provide the grist for my mill.

1.2 The Starting Point

Triggered by a combination of circumstances I embarked upon a study to focus on the construction and enacting of the position of associate principal. My own experience of working in a state-funded secondary school led by a co-principalship, combined with observation of a friend's metamorphosis from deputy principal to associate principal, fuelled my interest. Generated as an alternative to the model of single leader prevalent throughout educational organisations, the co-principalship is an eccentricity, a loose arrangement forged between one (now two) secondary schools and the State Services Commission. The position of associate or second principal is also an arrangement made with the commission to meet a specific need. This step in the management structure of large schools, is available only to those with a population of more than

1400 students. A relatively rare breed then, the position of associate principal is found in less than 5% of secondary schools.

To what extent these positions actually differed became a curiosity for me. Both presuppose a sharing of tasks and responsibilities. Determining to what extent this can and does occur, is the driving force of this study. The descriptors 'associate' and 'co' seem to speak a similar language - how far apart are they?

The situation becomes 'curioser and curioser' when one considers the context of self-managing schools. In stark contrast to its earlier conception, from 1988 education was redefined as a commodity to be purchased by consumers in a competitive market place (O'Neill, 1996). Over the 1970s and 1980s in particular, several reports recommended increased involvement at local level in decision making with respect to school appointments, finances, representation of viewpoints, and so on. In 1988 *The Picot Report* (Ministry of Education, 1988) endeavoured to synthesise and present these ideas, most importantly devolution of decision making to local institutions, and a reduction of the central educational bureaucracy. The state, for its part, undertook to provide sufficient funding for schools to realise their educational goals (Bennett, 1994:36).

Thus, the state began to divest itself of the responsibility and accountability for the delivery of educational services. This power was devolved to community-based structures, Boards of Trustees, charged with governance of a school. Initially, it was envisaged that the board would buy in management expertise as required, leaving the principal to operate as the instructional leader of the school within collegial

management structures. *Tomorrow's Schools*, (Lange, 1988) the policy document derived from *The Picot Report*, modified the original recommendations to focus more on the managerial aspects of the work of the principal and the board.

Each board is a separate legal identity, accountable in law for the performance of all aspects of a school. Management is devolved to the principal, and a team of deputy principals, assistant principals, and/or an associate principal. A board has a large measure of autonomy in its control of the management of a school. Even more flexibility has resulted from the recent (1996) industrial negotiations between the secondary teachers' advocate, the Post Primary Teachers' Association, and the advocate for the Minister of Education, the State Services Commission. A clutch of management units, the number allocated in direct proportion to the school roll, has enabled each board, within certain parameters, to constitute the management structure that best suits its school's needs. Management units are awarded in recognition of service, excellence, or particular tasks and responsibilities that a teacher or administrator may carry out. The way in which these are dispensed is entirely the prerogative of the board, usually in close consultation with the principal. "Each board has a large measure of autonomy in its control of management of a school" (Minister of Education, 1996:27).

Out of 239 secondary schools (Education Statistics, July 1, 1995) 66 have a roll size greater than 1000 students. Nineteen of these schools have become what are called 'super' or 'big' schools, with a roll size exceeding 1400 students. One would suppose that size of schools would be a factor to be considered in an educational sense, but there seems to have been no or little debate about the issue. There are, however, very

strong feelings in the community about school size with respect to alienation, safety, class sizes, environment conducive to learning, and teacher-pupil ratios. Those within these big schools respond with reassuring noises. Competition between schools means that some are bursting at the seams, in some instances at the expense of 'neighbourhood schools'. Throughout towns and cities parents bus or drive their children to the school of 'best fit', and schools draw from a wide catchment. The notion of one's community being the immediate environs has changed. The government would contend that consumers are now able to make good and free choices, and do exercise that right (O'Neill, 1996). Big schools seem to be 'growing like Topsy'. Whether size functions as an indicator of educational success is a moot point, and worthy of further consideration.

The promise of self-determination via devolution, via direct resourcing, via negotiated settlement with the Post Primary Teachers' Association, has not at any stage included dual or shared principalships. The privileging of an hierarchical structure with a single principal at the helm, within this context of apparent freedom, deserves a second glance. Most of the occupants of the position of principal are still male, and more associate principals are female. That there is such a gender divide despite Equal Educational Opportunity policies, affirmative action, and the large number of women within the teaching profession, implies that complex forces are at work. Ministry of Education statistics indicate that "The total number of secondary principals at March 1997 was 331 ... associate or second principals are also included in this count. 82 of these principals were female" (Parratt, 1997 in Appendix A). Such statistics seem to fly in the face of legal requirements that require Boards of Trustees to be "good

employers ... part of this is the implementation of an EEO programme in the school” (Ministry of Education, 1996:27).

Statistics show that women continue to enter the teaching profession in large numbers: in 1990 50%, in 1992 51%, (Court, 1994:213) and in 1997 54% (Ministry of Education, 1996:38) of secondary teachers were female. One might reasonably expect to find such proportions mirrored in the top, or top two positions in schools. Blame is often, and ironically, laid firmly at the door of women. The implication is that women do not seek promotion, that opportunities are there for the taking, but not taken up. Other researchers, however, find these statistics unsurprising given that certain experiences and expectations are linked with one sex, that is, they are gendered. Women are assigned “velvet ghetto” roles (Neville, 1988:101) in which they are often stuck, roles that immobilise and do not lead to promotion.

In addition, it is proposed (Connell, 1987; Hearn et al, 1989; Eveline, 1996; Wilson, 1996) that organisations themselves may actively impede the progress of women into educational management, especially at senior level. Organisations have largely been assumed to be genderless or asexual, a claim that increasingly is being challenged, although still not within mainstream organisational studies. “OT [Organisational Theory] has accepted or continues to accept male ideology as the status quo. Half the population has been ignored or just tagged onto OT texts. Male as the norm is the starting point” (Acker, 1991:170). This thesis questions why educational institutions, entrusted with the task of preparing all students to occupy a workspace in a modern society, have not and do not, examine such gendered practices. While organisational

review is part of annual practice, the context is that of organisational functioning without reviewing the philosophy that underpins the organisation itself.

1.3 Gendered Organisations

There is a common sense understanding that gender is an attribute of individuals, but it has not usually been seen as a property of institutions or groups. Theories of gender typically focus either on one-to-one relationships between people or on society as a whole (Connell, 1987:119). Daily observation reveals to us what seems clearly a truth: we are biologically female or male. My son, on the cusp of puberty, is testament to the ongoing challenge of attributing gender to sex. Still rather androgynous in form, with longish brown/blond hair, he is frequently and to his mortification, addressed by the 'female' version of his name. 'When will this end?', 'When will they get it right?', he asks, in some desperation. It would seem that gender cannot always be taken for granted. In a 13 year old the cues looked for are not always apparent. The process of ascription, classification as either male or female, is incomplete, and outmoded cues are being used. Clearly criteria assumed to be universal vary across cultures, geographical and temporal (Kessler & McKenna, 1978:ix).

For feminists, theorising gender, separating it from an essential biological dichotomy, has and continues to stir debate. A biologist by trade, I am used to a similar argument, that of determining the relative contributions of genes and the environment to a person's 'self'. The concept of gender is "not a fixed, unchanging, innate quality in someone but varies from individual to individual" (Stanley & Wise, 1983:103), largely a function of a "general embedding process of sexual attributes in a social world"

(Kotthof & Wodak, 1997:xi). A gender code influences what people regard as their own nature, but is not merely a product of this nature.

Institutions like workplaces have their own “gender regimes” (Connell, 1987:119) which characterise the state of play with respect to their gender relations. Social expressions of masculinity and femininity, which have little to do with biology, help to demarcate differences between the sexes, becoming the basis for the distribution of resources and power. Gendered hierarchies are exemplified by the dominance of leadership positions by male bodies. Seniority linked to male authority typifies school organisations (Eveline, 1996:65). Within schools authority is defined often as legitimate power, and unchallenged.

Principals have been delegated control over people, money and resources. Typically these principals are male, as a result of a myriad of factors, not the least an expectation that the position requires a certain kind of authority, most often associated with men. The daily workings of the school, the staff and student affairs, would therefore remain the province of the associate or even deputy principal, who is more likely to be female.

A distinction is evident, between people-based and other systems that constitute these organisations, and a public/private divide in terms of the visibility of the tasks performed. Almost without exception principals manage buildings, staffing, and the budget, encapsulated in the following quote:

The appointment of an associate principal was designed to release me to participate in the wider educational and political forum outside of the school. I would expect to be wrangling with the minister, 'cruising the corridors of power' to obtain funding for new buildings and the like (P:Z).

In schools the power structure is very obvious, characterised by a flow of information from employees to the boss. A limited commodity, power is coveted (Rosener, 1990:122). Seen often in a zero-sum sense power is diminished for the power-holder if given away. Power has an hegemonic aspect, a defining ability in terms of the way events, issues, situations are enacted and seen (Connell, 1987:107). It is clear that those who are in power are able to place limits on those around them, but less obvious that they “are constrained by it as well” (ibid). Principals obtain power from, and are limited by, their organisational position and the formal authority associated with the position. This organisational stature is augmented by personal characteristics like “charisma, interpersonal skills, hard work, personal contacts” (Rosener, 1990:120). In the world of educational leadership and management where gender power is a central construct the ideology of masculinism is all pervasive and normalised (Duerst-Lahti & Kelly, 1995:11).

Power terms cover a broad category of human relations like authority, influence, persuasion, force (Lukes, 1986:40). The general reason that principals give for becoming principals is the ability, that is, the power to make a difference: “I can inspire people to make changes. I’m looking forward to facilitating programmes, to giving people the opportunity to be creative” (Crow & Glascock, 1996:36). While principals are seen to be powerholders, and the locus of power, this power is multidimensional.

S/he may exercise power to prevail over the contrary interests of others. As well, s/he may control agendas or otherwise manipulate topics for discussion, excluding certain ones for particular purposes. Additionally, this powerholder may endeavour to shape and modify people's desires and beliefs themselves (Lukes, 1974).

The practice of those who 'hold' power is constrained as well. In self-managing schools the promise was one of determination at community level but, in fact, the parameters are rigid, and imposed by the state. It would be a mistake, though, to presuppose a simplistic link between power and agency. "The powerful typically only have and exercise their power by virtue of a web of causal relations over which they have scant control" (Lukes, 1986:13). Analysis of the state apparatus in isolation will furnish only part of the story as "... in reality power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels and is much more ambiguous" (Foucault, 1980:72). Rather in the sense of the children's game

'Who's got the ball?

See I haven't, See I haven't, See I haven't at all'

power is never localised in anyone's hand, but circulates, is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. Individuals simultaneously undergo and exercise power. "Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of articulation ... the individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle" (Foucault, 1980:98).

There is a sense, then, of power being institutionalised in existing relational and organisational arrangements. As such it is both a conserving and stabilising force. Its subtlety means that people's perceptions, preferences and cognition are shaped in such

a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see no alternative or see it as natural or unchangeable. Widely shared historical understandings mean that people tend to shape themselves to fit the patterns of established neutrally-defined role positions. There is a fairly common set of expectations of people who occupy the position of principal, influenced by prevailing structures and associated patterns of power relationships.

What remains problematic is the poor representation of women in either of these positions, principal or associate principal. Gendered distinctions within the secondary sector (and indeed across the service) endure. As a consequence “women and men are segregated into different kinds of work which are also valued differently” (Court, 1994:215). The source of power is variously individual, interpersonal, and organisational (Duerst-Lahti & Kelly, 1995:47), but also has a gender component, often ignored. Gender and power are entwined, power associated with position often conflated with power derived from gender. There is some suggestion, too, that women’s accounts of power differ systematically from those of men (Blackmore, 1989:122), men seeing in power domination, women a more emancipatory perception. An adequate theory of power in this view needs to give an account of how social institutions came to be controlled by only one gender.

While change has been flagged, and feted, and much is claimed in terms of gender equity, in fact little has changed (Court, 1994:213). This is explained in a number of ways. Women may be seen to possess insufficient mettle to make it to the top, a phenomenon described in terms of “when the going gets tough women go limp” (Eveline, 1996:65). Women’s “double day” (Tong, 1992:19), a prioritising of teaching

over administration (Shakeshaft, 1989:88), or lack of “self efficacy” (Vasil, 1996:144) all encode women as ‘lacking the necessary motivation’, suggesting that women choose not to advance up the career ladder. Critical of this simplistic conclusion which lays the blame on women, seeing them as the problem, others contend instead that analysis of such gender imbalances needs to “take not only the production of desire into account, but the micropolitical operations of hierarchy and advantage” (Eveline, 1996:68).

Organised hierarchically, promotion and success involve moving out of the classroom into administration. When success is defined in this limited way (Shakeshaft, 1989:87) those who choose to remain as classroom teachers are categorised as lacking ambition. Women are often measured against sets of male data, especially in the domain of educational leadership where there is a dearth of women, and found wanting. The over-representation of men in management positions, in relation to women, framed as the problem of male advantage, is a question no-one asks.

Apparently normal ways of operating in organisations, when unpacked, are seen to be “institutionally skewed in favour of those who are most like ‘men’” (Hurty, 1995 :290). Women’s lack of representation can be more profitably explained in terms of “the pyramidal arrangement of bureaucratic systems [that] mitigates against reciprocity”(ibid). While not all women would choose collaborative management, “affiliation rather than competition and control is more comfortable for many women” (Court, 1994:14). The lack of this option can constitute a barrier to the movement of women up through, and operation within, a senior management structure.

1.4 Not Allowed To Share

Throughout the educational milieu that is secondary schools a model that privileges hierarchy and single locus of control is all pervasive (Hearn et al, 1989). Power sharing is side-lined, remains an 'undiscussable' (Lukes, 1974). It is possible to conceive of the position of associate principal as a move, albeit a small step, towards power sharing. This, then, could constitute progress, seen by some as beneficial to women, and a career step lost if the position of associate principal is not enacted:

...while endorsing freedom of choice and autonomy for schools to select the management structure that best suits them, at the same time [this principal] laments a wasted opportunity, one denied especially for women. The associate principal's position has become particularly part of the career path for women, given that there are more male than female principals (P:Z).

The statistics only partly bear out this principal's observations.

Of the group of nineteen principals in these large schools, only three are women: two are principals of girls' schools. Of the co-educational schools, then, one out of the fifteen principals is female. The associate principals are, not unexpectedly, female. However, the percentage is not as high as might be anticipated, given that equity is a basic tenet of all school charters, as required by the EEO requirements of the 1989 State Sector Act (James & Saville-Smith, 1992:91). Six of the remaining twelve associate principal positions (seven schools opting for the deputy rather than associate principal's position) are occupied by women. That this may be conceived as a career

position for women generates a flurry of concerns, women potentially relegated to the second rung of the promotional ladder. If the position is being disestablished in schools the so-called 'window of opportunity' for women closes. What endures is the sense that freedom of choice, a liberal notion, is privileged over redressing gender imbalance, however imperfectly this is conceived, at the apex of the leadership cum management pyramid.

Inherent within the liberal framework is the notion of advancement via merit, of moving up the tiers, each progressively narrower than the last. There is an assumption that organisational processes and labour market processes deal even-handedly with everyone. It would appear, however, that the opportunity to accumulate merit and the attribution of merit are structured along gendered lines. Merit, defined as "job-related qualities of individuals" (Mills & Tancred, 1992:186), is both reproduced and changed by organisational activity. In this context the definition of what is meritorious can undergo change. Some groups, collections of 'experts', have the power to define what merit is. Job descriptions, apparently neutral, are often biased. A position that requires a 'dynamic, forceful leader, with administrative experience, and active involvement in co-curricular programmes' is likely to be male. Masculine bias means that a higher value is placed on men's work, and women's skills often explained in terms of 'natural ability' (ibid).

An apparently nominal individual, (Eveline, 1996:72) judged in a context where the connection of authority with masculinity is taken for granted, cannot be evaluated in a gender neutral way. Where individual members of a group are disadvantaged as a result of their group membership then claims of neutrality and fairness both in terms of

opportunity and outcome are invalidated. The thinking practices we use, however, are those created within the relations of ruling so seeing these hidden assumptions is difficult. Where the institutional barriers, both internal and external are unexamined, then the main axis of the power structure of gender is unwittingly endorsed. Merit remains problematic for women, as the statistics suggest.

The role of the state in terms of generating and affirming policy and practices has remained largely unchanged. Endorsing advancement on the basis of merit, the state at the same time pronounces itself a non-neutral arbiter in respect of gender equity. Recognition of the unequal distribution of women in the teaching service is contained in the 1996 annual reports of both the Ministry of Education and the Education Review Office. The state requires schools, through their boards, to devise and implement an Equal Educational Opportunity plan. Sanctions, however, are flimsy compared to the severe treatment schools receive if they are not managing well their curriculum and financial resources. We have yet to see a newspaper headline, as in:

School Slammed For Poor EEO Record.

Parents Outraged!

Even though the state is a “political process whose outcomes are open,” (Blackmore & Kenway, 1993:45) where change is possible and women could benefit, its active intervention in this area has been limited. For example, the 1990 Employment Equity Act was repealed by the National government within three months of taking office. The government argued that the introduction of pay equity legislation was not a necessary intervention on the part of the state to achieve social justice in labour

relations. It was viewed as an unacceptable form of social engineering that would interfere with individual rights, and the working of the free market (O'Neill, 1996).

The result is that the reserve army of women remains: women make up 76% of the part-time teaching group (Education Statistics, 1996:66). Women in teaching overall are paid less than men (Court, 1994:220). To allow 'market forces' to correct this imbalance the evidence suggests is unworkable. The state is thus positioned as an agent in the institutionalising of hegemonic masculinity: hegemonic in the sense of endorsing a particular world view that privileges men at the expense of women. The state is certainly not neutral (Armstrong, 1992:381), but not in the sense that is usually paraded. Legislation without accompanying sanctions becomes the proverbial 'slap in the face with a wet fish'.

In line with the paradigm of self-managing schools each school constructs a management structure that best meets its needs. There is, though, no real possibility of moving away from the single principal in control, and the traditional pyramidal structure, as this thesis will show. Shared principalships do not fit the mould. Two principals in a school must be placed in hierarchical juxtaposition. Interviews with a group of principals reveal similar viewpoints:

Almost an equal relationship...the structure is nevertheless, and I believe must be, hierarchical. There is only one boss. At the end of the day the principal makes the decisions (P:Z).

Nonetheless the Head is obviously the Head ... if kids come in here, then ... (P:Y).

The buck stops here (P:X).

The Education Gazette of Term 3, 1991, contained an advertisement for the position of principal of School W, a middle-sized urban school. The two deputy principals who had worked together closely for the previous two years submitted a joint application. “Neither John nor Carol was keen to apply for the position of a traditional ‘principal’. They associated the role with hierarchical power, combining inevitable loneliness with inevitable stress” (Glenny et al, 1996). The Board of Trustees of School W undertook to consider the joint application should they prove to be the preferred applicants, and indeed they were appointed jointly to the position.

Protracted negotiation with the State Services Commission to win recognition of this new management structure began. The solicitor for the SSC, responded with “The assistant commissioner expressed serious concern about possible difficulties from a managerial point of view related to motivation and accountability. It was considered that a principal would be required to be involved in long term planning for long term programmes. To best implement such programmes it would be advisable for a principal to have full personal responsibility for the position. This requirement is likely to be jeopardised by short term stints in the position of principal” (Glenny et al, 1996). In the end board member, and lawyer, Rodney Harrison, won approval by not challenging existing legislation. The co-principals were deemed to hold the “legal power of the principalship on a rotating basis” (ibid).

While self management and community-based decision making was the carrot dangled by the state this was accompanied by the stick of conformity to larger patterns of

control and change. The complex set of relationships that comprises the state embodies “certain forms of power operating through various institutional arrangements” (Burton 1985:104). The state remains steadfast in allowing only one ‘true’ principal per school. Although the 1996 salary round provided new management flexibility schools, in law, are still entitled to appoint only one principal per annum. They may then construct the rest of the management team, as the board sees fit. Seemingly diluted, in fact the state’s “power and control over policy and resources” (O’Neill, 1996:123) remains. An essentially male structure and site of gender configuration, (Connell, 1995:73) the internal division of labour, and promotional possibilities in secondary schools is still under its control. Its patriarchal cloth is only partly obscured by the cloak of liberalism.

Associate principals, in consequence, become a kind of logical contradiction, constituted as both principal and non-principal. The Ministry of Education, in correspondence, provides the information that “There is no legal definition of an associate principal” (Parratt, 1997 in Appendix A). Most teachers seem unaware that such a position exists, or at least have no clear idea of the place of the associate principal within the management structure of secondary schools.

1.5 Discourses Of Educational Leadership

These two terms ‘co-principal’ and ‘associate principal’ encapsulate different views of leadership and management. Legally the position of co-principal is deemed not to exist. Freeing up of the management structure in secondary schools did not include moving towards this particular role sharing. Why not? Such a stance would seem to

stand in contradiction to the espoused philosophy of self-managing schools, an apparent freedom that, in fact, occurs within very narrow parameters. The position of the associate principal is also very tenuous:

In a legislative sense the associate principal doesn't exist ... the Board of Trustees could unmake the position at will. Orders in Council instruct schools to have a management structure with one principal (AP:Z).

Within education and wider society our experience is structured through language, and at the same time is more than language. More useful is the notion of discourse which acknowledges the value-laden qualities of language. The concept of a discursive field is an attempt to understand the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power. Each of us has an heterogeneous collection of discourses or series of statements that cohere around common meanings and values which we access (Coates, 1997:291). A combination of discourses allows us to perform our different selves, through meaning construction, an active process in which language is central.

“...post-structuralism proposes a subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak” (Weedon, 1987:33). Dominant discourses of female sexuality, women’s place with respect to child rearing, the strident voices of a range of feminisms, and women’s silence in the public forum, are a whirlpool of contradiction for female leaders.

In education there are to be found conservative discourses, which reinforce the status quo, and also radical discourses, providing a challenge to current practice. Some

discourses achieve a superior status, or are so pervasive that they become invisible, and alternatives to these ways of operating unable to be entertained.

I feel instinctively that staff would not accept a flat structure. We haven't the room to move to a co-principal's situation because it would be too complicated. Both of us are too new in our job ... the principal and associate principal would need to know each other beforehand for the shared role to be successful. The board is not ready for this option if they ever would be (P:X).

Implicit in the two descriptors, 'co' and 'associate', are forms of social organisation with applied meanings and values. Both of these structures, while apparently offering new possibilities, remain as contested patterns on the periphery. The discourse of the strong leader in education, in disciplinary and social control terms, is a defining point of reference. Male domination in society is reflected in theories of leadership, authority and control that have, and continue to, ignore the experience of women and the gendered structuring of schools (Court, 1989:21). Current preoccupation with the more competitive and market oriented schooling in the 1990s brings new pressures to bear on women leaders in particular (Grace, 1995:183). The sharing-consultative model towards which women have particular sensitivities is in retreat, the masculine-strong leadership model in the ascendant (ibid:187). "Leaders are tough, abrasive financial entrepreneurs managing the new competitive education markets ... men's business" (Riley, 1994:90). Caution, then, is exercised in allocating women to these positions, construed as challenging, and more suitable for men to tackle.

Inherent in the notion of discourse is that of resistance: there is necessarily interaction which can effect change. At the same time there is pressure to remain 'true to type'.

I am aware that two schools have taken up this option. It may work for them ... I support 'niche creation' in education, the provision of choice. My personal view is that this particular niche is not popular (P:Y).

Some niches are more popular than others? The authoritative principal, as one who is not afraid to consider other options, then take a firm stand in the face of 'faddish behaviour', is confirmed as an effective principal. While the board itself is a group structure, and principals these days operate within management teams, nonetheless, the principal is constituted as separate. For some this is to do with sharing of power which they conceive as ineffective, inefficient, and inappropriate.

The only real experience that I have had of this arrangement is co-coaching in soccer ... it didn't work ... a conflict of interests meant dissatisfaction for both parties (P:Y).

Communication and teamwork, in this view, are seen as unidimensional and hierarchical. There is a strong link between male administration and the coaching field (Hurty, 1995:381). That the single principal is privileged over any other option endorses its positioning as a dominant discourse. Such world views are taken for granted, and criticism or resistance becomes difficult, or seems to make no sense. Within the discourse of successful education the power claim is that of a single locus of control: the principal. This has been legitimated to such an extent that it assumes an

objective truth status. It is almost impossible to conceive of this position in any other way.

The language of efficiency and productivity characterises the management of post-Picot schools (O'Neill, 1996:124). One leader is efficient. However, leaders who are too busy to visit classrooms, hopping from crisis to crisis, "tied down by the unceasing demands of others for their attention" (Southworth, 1993:78) are surely not efficient. The meta-principal, one who in a systematic way reflects on educational practice, the actual gazetted purpose of schools, remains a dream. It is universally recognised that the position of principal, especially in large schools, is a demanding position, but at no stage has there been any move by principal's groups, the teacher's associations, or the Ministry of Education, to introduce a power-sharing option to resolve this difficulty.

In schools the mix of gender, power and authority is a complex one. More often than not maleness and authority are conflated, so the task for women wishing to enter senior management becomes more difficult. The position of associate principal, rather betwixt and between, is an uneasy compromise, still framed within an hierarchical structure. Neither principal nor non-principal, yet both a principal and associate principal, the position resists easy definition. Each principal and associate principal has been left to negotiate the boundary points, to mark out the territory that each will occupy. How some principals do this, and the question; 'whose ends are being served', is an important theme in this study.

1.6 Conclusion

Gender, power and authority are the lumpy mixture kneaded in this study. This chapter has provided the basic ingredients which are mixed with the words of six 'principals' in following chapters. This research is context-based, and experience is an integral aspect. "Experiences are deemed to be a suitable source of information" (Coates, 1997:310). Focussing on lived experience allows a relating of principal practice to theory.

The schools which are the focus of this study are loosely categorised as 'big' schools. Well-oiled machines as they must be, these large schools exert a great influence on the edu-political climate, not the least the insertion of a promotional step in management structures of secondary schools. Within the context of self-managing schools how and why these schools invest, or do not, in this quasi-principalship is unravelled in this study. Perceptions about the longevity of the position within three schools are also considered.

All pervasive in the education sector is the metaphor of the pyramid, with a single leader perched at the top. Why this remains an enduring icon of success, and the sharing option marginalised in an increasingly frenetic sector is explored. Principalships are generally categorised as open to all candidates of merit, yet men mostly occupy the position. The degree to which the position can be viewed as a 'job' without reference to those who would occupy it, or rather a 'job for the boys' is a key part of this study.

Chapter 1 provided a foundation for the theoretically-based analysis that is then woven throughout the thesis. Chapter 2 positions me as a researcher. The interview data is used throughout Chapters 3 to 6 where the roles of principals and associate principals are teased out. In Chapter 7 I include material derived from my experiences as a practitioner in School W. The context is my stated position as an educator, and feminist, as “a woman [who] has the right to live her life the way she wants to regardless of what society has to say about it” (Borland, 1991:74). These tenets necessarily underwrite my work.

Chapter Two: The Researcher And Her Search

2.1 Introduction

As I detail the narrative that is my history the change in role of the female teacher is also revealed. Schooling is the gap between public and private in our culture, providing a “passage from domestic and material nurturance to public institutions and patriarchal identifications” (Grumet, 1988:33), within which women may be viewed as agents who deliver their children to the patriarchy. Others are not so grim, allowing that both students and teachers can be active agents in the change process (Gramsci, 1971). Role modelling by teachers is seen as both as flawed because of its embeddedness in socialisation and role theory (Davies, 1989:4) and as enabling: “The importance of role models in helping both the women themselves and others within the system to view women administrators as a normal occurrence, rather than an exceptional one, cannot be overstated” (Shakeshaft, 1989:115).

Oppositional logic is very commonplace, demanding an either/or kind of stance. Apart from the status divide that usually accompanies such divisions there is also a sense of simplifying, a reduction to a black and white kind of polarity. A feminist post structuralist view embraces a multiplicity of selves, often contradictory, but held all the same. Consideration of the external context within which such selves are both situated and constructed changes the focus from self to situation (Alcoff, 1988:210). The trick is to try to avoid an essentialist, static definition of ‘woman’, allowing for a networked identity,

relative to a constantly shifting set of elements, whilst becoming aware of how essentialised notions of gender underpin the power relations endorsed by the state.

Feminists today continue to suffer from the assertion that their scholarship is marred by their adherence to an explicitly political agenda. Their work is often discounted by those in authority who, ironically, do not acknowledge the ways in which gender has structured their own knowledge and positions of power. It seems apt, then, to describe my place within the educational milieu, to illustrate how my history has shaped my thinking.

2.2 The Researcher As An Educator

The end of a three year fairly mediocre science degree saw my drift through academia pause. As with many other classmates Teachers' College beckoned, if only because it was a one year course, and carried a bond of two hundred dollars. The year was purported to be a 'cruisey' way to save for an 'O.E.', so a-teaching I did go. Teaching called, then, as a non-choice rather than a career choice. There was no sense of commitment: even at age 25 I cashed in my superannuation sure that at age 60 I would not be teaching. Women in their twenties are seen to be "'hedging their bets' to cover contingencies related to husband, children or husband's job changes" (Acker, 1983:126). Studies from the 1960s and 1970s (De Marrais & Le Compte, 1995:142) show that teachers are likely to have selected teaching as a second choice, the decision related to a lack of finances to pursue a more desirable career. Most don't plan to make teaching their life's work: 70% of females

intend to become homemakers, and men plan to become administrators. Although five out of six women intend to return to teaching when their children are in school many do not.

My career has been discontinuous in places as a result of moving for my husband's career, or to accommodate my son's needs. Unlike most of my female colleagues I returned to teaching, albeit part-time, within the first year following my son's birth. Unrecognised by the state as a viable alternative, in an unofficial way job-sharing happened: two women shared a full-time position, but were paid as part-time teachers. Through the goodwill of the principal the full-time position was protected. Part-time positions are more likely to be occupied by women: on March 1 1995 three times as many women as men were employed in limited term part-time positions (Education Statistics, 1996:66). It would seem that the sexual division of labour that links women and child care responsibilities has continued to be reproduced.

Part-time teaching was an imperfect solution to the role conflict that I experienced. I needed to return to teaching. I tried the Plunket morning tea groups, and while the women were kind and chatty, I felt a sense of dislocation. I was starved of intellectual conversation, and missed my professional peers. My father-in-law made it very clear that he disapproved, and that my place was at home with my child. Such pressure can be seen as a shoring up of middle class values: middle class women should not have to 'work', being provided for by a successful male. The status accrued to the male as provider, not to the female as mother. Mothering makes no claim to career or professional status; it is conceived as a calling, is natural, a biological imperative that at some time overwhelms all

women. So such essentialist arguments go. Liberal feminism most closely matches my stance at this time. Accepting the basic structure of the nuclear family, I sought to assert my 'rights', claiming choice and self-determination. The impediments of domestic labour and childcare could be overcome through shared responsibilities, and employing other women who would also undertake this work on the basis of individual, 'free' choice.

My mother-in-law had worked as a primary school teacher, but only after the children reached school age, and always with an acceptance of her obligation to maintain family and home. For her a "woman's double day" (Tong, 1992:19) was the necessary cost of working outside of the home. My own mother gained a tenuous foothold in the middle class: she worked from economic necessity, but also with a desire to get ahead, or at least to position her children to do so. These women worked very hard, without protest. My own mother remarked that

there is little point in complaining about things that you can do nothing about - you just have to make the best of it.

"Many daughters live in rage at their mothers for having accepted, too readily and passively, 'whatever comes'" (Rich, 1977:243). Succeeding generations of women often do not recognise or 'see' gains made by the previous generation (Spender, 1988:title), and are themselves unaware of the strength of hegemonic power.

By the time my son was two and a half years old I was once again employed as a full-time teacher, which set me apart from the 'normal' pattern. My legacy was a context of ambivalence, my own sense of the devaluing of women's roles as mother and homemaker, and a desire to escape such confinement. I equated working outside of the home with independence, a shaking off of the shackles of sexism. Working outside of the home was for my physical wellbeing rather than to financially assist the family or nation, a conceptual shift (May, 1992:162). Increasingly through the 1970s and 1980s the percentage of married women in the workplace steadily climbed, beginning with a doubling of women in full-time employment in the 1950s, in response to the demand for labour in new areas of employment (Novitz, 1987:29).

These shifting perspectives of work were fuelled by new ideas of equality and independence for women. What still endured, however, was the 1950s ideology of maternal deprivation, and the pervasive belief in a mothering instinct. Clearly I was not a 'real' mother: I wanted to maintain my career. A 'real' mother was there when her child arrived home from school, or lingered outside of the classroom at 2.55 p.m., Monday to Friday, fine and especially wet. For two weeks of the school year I could manage this. Many years later, I was challenged by a lesbian woman on this ground: why should I expect any sym/empathy in my struggle with my dual role of mother and teacher. She had been obliged to 'choose'. Why should I have my cake and eat it too? "Mothering and non-mothering have been such charged concepts for us, precisely because whichever we did has been turned against us" (Rich, 1977:249). For radical feminists the family is

identified as the key instrument in the oppression of women through sexual slavery and enforced motherhood.

Teaching suited me, not the least because the nature of the job (hours on site, synchronised holidays) made the issue of childcare less problematic. What was also incidentally provided was “a route to upward social mobility” (Middleton, 1988:86). Professional women who taught as a vocation characterised my own schooldays, which occurred largely within the world of women. In my seventh form year I was engaged by a group of academically robust, committed educators, each known for her idiosyncrasies and passion: albino, dyed and powdered Miss McGahe, Hamlet and Lear’s advocate; bobbed, exotic Miss Candy, of French loaves, and the lyrics of Jacques Brel; formidable Miss Fong, with the key to the world of inscrutable chemical symbols. Teaching did carry a kind of status, was marked as a profession. Today these same graduates are entering other professions: law, management, economics.

As with most women I entered teaching to teach, not to administer (Shakeshaft, 1989:87). Twenty years later I find myself now in the management team of a sizeable secondary school. My path has been through the guidance system. To have advanced via the departmental and curriculum channel would have necessitated moving schools. As a single parent being known in the school, and being part of an institution that recognises and allows for the demands of young children has been very important.

Definition as a 'woman' has been central to my sense of well being. It came as a profound shock to be challenged, indeed subverted by, other women. What I can view now as a particularly radical period in education in Auckland left me feeling that indeed feminism had disappeared, women were fighting each other, all was lost. I had been actively recruited to the union cause in Wellington. The branch secretary was about to retire. I had been in the particular school for only a few months, so was both surprised and flattered when he indicated that many in the branch would like to support my nomination. In what turned out to be trial by fire (the principal had also put forward a candidate) I emerged as the successful pawn. I learned quickly, gained considerable mediation, assertion, and other political skills, and a thick skin.

When I transferred to Auckland I willingly offered myself for a union position in my new school. This was not difficult as there was a decided lack of enthusiasm for such matters. Not to be deterred I attended the regional meetings only to be received amid a barrage of criticism, a sea of hostility that spilled over into comments about my person, as well as my political viewpoints. I did not belong, not only to Auckland, but also to a very strong radical feminist cabal that dominated Auckland Post Primary Teachers' Association at that time. So much for sisterhood. Alienated I struggled with the concept 'feminist'. White, married and middle class, I was made aware of my privileged position. It seemed that there was a 'womanspace' (Jaggar, 1988:270) that excluded me.

Such descriptors are part of the way in which women are constructed, and construct themselves. It was with great relief that I discovered the theories of post-structuralism.

These provided me with a framework that I could use to make sense of the contradictory positions that I held, and was continuing to adopt. As well, I was able to see that feminism indeed had died, but that what was in its place was a healthy set of feminisms. In post-structuralist terms the meaning of 'woman' is socially constituted within language, plural and subject to change (Weedon, 1987:23). "The meaning of the signifier 'woman' varies from ideal to victim to object of sexual desire, according to its context (ibid:25). The individual is always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity.

Taken to its logical conclusion post-structuralism deconstructs, 'woman' remains a purely nominal concept, with the danger of erasing feminism itself. Conflicts like these seem to categorise the current state of feminism, signalling "a paradigm shift within feminist theory" (Barett & Phillips, 1992:205). The seventies ideal of commonality has given way to a phase of reflectiveness (Hirsch & Fox Keller, 1990:379). To manage this change an ethic of criticism, and an aesthetic of conflict is required. The new path endeavours to avoid the essentialism of other feminisms and the nominalisation of post-structuralism by establishing 'woman' as a "particular position, the internal characteristics of the person thus identified are not denoted so much as the external context within which that person is situated" (Alcoff, 1988:210). Such a grounded argument enables women to press for change on the basis that their position, rather than their innate qualities, is a locus of inequity and power. 'Woman' is conceived as an active participant, able to construct meaning and to choose what to make of a position within a moving historical context.

2.3 Characterising The Researcher

My own position as a researcher I have subjected to as much scrutiny. Typically the researcher is omitted from the research report, in case of bias, as an endorsing of the objective gaze. For me what counts as research and legitimate practice has needed considerable teasing out. A person with a scientific background, steeped in the scientific method, my stance has shifted to embrace a feminist methodology, and social 'scientist' paradigm.

At university I enjoyed the 'difference' of being a woman studying the sciences, of being a short-skirted woman in an academic world - I suppose, providing a challenge to the blue-stocking imperative but also flirting with it - trying to resist categorisation by resisting. I felt that I was part of a wave, an advancing of women, a pushing of barriers. The only woman scientist I had heard of was Marie Curie, and indeed, when I was later involved in writing a textbook she was one of the few women of science featured. There seemed to have been no scientific tradition involving women, or so I believed.

As a science teacher I also felt that I was advancing the cause of women, pushing forward the barriers. My own entry into the domain of science was accidental. I had changed secondary schools at the age of fourteen, moving from a rural, small, co-educational central North Island school to a single sex large urban South Island school. Rigidly streamed the latter was unable to offer me a place in the top two streams because I had not studied Latin. Denoted, then, as 'B' stream I was obliged to choose between Maths

and French. (This Arts-Science divide was to dog me throughout my education and career). I enjoyed French so became a core Maths girl. Choosing French would seem to have prescribed my path but I reckoned without Miss Cushen! One of many intelligent, charismatic, challenging spinster women whose teaching I was lucky enough to experience, her resolve, passion and rigour delighted me. I swung back to logic and numbers, choosing to take her class in Form 6 Chemistry, and Biology, while maintaining French, English and Geography. A seventh form that included the existentialism of Sartre, the language of Shakespeare, the anarchy of the 'Lord of the Flies', the shock of 'The War Game', in hindsight probably nudged me into education. What was awakened, I suspect, was a sense of education, and myself, as agents of change.

It occurred to me relatively recently, with some dismay, that instead I may have been complicit in maintaining an hegemonic structure. I have taken some comfort in my place as a female teaching in the sciences, confident that as a role model I could effect change. The literature (Davies, 1989) however, points to the contradictory nature of women as role models for young women, both the sense of what is being modelled, and the assumption of the young as 'tabula rasa'. My own classroom has been peppered with incidents that perhaps "serve to construct and substantiate [a] kind of world view ... [that] plays a significant role in the cultural undervaluing of women (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1992:198). The dominance of class talk by boys, the marginalisation of women in texts, the pervasive use of gender-inclusive generic terms such as 'man', the ethic of competition, the reluctance of girls to push themselves forward during lessons, are inequalities that I have endeavoured to address.

By addressing this 'hidden curriculum' I felt that I could spearhead change. I understand now that the removal of highly visible constants such as pictures in texts, subject choices, and the like, is but a first step. These can mask those less visible and accepted constants which need deconstruction if substantive progress is to be made. Unwittingly, I also modelled an essentialist, ubiquitous woman. Role modelling is not as benign as it would seem. Nonetheless, many women identify particular role models or mentors as important or influential (Shakeshaft, 1989): for me it had been so.

Exposure to feminist ideas as they have intersected with the domain of science revealed to me an exclusion of women from its history, and practice. "As Mary Wollstonecraft pointed out, the inability to do science has been defined by scientists as part of women's innate sexual character" (Schiebinger, 1989:236). By the end of the 18th century conventional European wisdom taught that the sexes were not equals, but were complements of one another. Complementarity provided reasons for excluding women - not only were women excluded, but a whole set of values, qualities and characteristics subsumed under the term 'femininity'. A scientific perspective contained and assumed positions of objectivity, distance, an analytical code. Women were constructed as simply 'too emotional'.

My endeavouring to operate as a feminist empiricist, without challenging the norms of science itself, was based on ignorance. I had not been aware of the ways in which gender structures scientific knowledge and power. I was caught in a double bind; espousing the rigorous application of existing research methods and norms, and at the same time arguing

that following these norms has, and does, contribute to bias in research results "... even changing the focus of inquiry and study to women is not likely to reveal us to ourselves any more clearly if we are using the same old lenses to look through" (Du Bois, 1983:108). These 'old lenses' still have the ascendancy: "the empirical examination of things under controlled laboratory conditions is still the only scientifically accepted method of acquiring information" (Goldsmith, 1990:68).

Increasingly, this scientific discourse is being decried as painting a distorted view of the world. Criticisms centre on the universalising that is inherent in science. A conscious partiality must replace the postulate of value-free research (Mies, 1983:117). If the idea of scientist as expert is to change then the vertical relationship between researcher and researched must be altered, and "We must say how we find out what we do, and not just what we find out" (Stanley & Wise, 1983:195). In this way what is challenged are the norms of science itself rather than the incomplete practice of the scientific method. Bias is made more overt: "scientists firmly believe that as long as they are not conscious of any bias or political agenda they are neutral and objective, when in fact they are only unconscious" (Namenwork, 1986:29).

Although I had no recourse to the language it is clear in hindsight that I became a feminist empiricist, believing that I could effect change from within. As this is a "traditional methodology" (Harding, 1987:186) it can be seen to encounter less resistance in terms of academic acceptance, providing alternative approaches to inquiry which can include personal involvement, and a 'real' account of the research. In fact, this is illusory. What

remains is androcentric bias, empirical knowledge that is not value-free but contains positioned views of reality. The political assumptions that lurk within science endure, the questions that are important to women are still not asked, and it is still difficult to "see women through traditional science and theory" (ibid). The premise of feminist empiricists is that a more authentic 'self' is produced by feminist struggles, and a "kind of feminist author of a new master story" (Harding, 1987:188). Many feminists, however, argue that there can never be a feminist science, and oppose the domination of one person or group that seeks to describe one true reality. They conclude that rather than a feminist science there can only be "many stories that different women tell about the knowledge that they have" (ibid).

2.4 Methodology

Having reflected on my position as a feminist researcher congruence between my philosophy and the practices I employed in the research process was what I sought. A kind of multiple methods approach seemed to me to satisfy the requirements of the study in terms of sufficient information, time and other constraints.

Locating myself in the study occurred via an introductory letter in which I outlined some background, provided the institutional context, and requested participation in the next stage (Appendix B). Ever optimistic, while mindful of the success rate in terms of obtaining replies, I anticipated a high response at this stage. From a sample of 19 schools it would not be possible to generalise about secondary principals and practices. Rather the

usefulness of this qualitative research is to identify similarities and differences, patterns and constructs. The second stage which was a questionnaire (survey) was designed to obtain some demographic information, and a simple gauge of task allocation within the management structures of these schools (Appendix C). A combination of closed and open questions was employed, but brevity was the essential design brief. Principals are by definition busy, many requests for information and response pass over their desks. Brevity may mean less likelihood of consignment to the waste paper bin. In the end no amount of careful design is significant if an empty mailbag is the sample set!

Keen on the idea of a quick scan of my survey group (little did I know) I perused the quantitative research reference section of the library in an effort to hasten the design process. I became familiar with the survey language, albeit at a rather superficial level. I knew about closed and open questions, learned that there are questions that spread responses, those that clump, and yet others that avoid the surveyor's nightmare, the empty set with no answer (Appendix D). In the nick of time my supervisor reminded me that

What you have gathered is interview materials or personal narratives for a qualitative project. There is absolutely no point in considering coding and statistics for such a small group. It is the themes and experiences that emerge, which you will interrogate in your analysis. (Appendix E).

I decided to send my questionnaire as an exercise in itself. It would provide me with some feedback which would provide some context for the main part of the study, the interviews.

The surveys, then, would hopefully tell a story of their own. And indeed they did. The responses in broad brush showed that typically the principal attends board meetings, effects parent and staff meetings, takes assemblies, gives the prize giving speech, writes the annual report, oversees property and major capital expenditure. The associate principal is responsible for the day to day management of the school, which may include professional development, guidance co-ordination, assembly and prizegiving organisation, suspensions, attendance at board meetings. As well, the

associate principal is the principal when the principal is not present (P:Q).

Words chosen to describe the principal were: “chief, friend, companion, partner, peer, commander, overseer, first”. For the associate the bag included “mate, friend, partner, follower, confidante, ally, second”. In complex fashion both hierarchical and mutually supportive language was chosen to represent the relationship between principal and associate. Question 2 provided the opportunity to use a common synonym to express this relationship.

A principal is to a conductor as an associate is to the leader of the orchestra (AP:Q)

A principal is to ship as an associate is to crew (AP:O)

I am not creative enough for this clever wording (P:O)

Bizare [original spelling] (P:M)

The spread of response was unexpected, some benign, but otherwise dismissive or, in many cases, left unanswered even though the remainder of the questionnaire was completed. Perhaps the latter responses were simply a byproduct of the questionnaire design, an insertion of a different type of question. In me was generated a wry kind of reaction, I certainly felt put in my place. Further interpretation would be tenuous.

A variety of career paths were provided, in answer to Question 5. AP(Q) mapped out a path that included part-time teaching, time as a guidance teacher, guidance coordinator, deputy principal, then second principal. AP(O), on the other hand, was Head of Department (Chemistry), then dean, staff representative on the Board of Trustees, PPTA chairperson, senior mistress, deputy principal, associate principal, with a period of five years maternity leave. For AP(X) family/maternity leave comprised six years, then she was a dean, acting senior mistress, deputy principal, associate principal. AP(Y) had been a Head of Department (Maths), then senior master, deputy principal, associate principal, acting principal, associate principal. P(Z) had also been a Head of Department (Commerce), then deputy principal, principal, principal. P(Y)'s path was similar but through a different faculty. For the males a more straightforward path up the ladder, through the departmental loop, was usual. All demonstrate marked career mobility.

Survey research, and its location within the paradigm of quantitative methodology, has been the subject of much criticism for feminist researchers. If this method is to be employed by feminists it must be appropriate, in line with feminist practice and viewed within its political context (Jayaratne, 1983). Surveys lack subtlety and can oversimplify

complex issues by reducing them to a limited number of questions. A feminist critique of survey and statistical research has included the form a question takes. As language is linked to gender the choice of words assumes an enormous importance as does the way in which questions are asked. Rephrasing questions is instructive: "Why do women not value their efforts as much as men do?" rephrased as "Why do men overvalue their efforts?" alters the unspoken focus on women as deficient, often the import of such questions (Tavris, 1993:86).

Areas chosen for statistical analysis have often been sexist in their bias, statistics not always gathered on areas relevant to women (Oakley, 1987:86). Such statistics are viewed as part of "patriarchal culture's monolithic definition of 'hard facts'" (ibid:87). Statistics, powerful because they are concise and therefore easy to remember, often simplify. They have enhanced prestige in the eyes of the public as they are often allied with governmental institutions. In this study statistical research is clearly not appropriate in the traditional sense of applying empirical data to obtain generalisations from specifics.

The usefulness of qualitative research is to identify similarities and differences, patterns and constructs. What the survey baldly provides is that most principals are male, and more associates female, and basic demographic details. To some extent basic thumbnail sketches of the occupants of these positions are revealed. A crude linking of gender and principalships in schools is the obvious outcome but the degree to which the organisations themselves are gendered cannot be extrapolated from the survey/questionnaire. The interaction of the institution and those in the 'top' positions can best be revealed by

interview. The complexity revealed in the interviews provides the "possibility of a critical reflexive position" (Pugh, 1987:79). In this respect survey research is not sufficient as it does not "allow the researcher [to be positioned] central to the research process," (ibid:87) integral to feminist research. Thus layers of information are added, one type of 'data' being used to refute or validate another. Such a combination "reflects the multi-faceted identity of many feminist researchers" (Reinharz, 1992:202). For me, with my background in science and social science this seems particularly apt.

The many voices in which a feminist speaks must be acknowledged. My own list is not as impressively extensive as Phyllis Chesler: "as a psychologist, researcher, theoretician, and clinician - and as a literary and philosophical person, a lover of poetry and myths" (Reinharz, 1992:202). Nonetheless, it does, in relation to this study, embrace a number of contradictory positions ... as a teacher of biology and philosophy, an educational manager, researcher, theoretician, scientist, parent, author, feminist. Using a multiple methods approach reflects this multiple self.

In the same way the research method is augmented by analysis of my own background and experience, providing the context for undertaking the study in the first place, thus "the process becomes part of the product" (Reinharz, 1992:202). This seems more honest, providing "a description of how research was actually done, instead of reconstructing the logic of our techniques" (ibid:212). I have thus eschewed the traditional scientific format for the report, include 'I' for the voice of the researcher, describe my bias in terms of my

personal experience and observations as a researcher, include quotes/ excerpts, all of which provides "a kind of fusion of scientific and literary ..." (ibid:199).

2.5 The Research Process

My request for participation in this piece of research was met with cheerful acquiescence, terse refusal, or silence. Should one be surprised by the refusal of educators to participate in educational research? Within the context of goodwill that has characterised education and is now being eroded this may not currently be uncommon. Teachers and managers in secondary schools are burdened by change, and thus prioritise ruthlessly:

The AP says he is far too busy to be able to take part in this research. Likewise with myself. (P:N)

In terms of sociological research what do these non returns mean? Not all schools replied, some replied but indicated that they were unable to participate. I know about being busy as a practising classroom teacher, member of the management team of a middle-sized school, and mother of a 13 year old. Quelling suppressed scientific conditioning which cry out for adequate sample size, complete data sets, and the like, I knew that I would simply have to obtain background information about size of the school, length of service of principals and associate principals, career paths and other demographic information, from other sources.

Those who responded provided the context for the next stage which, because of family hiccups, occurred later than anticipated. This delay became a problem multiplier. From the limited number of responses three (initially four) were selected to reflect the gender mix of the schools and their principal/associate principal combinations (see Figure 1). When I was ready to interview the principal-associate principal combination in the four schools I had selected for further investigation, one principal was absent because of family illness, and an associate was overseas, on sabbatical leave. Not to be deterred I persisted, snatched interview time where it could be squeezed into what are very busy daily schedules. Interruptions to deal with students who had contravened school rules, staff who needed advice, or enquiries from the board chairperson, were part of the process.

The beginning of each interview was characterised by a brief description of the way in which I wanted to operate, that was semi-formal in delivery. In some instances the associate or principal initiated discussion about my background to which I responded, otherwise I did not elaborate on my educational involvement.

The interviews were semi-structured conversations all of which included the following questions:

- What is the perceived difference between a principal and an associate?
- What tasks do you do? How was it decided that you would do these tasks?
- Comment on the usefulness of the principal-associate principal structure.
- What is the future of the associate principal's position?

- What is the best name for the associate principal's position?

My previous experience with interview-based research had resolved a number of pragmatic issues that influenced this study: issues of recording and safekeeping of written records, confidentiality, use of pseudonyms, feedback. While the use of pseudonyms would allow a certain degree of anonymity there is still for the determined 'snoop' the possibility of identification of schools and personnel. Some details cannot be disguised.

Given that the educational community in New Zealand is relatively small the chance that I would know some of the participants, and if not, would know of them, was fairly high. This proved to be the case. The associate principal of one school is well known to me, presenting the difficulty of narrator overidentification. Another associate and I had attended the same university vacation course several years ago. For various reasons the principals had high public profiles, and as a member of an open management team I have been privy to anecdotes from time to time. The extent to which background knowledge, and my own educational philosophy, affected the interview process itself, I contend was minimal. Reflecting on the process is part of the study.

The interviews thus needed to "be friendly but not too friendly" (Oakley, 1987:33). Maintaining a distance and at the same time being "prepared to invest ... [my] ... personal identity in the relationships" (ibid:41) was my *modus operandi*. The distance was provided by my decision to take a written record during the interview rather than using a tape recorder. While a tape recorder is useful, allowing a more relaxed approach, and the

security of capturing all of the information there is merit in the break of tension, release of stress, and freedom from eye contact that the physical act of writing can provide. Years of note-taking resulted in a fairly full precis which I was then able to transcribe.

I met once with each person from a grouping that included the combinations shown in Figure 1. Understanding that they had control over what was said, and the level of discussion that would ensue, the interviews then became "conversations ... two way passages of exchanging information" (Reinharz, 1992:209). Each person indicated that s/he would appreciate receiving a transcript of the meeting, to annotate for accuracy and to add to, if necessary. A researcher can find herself in a tricky position at this point with respect to issues around ownership of material, censorship etc. Integral to the process is respect, that the interviewee must not be exploited as a research object. This right of censure can prove very dismaying for the interviewer when a favourite passage, one that perfectly exemplifies a piece of theory, is deleted!

I am aware of the "power relationships between theory and experience" (Middleton, 1988:132), and that this piece of research, while it will be sited theoretically, is action research. These are practitioners in situ: "Leadership in action is more dynamic and complex than the analyses of it in the literature" (Southworth, 1993:78). Due care was required to ensure that the experiences observed and reported reflect this complexity. There is always the danger that data will be massaged, or omitted altogether, so that a perfect match between practice and theory, or expectation and practice, can be obtained.

2.6 Conclusion

For women, listening is a tool: the research process for me has provided the opportunity to listen analytically. Speaking and listening suggest a dialogue, a kind of collaborative negotiation. Conversely, the metaphor of science is that of vision rather than voice (Belenky et al, 1989:19). Visual terms are used to describe the process of scientific discovery, truth constructed as abstract and objective.

A women's voices position and post structuralism is potentially a problematic relationship (Mills & Tancred, 1992:199). Both perspectives, however, are a necessary part of a revised feminist organisational analysis. Such a grounded argument enables women to press for change on the basis that their position rather than their innate qualities, is a locus of inequity and lack of power. 'Woman' is conceived as an active participant, able to construct meaning and to choose what to make of a position within a changing context.

The next chapter records the voices of practitioners in action. What is recorded is the history of the associate-principal arrangement, and the context in which it has been allowed to take root, and sometimes flourish. Typically, in the hierarchical pyramid characteristic of educational institutions a single leader uses his/her voice to pass decisions down from on high. To what degree the voice of the associate principal is heard is central to this thesis. How these school leaders position themselves and are also positioned by the organisations in which they operate is a narrative that winds through succeeding chapters.

Chapter Three: A Peculiarity Of Size

3.1 Introduction

Legally, only nineteen schools in New Zealand are entitled to appoint an associate principal. Whether they do so is a matter of choice. In this chapter, as I detail the nature of the positions of principal and associate principal and that of the associate in relation to the principal this notion of 'choice' is unpacked. 'Choice' and 'merit' can be seen to be two of the planks of liberal philosophy, somewhat curiously perhaps, in an educational environment that tends to conflate the word liberal with lax, and laissez-faire. The latter sentiments are certainly not characteristic of the modus operandi of these big schools, typically traditional in nature, upholders of the status quo. It may be argued, however, that in the embracing of liberal philosophy, particularly in the form favoured by the governments of the last decade, they have become, unwittingly or not, agents of change.

The last fifty years have witnessed an upheaval in educational philosophy espoused by the state. Established by the first Labour Government in 1939 as a citizen right, education in the 1980s was redefined as an economic commodity (O'Neill, 1996; Jones et al, 1990). Integral to the latter view of education is the notion of the individual with choice to exercise freely in the educational marketplace. The role of the state is to provide information to enable individuals to maximise this freedom of choice, and to promote the twin ethics of value for money and accountability, central to effective government practice.

A new type of management structure could reasonably be expected as these schools face particular challenges, contingent upon size (Grace, 1995:35). Economies of scale can to some extent reduce workload but management of more people and resources is obviously more demanding. Ministry initiative, in the constituting of the associate principal position in the 1970s, in response to growing rolls in secondary schools, would seem to be a good solution. To what extent has the position met the needs of these large schools? The choices that three schools make in terms of enacting this position, and of the division of labour between principals and associate principals, is the substance of this chapter.

The first large school in New Zealand was Burnside High School in Christchurch, and the associate principal's position was advertised in the 1970s. Subsequent appointments occurred much later, reflecting in part urban, and northern, drift. Essentially now an Auckland phenomenon thirteen out of the nineteen schools are to be found in this area. To a great extent they are of a type, typically serving mid to high socio-economic areas. Size of a school becomes an indicator of success, small schools thus constructed as less effective, and a falling roll signals failure. When a government chooses not to set a ceiling, for fiscal rather than educational means, then certain types of schools become the yardstick by which all others are measured. So-called freedom of choice is hijacked.

The Salaries Grant for Management is paid directly to schools for salaries of staff in management positions. Schools may also opt to be directly resourced for all of their teachers' salaries. By the end of 1996 274 schools (10% of all state and integrated schools) had chosen to do so; 50 of these were secondary schools. The phenomenon of

'bulk funding' is part of the new edu-management discourse. Competition is the ethic which many perceive as corrosive in a system that has been marked by collaboration and goodwill. Informal comments received from colleagues in a number of schools point to the erosion of goodwill following the allocation of the new management units, a consequence of the recent salary settlement. The division that bulk funding has generated, and its significance for big schools, is also explored in this chapter.

3.2 A Contingent Choice

Hierarchically organised, whole school management positions at secondary level have typically included four categories: principal, deputy and assistant principal, positions of responsibility, and assistant positions. The position of associate principal is interposed between that of the principal and deputy principal. A large school phenomenon, the associate principal's position was constituted as a means of sharing the administrative and management loads of schools with special needs: these schools are defined by having a student population greater than 1400 students. Ian Kember, Education Sector Group of the State Services Commission advises that

The concept of associate principals was launched in response to the management of very large schools with roll sizes in excess of 1400 pupils. I understand that the job type was introduced as a "super deputy principal" in the late 1970s in response to the phenomenon of very large schools ... It is important to note that no school is able to have two principals, and that was a factor in the creation of the job (29/4/96).

Such a big or large school is described in 'Ministry-speak' as a Class D school. The categories are as follows:

Total Roll	Principal	Associate Principal
200	Class A	
201-500	Class B	
501-850	Class C	
851-1400	Class D	
1401-1600	Class D	Class B
1601-	Class D	Class C

(Parratt, 1997 in Appendix A)

As stated, these schools are the 'big' schools, some of which now have rolls approaching or exceeding 2000 students. While the Ministry of Education dictates a minimum size there is no maximum size gazetted. Indeed, many schools, particularly in the Auckland area, are feeling pressure from the Ministry to accept more and more students:

Without a doubt big schools are cost effective for the government. Probably around 2/3 of the costs of setting up a new school are saved by expanding an existing school (P:Z).

There are 2100 students on the roll and we would want that number to be 1900, but we need the approval of the Ministry to reduce the roll (P:Y).

The context for the establishment of the position of associate principal would seem to be a recognition that if schools were to 'grow like topsy' (and there seems to be no philosophical underpinning of this decision) then the task for a single principal would seem very onerous indeed. 'Associate' signals a task sharing, to a greater or lesser extent according to the school. More confused now by the advent of bulk funding (direct resourcing of teacher salaries through a bulk grant) schools would seem to have even more opportunity to generate a management structure that suits them. Even so, there is still a statutory requirement that a single principal be at the helm.

Of the big schools most have moved to bulk funding, to a great extent as a result of a change in government staffing schedules in schools. The new Management Resource Grant saw the large schools greatly disadvantaged. Some stood to lose as many as 17 PRs (Position of Responsibility, or in the new terminology, Management Unit, that carries with it particular responsibilities and remuneration). This became an assault on their promotional structure, and thus their ability to attract applicants to perform these roles. Debate with the Ministry, and legal action, emphasising the special nature of these large schools fell on deaf ears. Many felt that they were left with no choice but to uplift the bulk funding option. This boundary skirmish reminds schools that devolution is only partial: the government still holds the policy and purse strings. The cynics saw this as a government move to further the bulk funding cause, integral, in their view, to the ethic of the self-managing school.

Individual self-interest is selected at the expense of professional community, a choice that many principals registered as a serious ethical dilemma (Grace, 1995:144). Principals have also found themselves in invidious positions within 'their own' schools:

Bulk funding has been very divisive. I would not have been prepared to risk it if the staff voted against it. I wrote a protocol in which I made certain promises, and gave guarantees to the staff. They gave their approval, 85% in favour (P:Y).

The school has moved this year to direct resourcing: the principal kept the staff informed of the debate, and the losses and gains to be expected from each mode of funding. He won staff support for the change to direct resourcing (AP:Z).

The debate still rages. In the New Zealand Education Review, a national newspaper for teachers, Bill Noble, national president of NZEI (the primary teachers' union) comments on the situation in the United Kingdom with 10 years experience of bulk funding "Bulk funding doesn't enhance the quality of education for children. It does nothing for parent-staff relationships. At the local level it is administratively costly and inefficient. Bulk funding has failed education in England. It would do the same here" (Ed. Review, May 28, 1997).

Not an easy decision, then, direct resourcing is as stridently opposed by the secondary teachers' union, PPTA, which views this enacting of government 'new right' philosophy as flawed, an eroding of conditions of service, leaving individual teachers open to abuse. Many believe moves such as bulk funding and selling school properties is education

prostituted, “another commodity to be traded in the market” (Jones et al, 1990: 62-3). The government continues to move education into the discourse of the market; education to be purchased, consumed, invested in, within the assumed neutrality of the free market (ibid). Direct resourcing facilitates the move from state-control to community-controlled education, promoted positively. At the same time the lines of accountability become fainter; the state is left out of the accountability circle.

The connection between success, large schools and direct resourcing is strengthened. Generally those attracted to market accountability do so from the base of a strongly resourced school (Grace, 1995:209). In a competitive environment, where many schools feel beleaguered, big schools are seen to ‘have it all’ and constructed as ‘outside of the mainstream’ in terms of the collective struggle. Uplifting of the bulk funding option has further distanced them from this mainstream. Comments challenging the assumption of increased workload as in ‘Do they really need two principals?’, and less enthusiasm to help a so-called successful school, reflect the growing divide between those who easily attract students, and those who don’t. Bulk funding has exacerbated this situation - the divide has become a chasm. Capture of the big schools must be a feather in the government’s cap.

3.3 Constructing The Team

Of the nineteen schools some have chosen to divest themselves of the associate principal’s position, as *making little sense (P:Q)*.

Several schools have adopted a structure that positions one person as the principal, with three or four deputy principals. The 'sense' in this structure is that the territories occupied by the principal and deputy principal are clearly delineated. What is reinforced, too, is an "organisational logic that assumes a congruence between responsibility, job complexity and hierarchical position" (Acker, 1991:169). A lower level position equates to lower levels of complexity and responsibility. The seat of power has one occupant only, defended as the only structure that makes sense with each step in the chain clearly circumscribed. Organisational power is made obvious in the structure and way it is organised, and in the access to certain discourses and information. Norms and values relate directly to the groups in power (Wodak, 1997:337).

One school has reworked the whole school structure: there is an overarching principal, and three 'principals' of three schools that constitute the student body of 2100. P(Y) finds this structure unsatisfactory:

I wouldn't want a separate structure ... the cohesion of this school is one of its strengths ... this school with its 128 year history has a hugely successful formula; every change is well-considered (P:Y).

Whether with an associate or deputy principal, schools have usually constituted an executive or management team of four or five members, each managing a specific portfolio. Such a structure is common in schools these days as they appear to be moving from a rigidly hierarchical structure to one which seems more team-based and flatter.

Schools find themselves in paradoxical positions: they operate often as if there was no hierarchy but at the same time they want someone to have the responsibility (P:X).

Inclusion of an associate principal in the management structure, then, is not a matter of course. For some principals this is a matter of inheritance, for some the status quo which they are reluctant to change, and for others it is a positive choice.

Having an associate principal provides time to think of the big picture ... on one level this is a selfish action as the arrangement directly benefits the principal ... (P:Z).

Given the position's idiosyncratic character it is seen as an oddity rather than part of the 'tried and true' management structure. The 'new girl on the block' is trying to gain acceptance. In the same way as female educators are seen as role modelling the exception rather than the rule (Davies, 1989:4) this quasi-principal role generates some ambivalence. The process has been one of inveigling this position into an hierarchical structure, while leaving the structure intact. A real possibility of sharing the role has never been activated, despite widespread perceptions such as:

Being a principal is an extra-ordinarily lonely job. There is a benefit in being able to share the responsibility with someone else. Legally it is not possible to devolve the responsibility fully (AP:X).

For two of the principals the associate's position was occupied before they were appointed to the school. In one instance the associate, too, applied for the principal's

position. One associate has occupied the position for thirty-five years, the others two to three years only. In the group of nineteen as a whole most of the associate principals are recent (less than five years) appointments. One woman's experience clearly illustrates the shifting sand on which she, as associate principal, stands. Appointed by the previous principal who retired shortly afterwards AP(X) observes that under the previous administration her position was

really that of a glorified deputy apart from attending principal's meetings (AP:X).

The position of deputy principal appears to vary little from school to school. A piece in the jigsaw labelled 'DP' has well-defined edges: it implies an empty slot in the organisational hierarchy, the meaning of which is known. All who operate in secondary schools know that a deputy is likely to carry out pragmatic management tasks, is a position where one 'does one's time', and not particularly envied, as it usually includes the 'grimmer' and mundane aspects of management. The principal's cipher, the deputy is less likely to initiate changes in organisational or educational philosophy. This associate had expected that the position that there would be a discernible difference between the two positions.

In my previous school I had been a junior member of a management team, now I am a senior member - it's a natural progression. I came to this school because of a combination of factors: it is a school I have always liked, it is my neighbourhood school, the position was advertised, someone suggested that I should apply for it, and I got it.

This was the motivator rather than becoming a Class C principal, and I hadn't really understood the politics of the associate's role before I assumed the position (AP:X).

Natural progression implies a “unidimensional model of hierarchical, linear career” (Evetts, 1994:199). The path is well known, and constructed in liberal fashion, as achievable. However, the path that women and men generally tread is, in fact, different. Women tend to walk the pastoral route, men the administrative, and thus the concept of career is different for men compared to women (Cunnison, 1989:15). There are two separate hierarchies within the pyramidal management structures that typify schools. Subject administration is denoted as mainstream to the lesser hierarchy of pastoral administration. Women's career profiles are more often punctuated, characterised by periods of part-time employment, as a result of a sexual division of labour that apportions care of children to women (Shakeshaft, 1989:71). This associate's career path is representative:

My background is in the sciences although my promotional path has been through the deaning system. Mostly I have worked part-time - I feel strong allegiance to the PPTA because of the gains won for women which allowed recognition of childraising years. A three to one equivalence meant that when I took up teaching full-time I was able to advance quickly through the basic scale. Appointment to a PR position as a dean signalled a move up the ladder. Movement between schools was accompanied by promotion. Post graduate studies stood me in good stead, gave me an edge when applying for jobs (AP:X).

Schools have only recently, in a thorough way, within a framework of accountability, firmed job descriptions. Business pundits applaud this long overdue move to efficient operation, a trend that AP(Y) laments:

... downside of modern education...at a menial level job descriptions have to be known but at any senior level of a profession it can stifle creativity (AP:Y).

Within an hierarchical structure a job exists as a ‘thing apart’; its rank and role defined prior to occupancy of the position, and to a large degree sustained irrespective of the person occupying it.). A job can be rationalised and standardised; it occupies a particular place in an organisational structure. Job evaluation evaluates jobs not people (Acker, 1992:257), and the rules form the “underlying logic that provides at least part of the blueprint for its structure” (Acker, 1989:169). Ranking produces an hierarchy of importance of jobs in an organisation, worth and reward linked, usually via a pay structure (Marshall, 1994:159).

An abstract job assumes an abstract, that is disembodied, worker, whereas “real jobs and real workers are, of course, deeply gendered and embodied” (Mills & Tancred, 1992:257). Differential socialisation, education and training means that women come into an organisation with particular skills, often not seen as appropriate or necessary for management positions (James & Saville Smith, 1992:94). Personal inclination towards a particular leadership style may lead to job-person mismatch, of significance especially to women who are likely to “meet selection criteria which are predominantly male-

dominated” (Jirasinghe & Lyons, 1996:86). Many jobs have in reality been designed on a gendered base, typically incongruous with female characteristics.

While the term deputy principal seems to contain an unambiguous understanding, what is at once pronounced is the uncertain place of the associate in the structure. As a ‘glorified DP’ the associate is positioned as more than the deputy, but less than the principal. It is no wonder that some choose to rid themselves of this difficulty. Structures with lines of accountability clearly drawn, within a society that ranks people crisply, with a number or two, will have no tolerance for fuzziness. Contested meanings implicit in the descriptor ‘AP’ generate uncertainty. Challenging for both principal and associate, what is required is communication not only about how, but what tasks are carried out. Why particular tasks are necessarily located within the domain of the principal usually remains unquestioned. Nonetheless, the associate’s position carries within it the germ of a challenge to the model of single, autonomous leader.

3.4 A Principal’s Portfolio

In schools X,Y,Z, as with others, the associate has been allocated the responsibility for what is called the ‘day-to-day running’ of the school. This means that s/he may be responsible for enrolment of students, parents evenings, student management, student assessment, course choice and assessment, policy review, professional development, student care and guidance, resource management. The degree of involvement in each or any of these portfolios is variable, dependent to a great extent on the make-up of the

management/executive team, but most importantly the point of view of the principal. In the end it is the principal's determination of the boundary between the two positions that is all important. Generally, the tasks may be seen to have been 'cribbed' from the deputy's rather than the principal's portfolio.

...now a clearer sense of my own domain; last year I had a more clouded view of my responsibilities. This year I am looking at managing the school within a broader policy framework. I had not seen course choice and selection as part of my brief but co-ordination is required in these areas to prevent some policy issues from falling through the cracks. Consequently, I have initiated a series of major reviews on advice and guidance to students. This may mean a trampling on people's toes as this cuts across what have been narrowly defined portfolios; territory issues may arise. Both the DP responsible for timetable, the DP responsible for curriculum, and departmental heads will be involved (AP:Z).

Defined by the principal as bearing the responsibility for day-to-day management the associate of Z school knows what is the principal's domain, and the specific responsibilities held by the incumbent deputies. However, the boundaries were left for her to negotiate. Experience has provided the paradigm, and confidence, to rework these boundaries. On the other hand, the associate of Y school, who has occupied the position for a long time, having served with two different principals, has a clear understanding of his place. He sees an easy moving between the positions of principal and associate:

The Head is suffering from incipient 'flu so I will move into principal mode, take assembly etc ... if here on deck then the principal will take the assembly, but maybe not, if called away ... (AP:Y).

What then is principal-mode? A certain kind of authority is seen to reside in the person cum position of the principal.

The power to define the way in which management structures, and portfolios are constructed, apparently rests with the principals and Boards of Trustees. In fact, this is an illusion as the state sets the terms in which leadership in schools is understood. In managing educational institutions the state's role is more than regulatory. It has a constitutive role in "forming and reforming social patterns" (Connell, 1987:130). Even though it seems that many women "prefer a collegial, teamwork leadership style" (Court, 1990:131) this option is only partially available. In a few schools appointment of a new principal has led to a change in management structure, but this does and can only occur within very narrow parameters.

The new principal has worked very hard to reconstruct the management team. After considerable discussion our portfolios have been teased out: the principal has great strength and background in curriculum matters so she was interested in working in that area. Interest in the finance area and the principal's perception of this as an area of strength led to the BOT redefining this role, and devolving this responsibility to the associate (AP:X).

The situation described in School X is atypical. It is not usual for the financial management of the school to be removed from a principal's brief. (It can be argued that as the associate is indeed a principal that this has not actually occurred). Similarly, buildings, staffing and appraisal, would be more likely to feature in the portfolio of a principal rather than an associate.

I don't know of any school in my 20 plus years of teaching where the principal is not responsible for financial management (AP:Z).

Some autonomy within a team framework seems possible.

Essentially the day to day running of the school is my brief. I make independent decisions. There is no need to actually report back to the principal, although there are lots of people feeding into the decisions, not only the principal, but deputies, and other staff (AP:X).

AP(X)'s responsibilities include salaries and contracts. While the principal retains responsibility for property management there is some overlap which a defined meeting schedule is resolving. Association of these responsibilities with the role of principal makes clear their relative importance. Citing local and international literature on the role of the principal the Ministry of Education has identified a basket of key tasks that a principal would normally do. "She/he will manage curriculum and student learning; planning, monitoring, reviewing and reporting operations; informing and advising the board as its chief executive; promoting a positive image of the school; teaching (if required); student

activities and welfare; personnel; school property; finances; school and community liaison” (Education Gazette, 1997). The only negotiable task in the list above is that of teaching, the actual purpose of the organisation in which these people are employed. Typically an associate would be involved with teaching (if required); student activities and welfare; personnel, and school and community liaison.

For P(X) fairness was a significant factor:

On the grounds that the associate applied for the job from another school she has a right to be an associate principal ... to be an associate principal she had to take a principal's role ... (P:X).

The associate has speaking rights at board meetings, negotiated by the principal. There was no previous history of shared power at this school although there had been both an associate and principal in the previous administration.

In my head I know that this is the least that can be done ... it hasn't been easy ... in board meetings the principal is still the one the board turns to as only one principal can be a trustee (P:X).

In School Y, apart from the staff representative, the principal is the only management team member on the board. AP(Y) finds this not to be a bother:

While the principal has to go to board meetings I do not have that position imposed. People are not too concerned about the pecking order around here. If there is a tough discipline problem in the school then I do this ... honoured that the principal gives over this responsibility (AP:Y).

The rationale provided by AP(Y) suggests choice and a weighing up of options, but his ready acceptance of this way of operating means that there is no real challenge. Benevolence is saluted, and the principal's right to dispense duties is not questioned.

Some principals have negotiated on behalf of, and 'allow' their associate to attend the board meetings. It is difficult to imagine that a person could really be responsible for the daily management of the school without direct communication with members of the board. As well, it is hard to conceive of an effective board which was not cognisant of the daily practice of an educational organisation.

The state does not allow associate principals to have voting rights, and yet a Class C principal has all of these powers. The divide between associate and principal is instructive. The Ministry of Education does not overtly draw the line between principal and associate, seeming to leave it open to individual schools. However, reinforcement of the single 'power point' and representation at trustee level, means that restricted choice is the reality. Again there is a reminder of the refusal of the state, the governing body in education, to sanction a sharing of power.

Each of these pairings (principal-associate) presumes and describes a level of trust that is required in order for the arrangement to be functional. These are not, however, viewed as shared principalships. While frequent communication between principal-associate is integral to effective functioning it is the division of labour, efficiencies to be gained, a deputising for the principal in times of need, an easing of the principal's lot, that tips the balance in favour of retaining the associate's position. There are blurred boundaries but negotiating these is seen by most as manageable, and worth the effort. A shared principalship, on the other hand, is viewed as unwieldy, demanding of too much time, and overly dependent on personality and compatibility.

The main axis of power structures in schools remains the principal, usually male. As such, "the general connection of authority with masculinity" (Connell, 1987:108) is sustained. This structure is hegemonic, enforced, then, as the standard of excellence. Certain values and beliefs achieve discursive ascendancy. Within these defined parameters women, too, are compelled to support structures and practices even though they may 'go against the grain.' They, too, as principal, believe that there is only one way to operate effectively. Had P(X) not been 'obliged' to have an associate it is likely that she would not have chosen to include this position within her management team.

I would not have chosen an associate principal ... but now not so sure (P:X).

The changes that several principals have negotiated remain a 'nibbling away at the edges' which in no way challenges the core.

3.5 To Teach Or Not To Teach

Several recent initiatives have positioned associates closer to principals. They are full eligible members of the Principals' Association, the impetus for which

came from the principals themselves ... good for the morale of second principals (AP:Y).

As well, associates have, in the 1996 salary round, negotiated individual contracts, and are no longer part of the Secondary Teachers' Collective Contract.

... it must be hard for the principal because of the contract. There is little difference in our salaries, both of us attend conferences etc. Being on an individual contract in a sense has made things easier but this has meant losing links with the collective contract. I have mixed feelings about that. I regret it in a sense as PPTA has served me well, and I believe in the collective, but at the same time my position as manager/leader is now clearer, and firmly linked to the principal (AP:X).

In a sense, then, an anomaly has been corrected, not without considerable effort. Between a rock (PPTA) and a hard place (the Ministry) associates had to fight hard to win this financial recognition as a 'principal'. Constituted as a Class C principal-equivalent this has been a loose descriptor only: Associates have few of the legal rights of a Class C principal. (In most schools there is still likely to be a considerable gap between the salary of the associate compared to the principal). The broader issue, previously faced by other

principals, of separating management from teaching in the formal remuneration structure, is the cost. *The Picot Report* (Ministry of Education, 1988) was responsible for the separation of curriculum from administration, and thus the content and form of education were delineated as separate issues. Separating funding and the negotiation of individual contracts for senior management positions, such as principal, associate, deputy, and assistant principals, away from those of other teachers drives a “deeper wedge between those two areas of work in schools” (Court, 1993:111).

Some have welcomed the opportunity to specialise as a manager. Neither the principal nor associate of School Z teach. Their history is one of interrupting meetings to ‘tear off to class’, being constantly late because of urgent disciplinary or other matters, thus not doing either job properly. The principal is often out of the school; the associate, then, is often the principal ‘on the ground’. School X, however, has reworked its management structure to allow each member of the team to teach a class which they believe is essential if they are to retain a feel of the ‘pulse’ of the school.

All of the team now teach, one class each, and this makes sense ... most teachers who advance into administrative positions have been competent or superior classroom practitioners. I had regretted not being able to use the skills associated with my subject area ... (AP:X).

The principal of School Y relishes the opportunity to get back into the classroom:

I spend some time in the classroom, talking to 3rd formers, teaching them about the philosophy of the school, and the ethos of streaming ... jacket off, sleeves rolled up, I become less of 'The Headmaster' ... This type of feedback is important ... (P:Y).

The associate principal of the same school also chooses to teach one class.

... choice to teach a senior Maths class ... therapy ... It's important for my credibility to be seen in the front line, at the whiteboard face, to appreciate those pressures. I don't think anything's lost ... (AP:Y).

What would be lost? Each of these two models has strength: specialisation versus groundedness. The essence of a school is the teaching and learning that takes place in the classroom. All other aspects may be seen to support and enhance this function. Yet, more often than not it is the administrative and management functions that are celebrated, that earn the public approval. The students are celebrated as a set of exam results, an educational product to be touted by the principal as evidence of his/her efficacy as leader. Rarely do the students at grass root level, engaged in the everyday round of lessons, see the principal. The principal is often too busy to teach, having moved on, beyond teaching, to deal with the more important tasks of budgetary management. School X's pattern, with all management team members teaching, including the principal, is uncommon.

In fact, there are two management arenas in schools - classroom and school management (Court, 1993:94), but only one is visible in the educational management literature. Moving out of teaching (management of class and individual learning), to managing of the

whole school as an organisation, is the typical advancement path. “Complexity and responsibility are defined in terms of management and professional tasks” (Acker, 1991:169), and remunerated accordingly. Promotion is still gained in education by moving out of the classroom (Shakeshaft, 1987:88), and upwards. Such language mirrors a symbolic scaling of the pyramid of administration, and locates promotion within a management discourse, defined hierarchically.

3.6 Conclusion

Each of the associates sees the position as a viable career path, but at the same time are concerned that

like the Takahe it may become an endangered species (AP:Y).

Less in number than deputy principals the position of associate is not well understood in the educational community at large. Where the position is understood it is seen as a legitimate career avenue. However, the boundary between the tasks assigned to an associate compared to a principal is fluid. The degree to which the two positions reflect an hierarchy of tasks that ‘befit’ a principal, or rather the strengths of the two practitioners, depends on the interpretation of the principal. Typically, teaching is not one of the tasks a principal would expect to carry out. The divides between management and teaching seem clearly demarcated, and many would be surprised to find that this is considered at issue.

The constitution of a Board of Trustees is supposed to (Ministry of Education, 1996) reflect community interest, parental regard, the ethnic composition of the school community. “For all students to be treated fairly, therefore, it is important that women and men, all ethnic groups, and low and high income families are represented” (Ministry of Education, 1996:27). Boards have the power to co-opt to achieve this representation. In fact, boards are likely to reflect the views of the powerful in society, to be white, middle class and usually male (unlike Parent-Teachers’ Associations which are largely female). Despite the drive to dismantle centralised structures so providing equity as an outcome, encapsulated in the State Sector Act, 1989, the powerful in society continue to exert undue influence. Schooling, as part of “the patriarchy (rule of the fathers) in which we live” (Jones et al, 1990:134) continues to exclude those who don’t count: “the government makes the laws, [and it is] headmasters who organise our schools” (ibid).

The next chapter largely details the experiences of one woman who has ‘made it’, appointed to the position of associate principal of a large, urban, co-educational school. Her experiences provide an account of the transition from deputy to associate principal. a role that is similar but at the same time vastly different.

Chapter Four: Almost But Not Quite...

4.1 Introduction

This chapter mostly seeks to provide an indepth view of one women's experience of the associate principal's role in order to describe what is perhaps a shortlived and dwindling new species. To continue the metaphor, is this an evolutionary deadend or is the species deserving of attention? Has such a position a place in management structures that aim to move us into the new millennium? Does it matter that these are learning institutions that aim to prepare young people to operate effectively in the present and future?

Governments have always engaged in dialogue with the community in general, and the education service in particular, about the purpose of education, and its policies and practices. The National government came to office in October 1990. Their premise was that educational achievement and skill development required enhancement so that New Zealand, through its educated youth, could meet the needs of a highly competitive, modern international economy. "The imperatives of a modern world require a new culture of enterprise and competition in our curriculum" (O'Neill,1996:117). The Draft National Curriculum documents (1991, 1993) lay claim to the set of skills and understanding necessary for achievement of success in a modern international economy. [In a] "context of rapid social and economic change ... students [must] be adaptable and play their full part in this changing environment" (ibid:131).

Has there been a similar shift in management terms? Most closely associated with schools is the pyramidal management structure. While there has been some change over the past ten years, with management teams now the norm, still there is one person at the top of perhaps a team of four or five, generally one principal and three or four deputies, or one principal, one associate, and two or three deputies. This structure has such primacy that it is accepted as an unchangeable given, and rarely challenged. Any other structure is construed outside the norm, a structure that schools which fall outside of the parameters of success, might select. P(Z) comments that

co-operative management, the structure shown by two fairly ordinary middle-sized schools is not workable (P:Z).

Others contend, instead, that this hierarchical structure has had its day; the old military style "chain of command hierarchy [with its] unspoken rules and codes too lumbering and muscle bound for today's economy" (Hegelson, 1990:xix).

Many managers, especially women, refer to themselves as 'in the middle of things', not at the top, not "reach down, but reach out" (Hegelson, 1990:45). Authority, in this scenario, arises from strengthening interconnections, and drawing others close, which differs considerably from the distancing effect of the 'king in his castle'. Location of the 'leader' at the centre of the web may seem, at first glance, to be no more than moving players on the same chessboard. However, it provides an opportunity to reconceptualise power, and in so doing "move from inequality to interconnection" (Gilligan, 1982:62). A pyramid

symbolises both increasing and diminishing opportunities for power, prestige, and reward in the journey from bottom to top: reaching the top is the ultimate goal. Conversely, the ideal spot in the web is the centre, a strong centre around which is built an interrelated structure, where "every point of contact is also a point of connection" (Hegelson, 1990:49). The degree to which schools can enact a web structure, premised on information sharing, within a context of privacy restrictions, the right to confidentiality, health and safety restrictions, and a welter of other regulations, is contentious.

In the school that is the focus of this chapter the associate does wield considerable power albeit dispensed to her by the principal, according to his will. Should this be otherwise? As she has become a principal in her 'own right' the principal has become further distanced from the daily running of the school. Given that students are the business of the school is the associate no more than the principal's handmaiden, reminiscent of the "tea and tampax" role that so often characterises women in educational hierarchies (Neville, 1988:101)? There is the implication that the school's daily business involving students and staff is 'small fry' compared to buildings, budgets and the like, and thus can be safely delegated to an associate principal.

Many studies have shown that men and women are segregated into different kinds of work which are also valued differently (Court, 1994:215). Whether the work carried out by the female associate and male principal is yet another example of a sexual division of labour, and whether it is necessarily 'what a principal does', supposedly irrespective of gender, is the essence of this chapter.

4.2 Naming The Associate

The position of associate principal is poorly defined. Indecision about its title has exacerbated this situation. Originally designated by the Ministry of Education as ‘associate principal’ there is now a fluidity in naming. “Other than the principal and associate principal, schools are now able to name members of senior management by names they want to use. Associate principals have often been informally called second principal but in recent years, at least, they have always been known as the associate principal” (Parratt, 1997 in Appendix A).

This is perhaps to be expected given the management jargon now being applied to schools: quality assurance, clients, mission statement and so on. Schools have been encouraged to reframe themselves with marketing lenses. Accordingly, businesses have been encouraged to forge links with the education sector (O’Neill, 1996:148), to provide commentary on aspects such as curriculum development and teacher training, as education has been opened up to competition. A discourse of enterprise packages education as a commodity, to be delivered and marketed as efficiently as possible. The new language of management suggests new labels for principals such as Chief Executive Officer or public relations specialist.

The associate principal in question feels that it would be more honest to be described as a second principal:

The board sees the principal role as CEO which is more appropriate ... the proposed title for the associate principal is then principal. This would actually be an honest description of the role ... we would be the first in the country, and pioneers. Many implications would then flow on. This has not yet happened. The principal proposed instead second principal, but this implies second best, and this community would not accept second best. Operating principal rather than principal would solve the problem. Principals implies co-principals which we are not (AP:Z).

This associate feels that the term has been cheapened. She describes the variety of ways in which the term can be read, the need for a clearer definition. 'Associate' has become rather cliched, and is used very loosely. Designed to solve the management challenges peculiar to 'big' schools the term has no fixed meaning or inherent status. The confusion is evident in the advertisements that feature in the Education Gazette:

- Vacancy 29 March 1995:46

Hogben School: Deputy (associate) Principal G1, national residential school for boys, 8-18 years

- Vacancy 15 June 1995:18

Heretaunga College: Associate deputy principal, Class D school, 1 March roll 983

- Vacancy 19 February 1996:2

Papakura High School: Associate Principal ,Class D school, Deputy Principal salary scale

- Vacancy 10 March 1997:21

Browns Bay School: Associate Principal G3, roll 620

- Vacancy 21 July 1997:21

Burnside High School: Associate Principal, Class D school, 1997 roll of 2170

- Vacancy 18 August 1997:15

St. Paul's College: Associate Principal, Class B school, 4 Management Units

The Education Gazette is the main vehicle by which vacancies are advertised; it is also the means by which state policy and procedures are conveyed nationally to teachers in schools. It is thus a communicative arm of the state. The way in which vacancies are listed, and the language used to describe these, mirrors and/or promotes school realities. Typically, there are four sections in which the advertisements are located: principal; deputy and assistant principal; positions of responsibility; assistant teachers. Listed in this order what is immediately reinforced is the descent from powerful to minion. Associate principal is not listed as a category, and these positions are slotted into the assistant/deputy principal section. Communication with the editor of the Education Gazette (Appendix G) revealed a lack of understanding of the position of associate principal.

That the term 'associate' is used in such a free-flow way, often conflated with deputy principal, engenders a range of responses in the reading audience. The term is used often to mean a deputy principal equivalent. It is applied to schools with rolls that range from 620 to 1800. It locates the associate still within the deputy principals' collective contract

for salary, thus either raising the status of the deputy, strengthening the sharing aspect of the role, or getting an associate principal 'on the cheap'.

Many primary/intermediate schools are using the descriptor in a way that does not mesh with secondary school usage. Depending on staffing entitlements primary and intermediate schools may have one or more assistant principals, a deputy principal and a senior teacher (Parratt, 1997 in Appendix A). There is no provision to include the position of associate principal. As well, the term 'associate' has connotations outside of the educational arena that suggest full and /or partial relationships, as in legal and medical groups. Professionals typically belong to professional associations, groups of similarly qualified individuals concerned with conditions of employment and other professional matters. Principals have the option of belonging to SPANZ (Secondary Principals' Association of New Zealand), regional Principals' Associations, or the Principals' Federation. Such groupings variously suggest a loose equivalence, a grouping for a particular purpose, and also liaisons between primary and lesser partners.

The principal of the same school has views that are both in sympathy with, and stand in opposition to, that of the associate.

Some schools are changing to principal and second principal, and I favour these terms. There is too much historical resonance with the name principal for it to disappear. CEO, too, is problematic because of its association with the non educational arena, and therefore, carries a pejorative sense, in some quarters. The concept of principal is

firmly embedded in our community psyche - people ring and ask for the principal and it is clear that they are asking for the boss, the school leader. U School uses the descriptor second principal but for this board naming remains a problem, and second principal is not sufficient. At the time of the first appointment 'associate' seemed the right choice, the sense of 'closely associated with' rather than 'deputed for'...(P:Z).

Clearly there is some awareness of the importance of naming. There is debate between the principal and associate, between the principal; the associate and the board. Why does it matter, in reality, whether an associate principal is called 'associate', 'second', 'operations', or 'day-to-day' principal? Implicit in their statements is the notion that while in one sense this is a semantic game, in another the act of naming an associate or principal carries with it a history and claim to power. Piggy-backed onto the position of principal the associate does not exist separately - it is constructed in relation to a principal.

Language, then, becomes the site of political struggle. It does not just mirror reality. "It is now accepted that language is inextricably linked to culture - not just the way things are, but working at largely unconscious and symbolic levels, shaping thinking" (Court, 1989: 19). This associate appears to experience her position in a number of ways that stand in opposition to each other. On the one hand she is positioned as 'equal to' thus as powerful and authoritative within the school, and as a principal. Conversely, having to explain, justify and negotiate her position all the time she is positioned as 'less than', and thus relatively powerless as the principal's offsider, unable to take the big decisions.

The names linked to these two positions indicate how social power is exercised: in her everyday life this associate principal must operate within those contradictory contexts. "Multiple readings are not just interesting mental exercises, they reflect the complexities which we live as concrete beings" (Jones, 1991:94). Words and images are the means by which understandings are conveyed. Given that such understandings are relative, meanings are often multiple, and subjective. Some images, however, endure and acquire a permanency: the single figure, the principal, at the apex of an hierarchical structure is one such enduring image.

Discursive practices within education locate 'real' power in one person, named accordingly. Within this context the associate and others learn what counts as an educational leader. Unlike the principal whose position seems clear, for this associate her subjectivity is a site of disunity and conflict. The principal is not ready; neither sees the logic nor necessity for relinquishing the title. Thus, material weight and power are contained within the term principal. Consequently, this associate's resistance to categorisation as second best is likely to "remain marginal to existing practice and dismissed by an hegemonic system of meanings and practice as irrelevant and ignored" (Weedon, 1987:35). An impasse results, and the status quo is maintained.

4.3 What The Associate Is Entitled To Do

For the first fifteen months this associate saw her job, from a deputy principal's perspective, as being quite different. Some tasks like school ball organisation were

common, but other outward indicators show that she is not a deputy principal. Part of this process was an alignment with the appropriate professional group. She had been an executive member of the Deputy Principals' Association and had assumed that this link would be maintained. (There is no Associate Principals' Association). However, the principal of this school made it clear that this was not appropriate, and that membership of Principals' Associations would befit her change in status:

The principal makes the position available to the associate ... he insisted that the ties [to the DP's Association] be cut - I am a principal not a deputy principal (AP:Z).

The situation with the board is different. There is no room for negotiation and personal choice. Only one principal can be a full member of the board as constituted in the Education Act. She is, thus, an adviser to the board, with speaking but no formal voting rights. Another staff member, an elected representative to the board, and co-opted members, have full membership. Despite this seemingly iniquitous situation the associate feels compelled to attend the monthly board meetings as decisions made in this forum have consequences in terms of the management of the school.

Often I am the only person who knows what is really going on in terms of the school's daily operation (AP:Z).

The associate principal is in the school on a daily basis whereas the principal is likely to be out of the school meeting with architects, Ministry officials, other business leaders. The

suspension process, too, illustrates the somewhat illusory power accorded to the associate's position:

... on the one hand I have real responsibility, the decision to suspend and go to the board, but the principal signs and has legal responsibility (AP:Z).

The suspension of a Form 3 female student who took marijuana on a school picnic, is a case in point. The associate principal suspended the student, did all the background investigation, contacted the parents, completed the requisite paperwork, yet the principal is the signatory at the bottom of the letter, and his was the announcement to the staff:

I suspended a student today (P:Z).

The use of the descriptors 'I', 'us', 'them', clearly signals the hierarchical distance between the speaker and the listener/s. A 'we' discourse signals solidarity and a feeling of community, a break in the hierarchical order. The subsequent exchange between principal and associate is illustrative of differing perceptions of the two roles, at the end of this arduous investigation:

I'm really pleased to be able to share this ... (AP:Z)

Yes, well, it's my head on the block ... (P:Z).

“Talking past each other” (Tannen:1994:206) is often cited as a characteristic feature of speech between men and women. People often do walk away from the same conversation having ‘seen’ different aspects of it. In this case an attempt to empathise is ‘read’ as a reminder of a power differential. Interaction-focussed talk, employed by the associate, characteristic of women’s talk in the private sphere (Evetts, 1994:79) is allowed to spill over into a domain that the associate viewed as interpersonal, but the principal viewed as public, and thus, functional. Solidarity is hoist on the petard of status, connection and status constructed as parallel and mutually exclusive (Tannen, 1994:205).

In terms of values and preferred ways of doing things, by and large organisational structures are grounded in men's experiences. The qualities women bring to the organisations are often undervalued, or ignored in a domain that is constructed as rational, instrumental, public and impersonal (Burton, 1988:8). Attitudes and practices are based on the idea that women are better at emotional work than men. "Men are the actors, women the emotional support" (Acker, 1991:81). Gender divisions continue to be transferred, and recreated within particular sites at home and work. Although there is nothing inherent in jobs that makes them appropriately female or male the distinction between men's work and women's work endures. It is not that men and women do different things: it is the status differential that remains the problem (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Appraisal associated with individual contracts is relatively new, and problematic, especially for women. A person's relative merit in relation to a promotional position is understood to be based on their ability, or capacity, to perform in the position. However,

research evidence shows that men are viewed as more able, to have more natural ability in a range of areas, and that they describe themselves accordingly. Women tend to downplay their contributions (Marshall, 1994:166). Typically women are stereotyped as better able "to perform emotional work, e.g. looking after children, rather than hard mental work" (Burton,1988:7). Skills associated with human relationships are valued less highly than technical areas (Court, 1993:114). Often the areas that women tend to gravitate towards are people-centred, and typically difficult to evaluate, conceived as "women's natural sphere of influence" (ibid). For an associate principal, considered to be 'on her way' to a principalship of her own, these findings are both significant and concerning.

The hierarchical valuing of qualities in schools is seen by critics to constitute a structural flaw. Alternatives to the pyramid atop of which is publicly perched a single leader, calling down to those below, are required. A double helix model (Regan, 1995:409) overcomes the devaluing of one section of the organisation at the expense of the other. As neither strand is of greater import, unlike the top and bottom of the pyramid, decision making becomes a "collaborative process where role alone neither grants nor withholds authority and responsibility for decisions" (ibid:415).

4.4 The Associate's Tasks

Essentially this associate principal is the person who runs the school: she is responsible for its day to day business. The associate is responsible for student resources involving staff, students, and parents. The principal is responsible for physical resources (buildings,

property), and embodies the link between the school and the wider educational community (Wellington, ERO, external agencies). This principal was also on the Executive of SPANZ (Secondary Principals' Association of New Zealand). Staffing responsibilities are shared but the principal has little contact on a daily basis with students; this is the designated realm of the associate principal. He does, however, maintain contact via the sporting arena, where he is a constant presence and about which he is meticulous.

For two years they had been talking about the need for change within the Management Team. To remain a small team leading a large staff would mean that possibilities in terms of professional development for other staff members would be limited. The associate's brief of student management was ever expanding, and compared to other team members the role was very wide. Often women adopt roles or portfolios without boundaries.

Curriculum is curriculum, and similarly with the DP in charge of timetable and daily organisation these are discrete areas with clear boundaries (AP:Z).

The roll rise from 1600 to 2000 students generated a need for change. At one stage they had considered rotation in and out of the management team. However, the need to correct a gender imbalance in the team (most of the senior PRs are male) meant that the rotation would have to be qualified by gender. Direct resourcing and freeing of management units in the new promotional structure provided the flexibility to appoint permanently a woman to the team, with full deputy principal status.

The associate believes that the presence of another woman on the team has made a difference already; she brings a specific view, along with the associate, on management ... "there are a lot of shortcuts, one's speaking the same language" (Evetts, 1994:74). The associate principal lays claim to a set of common understandings that she and the female deputy have as a result of sharing the same sex and gender. Women administrators are typically plucked from a culture of women and cast into a culture of men. The third deputy principal has assumed the associate's student management function, the associate now with the overview for student assessment, and management of the team. Both of the women, then, are involved directly with students whereas for each of the male members of the team their associations are more indirect.

The team meets weekly without the 'first' principal to raise issues around the school and its operation. When the full team meets the matters raised are

more global ... The principal produces the broad vision; the associate gives the principal freedom from the daily burden to philosophise, envision, think of the big picture (P:Z).

The more powerful the person the larger their verbal possibilities in discourse. Those with power determine which issues are discussed, the nature of interaction (Wodak, 1997:339) and the authority to shape the educational vision and philosophy in 'their' schools. The status divide between knowledge creation and dissemination is well-documented (Court, 1994:213). The principal is framed as pivotal; without him there is no vision. In this structure vision, expertise, power are concentrated at one level, the 'message' handed

down from on high. Authority is imposed from the top down. "Nothing is more common when discussing leadership today than mention of the leader's need for vision. Vision has become one of the buzzwords of the decade (Hegelson, 1990:221). For this principal leadership involves pursuit of a singular vision in which others are required or encouraged to participate. Visionary leadership can be "synonymous with powerful and controlling leadership" (Southworth, 1993:85).

This principal would expect to be able to directly criticise or comment on any aspect of the associate's performance and then expect a change in practice. His interests capture the way events are understood, situations are defined: he is very clearly 'the boss.' For the principal the appointment process was designed to

select an associate with complementary qualities, a person on the same wavelength, one who would challenge me intellectually, to be friends but not necessarily to socialise together (P:Z).

Both principal and associate principal agree that there must be compatibility between their educational philosophies:

It would be impossible to work alongside an associate principal who was opposed to the essential philosophy espoused by the principal (P:Z).

The principal believes that the associate should function as a conduit for staff opinion to the principal. He, as principal, sees his role as standing back from the associate: he doesn't need to know all details of events in the school. While the associate would concur with the second part of the claim, the 'standing back' is not as clear cut as it is pronounced.

There's theory and practice, and theory as espoused (AP:Z).

Power structures can be illustrated by looking at the gap between theory and practice (Wodak, 1997:346). Conversely, the principal believes that he must keep the associate informed if she is to understand and to take the philosophy, 'his' philosophy and vision for the school, into her daily dealings. The principal of Z school has a clear sense of how long he will be in the school, the set of challenges to be met, where the school needs to be at the time of passing over. He expects that his tenure will be longer than that of 'his' associate. He anticipates that successive associate principals would be considerably younger than him and thus operate more to enact his vision which he will continue to mould, and evolve. More his age (slightly older) and thus his counterpart, the current associate is part of this evolutionary process.

I expect that, as principal, I will be the bedrock, and that the associate principals will be more transitional (P:Z).

The message for this associate is ambiguous, to be read either as an expression of confidence, or of lack, if she were to remain in this job for any length of time. The

associate is positioned as 'on her way' to a principalship, in transition, not the 'real' principal, in the same way, a deputy principal's position in a smaller school is often read (Ribbins, 1997:299). While the deputy principal's position seems less ambiguous the same 'grooming and moving on' process is apparent. Neither has yet 'made it' therefore, their positions are necessarily less durable.

The position for the associate has been a good training ground but there are some areas that she is not versed in, mainly financial. The communication path in some instances bypasses her. For example, performance management and the attestation processes are seen by the principal as his domain so the related documentation is not disseminated. This is a consequence, and danger, of compartmentalisation, the price to pay for specialisation. In some senses, then, she can see the associate's role as narrowing, less fitting her to operate fully as a principal. It is easy to become less knowledgeable about some important areas like staffing formulae, attestation, salaries, capital budgets, roll predictions and so on. As well, she knows little about technology. In a smaller school she might expect to become *au fait* with all aspects of school functioning.

Why does this matter? Within a discursive field not all discourses carry equal weight or power (Weedon, 1987:35). While this associate is fully conversant with all aspects of the daily running of the school the gap in her knowledge of other aspects she finds concerning. The principal, however, is not anxious about his lack of knowledge of daily details, and indeed, finds it liberating to be released from 'the daily grind'. "Two separate hierarchies within the pyramidal structures of schools" are still to be found (Cunnison, 1989:156). The

administrative path most usually trodden by men, and the pastoral path available to women, is the usual exemplar, but there is a similar divide evident here. Down 'among the women and children' the associate is constituted as less, even though she is dealing with what is actually the bread and butter of the school, the students.

4.5 Leadership Divide

The associate's leadership style is consultative, flexible to be able to be responsible to the requirements of situations; she enjoys working with others. She knows that she has no monopoly on skill and talent. She perceives her role as leader to facilitate growth of the staff, enabling staff, to make their life easier. In the same way she has always taken her own professional development seriously, meshing what works in schools with her own personality. Experience in schools over 20 years has enabled her to watch and learn from people she admires. This experience, other models and reading have produced her personal style, which continues to evolve.

... the hardest thing would be to stop learning and develop a defined style (AP:R).

For the first 15 months she was learning the job, a mentor-mentee model. She experienced the 'classical' (Byrch, 1995:70) mentor-mentee arrangement, in which the needs of the mentee are identified and targeted by the mentor. In this way the mentor, one of a group of "significant others who use their power and status to help proteges to develop their careers" (ibid) guides the mentee's development. Typically, traditional

mentoring is 'non democratic, discriminatory, and unavailable to women. For this associate the only mentor available to her is male, and the difficulty is that it is 'male' qualities that are stressed.

To this end I take seriously my role in the associate's professional development. The reworking of our roles in part addresses this. At the same time it is important not to define roles too rigidly, and I claim the right to cut across any portfolio. I have introduced a category into the budget wholly under the control of the associate: \$20,000 for deployment as she sees fit. Some financial involvement thus becomes part of her brief; in the same way HODs identify and control key cost centres, so will the associate. Typically, promotion to a DP or AP's position distances that person from any financial involvement: this portfolio narrowing must be reduced if the AP is to really experience the job as a principal (P:R).

Although this associate has had little training or the opportunity to develop expertise in financial management she welcomed the opportunity a 'tagged' budget provided. While she is delighted to have the freedom to initiate and reward, without having to go 'cap in hand' to ask for funding, she would have welcomed some consultation prior to the event. As it was she found out only after the principal's report to the board had been written, in which this new initiative was recorded. The way in which the funds were allocated meant that she is blurry about the parameters.

Paradoxically, then, experience has exaggerated rather than lessened difficulties. Now that she is performing 'as a principal', negotiating boundaries and limits has become more

difficult. In a sense the mentor role has been reversed, a scenario that is not atypical (Woodd, 1997:27).

The problem is that I don't know what will be passed on and what won't be ... responsibility to right this situation lies with me as much as with the principal ... both have to work hard to inform each other.

People with power can manipulate interactions by passing on information selectively (Wodak, 1997:339). Exerting power is a negotiated process, a form of social interaction, often polarised, where one person is rendered passive in the face of an active other. Often women submerge their own natural instincts to conform, and 'not rock the boat'. AP(R) feels as though it has become her responsibility to

negotiate the rapids in between ... satisfaction from good outcomes from potentially difficult human relationship issues ... making choices from time to time that sit uneasily. Sometimes reticence is sensible, choosing what to push ... and is right to do so.

There have been no major conflicts between the principal and associate but inevitably differences of approach, yet they do not discuss overtly the differences in role perception. At times the associate finds her role very difficult. While she is a principal at the same time the school can have only one principal; necessarily this engenders conflict, and a role definition that is

at the same time clear and contradictory (AP:R).

The associate has no difficulty any longer in taking the hard decisions, increasing confidence in herself a spin off from her time in this position. Now that the principal has seen that she can manage difficult students, staff who are underperforming, truculent parents, he is less inclined to be looking over her shoulder: she has proved that she is 'strong enough' as a leader. She has learnt an enormous amount, both positive and negative, about being a principal, and what she would or would not do as a principal in her 'own right'. While her particular style is effective it is different to that of the principal. Diversity of style is an advantage but when they are sited in opposing camps, collaborative versus hierarchical, this is less easy to accommodate. She remains realistic about what can or can't be achieved.

One of the issues that this associate must face is her own growth and satisfaction in terms of management of a school. Whether the role will 'be enough' she does not yet know. She has never been happier, loves the staff, students, the school: this is an exciting school community and culture. She is constantly optimistic, and the position for her has been a good experience overall. There is no doubt in AP(R)'s mind that she would still have chosen the associate's position even if she had been

aware beforehand of its hidden rapids.

Women in management are more likely than men to be rendered structurally powerless as they have few favours to trade (Wilson, 1995:769). They are more likely to be occupied with more routine, low profile jobs. Structural change may go some way to facilitating the

advancement of women in education, so that they may push through the 'glass ceiling', the metaphor that symbolises so well barriers to women's advancement (Ehrich, 1995:74). Without attention women such as AP:R may be seen merely as tokens, failing to attain that critical mass below which they are viewed as exceptional. "The importance of role models in helping both the women themselves and others within the system to view women administrators as a normal occurrence, rather than an exceptional one, cannot be overstated (Shakeshaft, 1989:115).

She has found the associate principal's role to be:

stunningly difficult ... a positive career path ... nonetheless I can't ignore the demands in terms of personality compatibility ... greater than any other working relationship I have previously experienced. There are so few associate principals so there hasn't developed an institutional understanding that makes people accommodate different personalities.

"It's not hard work that wears you out, but the repression of your personality ..."
(Hegelson, 1990:229) The principal's claim to power is transparent and immovable. While it is not unexpected that an organisation will experience disorders in discourse, (Wodak, 1997:336), and shared meaning cannot be assumed, negotiating the path has been difficult in ways that this associate principal had not imagined.

4.6 Conclusion

The role of associate principal is a difficult one to sustain in a school where another leadership role overshadows and constantly interrupts it. "Career and gender can be experienced as problematic if the managerial responsibilities of headship are perceived as being at odds or in conflict with gender identity" (Evetts, 1994:158). The relationship between this principal and associate is certainly shaped by gender, but the layers of meaning are more complex than the term indicates. Power is invested in the principalship.

While power and leadership are not synonymous they are closely related; this principal uses what he perceives as 'legitimate' power (Wilson, 1995:168) to reward the associate (her own budget), to share his expertise (as her appointed mentor), and to act in coercive fashion (to correct her mistakes) if need be, according to his judgement.

Publicly, there are two principals, although one is privileged over the other in terms of authority, ability to articulate the school's 'vision', salary, and independence. One is very strongly constituted within the public domain, the other the more private domain within the school (Cunnison,1989). It can be argued that, in line with the lack of ambivalence about the meaning of the name 'principal', there is a clarity about the job of the principal. The associate, however, is constructed 'in relation to' the principal, and as such must continually readjust to the whims of 'the boss', as well as perform a job that stands on shifting sands.

Must the position be organised in this way? The associate begins to fit the role of principal more comfortably: is this a vindication of the position? Can the position function as a training ground for principals, drawn often from teaching ranks with relatively little management or leadership training? Recent surveys carried out on behalf of the Ministry of Education have indicated a worrying trend in terms of management of financial resources in schools (New Zealand Herald, May, 1997). One might expect that the roles of either the deputy or associate principal would function to groom a person for the position of principal, but if some portfolios, for example, finance and resource management are so jealously guarded, then that sort of expertise is unlikely to be gained.

The next chapter considers whether female leaders fare better in an organisation that is peopled by women. There is a sense of incongruity experienced by women entering what are more likely to be male-defined organisational structures; whether women's organisations generate a similar discord is explored.

Chapter Five: Gender And Leadership

5.1 Introduction

The literature surrounding leadership in schools is extensive, and a hotbed of difference. Central to the debate is the assertion that there are male and female ways of leading; but this is by no means generally endorsed. “While good managers of either gender may act the same, they may well acquire their skills differently” (Rosener, 1991:7), and some would add, be judged differently. Whether it can boil down to a personal way of operating (a style), informed by a particular set of life experiences, that stand aside from gender, is part of this debate.

The market model of schooling positions the principal as Chief Executive implementing the goals of “efficiency, effectiveness and competitiveness” (Court, 1994:10), ‘selling’ the school to the local community. This model constructs the principal as logical, with technical, business and numeracy skills. In contrast is the affiliative leadership model, which positions the leader as a member of a team of equals. Listening to and support of others is the goal of this type of leader. Leadership is conceived as something you do ‘with’ rather than ‘to’ other people (Court, 1994:13). It is a “large and amorphous concept” (Duerst-Lahti & Klein, 1995:11) embedded in which are relations of power.

P(X) argues that there is no particular style, that there is considerable diversity in style among principals, that only in a particular constraining culture would one find a cause-

effect link between culture and style. Rather than see a pervasive culture these three principals subscribed to the notion of 'the way we do it around here'. Their comments about the significance of context, the need for grounding findings in practice, are endorsed by many researchers (Southworth, 1993). The influence of workplaces themselves, that is, the context in which a leader finds him/herself, cannot be ignored. "Organisational socialisation ... often overpowers the effects of carefully structured professional socialisation" (Hart & Bredeson, 1996:83). The context itself is a powerful force that acts to endorse particular job descriptions and rationalise organisational hierarchy (Acker, 1989:169). The rules of job evaluation are "the underlying logic of organisation that provides at least part of the blueprint for its structure" (ibid).

This chapter describes the experiences of three principals, and the process of 'becoming a principal'. With two to seven years experience they are relatively new to the position. Principals of large schools, they face challenges and seek solutions in ways that may be peculiar to such organisations. To what extent the organisation, and position of principal, moulds the incumbent, or provides the opportunity for a person to exhibit an individual style, is the focus of this chapter.

5.2 Big Is Better?

A decreasing roll is seen to be a sign of the failure of a school to meet the expectations of its community. While the relationship between a community and its school is a complex phenomenon, the simple outcome of this mismatch is that parents choose to send their

children elsewhere. This necessarily reflects poorly on school leadership suggesting an inappropriate philosophy, and/or practice. In its 1996 annual report the Ministry of Education commented that “In 1996 poor school management occasioned 116 follow-up reports in state and state-integrated schools, the main reason the identification of poor curriculum management in the school. In most cases this related to the poor performance of the principal and/or the Board of Trustees”. Evaluation is on the basis of a match between stated aims and measured outcomes, not for example, that a good school “should be small enough for everyone to know one another by name” (Sergiovanni, 1995:48).

Although competition between schools is now the norm they are required to be responsive to community needs. Special needs allowances, curriculum examples drawn from the local environment, language programmes, building projects and so on will reflect the community in which a school stands. While it is a simplistic indicator, roll size does provide some sort of measure for parents, suggesting that the school is listening to its community. Large schools, however, become educational magnets in their communities where students and parents clamour for a place, and places are restricted. What these schools offer is ‘success’, usually defined traditionally and narrowly in scholastic and sporting terms. In the context of rapid social and economic change students may also need to learn “to be adaptable to be able to play their full part in this changing environment” (O’Neill, 1996:131), qualities, however, less easily measured.

In less advantaged communities these schools are seen to be beacons of opportunity, icons of academic excellence and success. Big, according to the advocates for these schools,

means flexibility, open to risk, open-minded, independent, stronger. Others criticise the standardisation that big schools demand; “the larger the school the greater the temptation to treat one another like interchangeable parts and our subject matter as discrete and unconnected” (Meier, 1996:13). In the last 1/2 century in the United States there has been an average per school enrolment increase of 410%, from 127 to 653 (ibid). In New Zealand at present (1 July 1995) secondary schools average 778 students (Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1996).

Currently, the big as successful equivalence is the defining position. Other schools scramble to join the club, advertising in each other’s territory, poaching students with offers of a place in a sports academy, bicultural programme and so on. These schools advertise their sense of permanence, vitality, diversity, and claim to be able to meet student needs in a variety of ways. The economies of scale in a big school are pronounced significant. For example, they can employ subject specialists, expand guidance capabilities, fund new initiatives, and so on. Conversely, it is argued that money could be saved in small schools via a lower student:non teacher ratio (Sergiovanni, 1995:51). Contrary to conventional wisdom it may be that large schools, in fact, show “penalties of scale, requiring an extra layer of managers ...” (ibid:50).

Challenge, however, is muted. The relationship between school size, academic success for all, and alienation remains unexplored. Concern has been expressed regarding New Zealand’s high youth suicide rate but not usually in the context of school size. “In small schools, the other 70% belong. Every kid is known, every kid belongs to a community

that includes adults ... catching children who stray too close to the edge” (Meier, 1996:14).

These large New Zealand schools, originally established for largely demographic reasons are now sites of conscious educational selection for large numbers of parents. Size and academic success is seen to be linked. For many of the big schools there seem to be enduring qualities that ensure their continued existence. One lauded quality is quality leadership.

Historically, New Zealand's outstanding schools have been characterised by outstanding leadership (P:Y).

Leadership in education is personalised, and a school seen to founder or flourish on the reputation of the principal. By definition, the principal of a big school is successful. Some bemoan the continued use, and over-use, of the word leadership “as a counterproductive blind alley for school organisation” (Davies, 1990:204) in its endorsing of the traditional chain and command style of leadership. Research and tales of practice show, nonetheless, that the principal is an important factor in the success of schools (Hart, 1995:106).

5.3 A Matter Of Style

Quality of leadership, it is asserted, is

what makes or breaks a school...this school has always been ably led (P:Y).

Leadership means “infecting colleagues with one’s educational beliefs” (Southworth, 1993:75), and is not just about the day-to-day running of the school. Leadership is complex, dynamic, abstract, and at the same time mundane (ibid:75). These principals have adopted different strategies to enable them to ‘lead well’: a cohesive management team and a carefully structured workplace are paramount. In these big organisations the leader needs to be in command of the big picture.

A flat management structure means flat responsibility. I believe in structuring jobs to get the best out of people I employ. Some one person at the end of the day has to carry the can (P:Z).

Separation of management and leadership is a debate that characterises the management literature (Kotter, 1988; Grace, 1995; O’Neill, 1996). Is a manager and a leader the same thing? Can a person be one without being the other, and does it matter? Olsson (1996:359) equates traditional management and leadership; effective management seen as a form of task leadership or collection of behaviours. Leadership implies followers (Brosnahan, 1996:15), motivating, inspiring, and developing a vision. Management seems more involved with check-list type items, budgeting, planning, monitoring and the like. One, however, does not necessarily exclude the other.

An historical tracing reveals how recent is this view. Modern management discourses prior to the 1980s and 1990s were conspicuously absent from schools, such cultures perceived as largely irrelevant. The principal, a scholarly educationalist, was constituted as the leading professional, where staff meetings would be times of shared pedagogic discussion. Efficient administrative practice was expected to arise out of general professional competence. Good organisation or administration was mediated in terms of the realisation of the educational purposes of the school, seen as paramount. Professional expertise was held in higher regard than administrative, deemed not to require any particular knowledge, “pedagogic professionalism coexisting with the cult of the gifted amateur in administration” (Grace, 1995:33). It was considered likely that an educator, from the mathematics domain, for example, good with figures, would be able to adapt to do the timetable and other administrative tasks.

A new era of management dawned in the 1980s dragging leadership into the domain of the technical and scientific. Establishment of large schools contributed to this discourse of modern management practice; its relevance to the efficient operation of these large organisations could not be denied. Concepts such as “senior management team, middle management, management by objectives ...” (Grace, 1995:35) became all pervasive. In this context the principal is required to have expertise in modern management practice and systems thinking. Modern school leaders can be seen to occupy contradictory positions, as managers cum leaders on the one hand, and technical problem solvers on the other. Often there is little time for reflection about education in the broad sense.

P(Z) believes that often principals don't think widely enough.

What is required is an understanding of public policy formation. I have achieved this in a variety of ways. My associations outside of the educational arena (I sit on a board with a lawyer, an accountant) are instructive. Reading of non educational/ management literature and biographies etc of successful and failed leaders ... Colin Powell, Richard Nixon ... political and military history and biography, provides a model of a successful leader, gained through understanding a person's life, and decisions taken at the crossroads. My own lived experience, and influence of other colleagues are major contributors (P:Z).

Leadership is usually considered to be a male domain and this then has been the context for academic study (Ferrario, 1991:16). This principal's modus operandi dovetails neatly with the Great Man theory of leadership, (Still, 1996:64) where "leadership and governance are marked collectively by male ancestry and individually by great men" (Duerst-Lahti & Kelly, 1995:26). For male leaders, whether recognised or not, there is a sense of congruence, a slot in a long tradition of narratives through which we typically come to know leaders. The recent publication by *LIFE* magazine of the '100 Great Leaders of the Millennium' in which ten women rate a mention, is a case in point.

P(Y)'s personal leadership philosophy stems largely from observation of other principals in a number of schools, and his experience as a practising teacher.

I was a good teacher. Assessment and curriculum knowledge have always been a keen interest - in these areas and others I am well read. I am interested in the issues of the day I not only read widely but am a good listener. There is a connection with other principals; this network is useful. The school hums with a strong work ethic, partly modelled by me, partially the school's long term focus (P:Y).

Framed within the discourse of the “powerful professional” (Coates, 1997:310) this principal, with a specialised vocabulary at his fingertips, is someone with agency. Unquestioned norms that typify the advancement path for principals are apparent. The rise through the curriculum forum, access to mentors both within and outside of the school, use of old boy networks, suggest a very male model. At the same time P(Y) pronounces himself to be a good listener, qualities usually prioritised in women’s speech communities (Still, 1996:71).

Participative ways of operating are generally considered to be part of a female leader’s basket of skills. P(X)’s style has come from

... what works. I have picked up bits and pieces that work - Stephen Covey and cohorts - while at times they can seem evangelical they are underpinned by trust, moral consistency, being true, which I find important. While I have never found a leadership style that is entirely convincing a comment from a past colleague has been an operating premise ... ‘In the classroom part of what you teach is what you are’ (P:X).

“Principle-centred leadership ... principles that ... enable, fulfil, empower ...” characterise the writings of the popular edu-management literature (Covey, 1990:178). This principal would appear to be what is described as a transformational leader (Rosener, 1990, Ferrario, 1991) who perceives a sharing of power as an asset not a liability. Her comments reflect what women often say when talking about leadership, described as ‘what comes naturally’ (Rosener, 1990:19). The implication is that of a gendered link between the skills required for collaborative leadership and the qualities typically associated with femininity.

Style, though, is rather difficult to pin down, and align with women or men, despite the abundance of definitions and descriptions currently available. Research (Rosener, 1990; Southworth, 1993) shows that in terms of both task or people-oriented styles and behaviours the difference between male and female managers is insignificant, that women are no more people-oriented than men are task-oriented. Endeavouring to categorise leaders as either transformational, expressive, transactional, interactive, is seen by many as a counterproductive focus on leadership style. The categories themselves become impediments that restrict understanding (Southworth, 1993:78). The circumstances in which leaders act are of great importance in determining which style will be employed, the essence being leadership in action. Both transformational and transactional leadership are mutually dependent (*ibid*).

Not all women fit a model which presumes that maintaining relationships is the female leader’s key concern (Acker, 1995:65). Differences between women are as real as those

between men and women. However, the discourse of difference invariably positions women as the “social workers of management” (Ferrario, 1991:18) assuming that women display a more supportive, relations-oriented style of leadership, thus described as transformational, interactive leaders (Rosener, 1990:19). The danger is that such a style will inevitably be necessarily linked to women. On its own this may not be sinister but when effective leadership is seen to require traits stereotyped as masculine then the “typical man and typical manager [become] almost identical” (Wilson, 1996:827). Although fashions with respect to management have changed “the ascription of sexual difference remains constant” (ibid), women perceived as women first, managers second.

5.4 Leading By Example

Each of these principals feels keenly the responsibility to lead well. All three principals describe a set of expectations that they aver is necessary for leadership in schools, in particular an association of leadership with power, authority and performance. “Traditional hierarchy is based on and nurtures traditional, positional authority (legitimate power) allied with coercive and reward power ...” (Lane, 1996:278). The source of these expectations is variously the principal him/herself, outside agencies, the communities both within and outside of the school. Congruence between action and words seems important, as is the notion of strength; strength of resolve, strength personally, strength as a public figure. A certain type of authority is endorsed.

The position creates a distance which one principal, in particular, had not expected. Inherent in P(X)'s position is that staff do not approach her in the same way that they had when she was the deputy principal. Previously she had found that staff would confide in her if they felt that things were not going well. Her experience is that staff think harder about what to say if they have a complaint, now that she is the principal.

... the principal is not approached unselfconsciously. Teachers themselves have expectations of the principal: they look to someone being in charge in the same way as they are in the classroom (P:X).

Power differentials in schools are located at each level of the pyramid. Teachers have power over students, teaching staff over ancillary, administration over teaching. 'Power over' ... is the prevailing sense, position linked to authority (Southworth, 1993:75). As principals have experienced the everyday life of a teacher (the typical advancement path) and identify strongly with it, then many different relationships between principals and teachers are theoretically possible. Principals are able to identify with the culture of secondary school life, individual colleagues, certain styles of teaching, ways of dealing with students. All of these experiences act to reduce the distance between principal and teaching staff, in a sense disguising the power and authority attributed to a principal. At the same time the principal is constructed as distanced, and in charge (Wodak, 1997:355).

Socially validated authority is considered (Hart & Brederson, 1996:87) to be necessary for leadership to be secured in the sense of contributing to school growth and development..

“Leader successors are newcomers who must be integrated into existing groups validated by social process, granted legitimacy by sub-ordinates and superiors before having an impact on others” (Hart, 1995:107). It is not a one-way process. For new principals a period of accommodation occurs. In the taking charge process when the new leader is legitimised the succession can be both custodial (maintaining the status quo) or innovative. While P(X) is perceived as an innovator the leverage granted her is finite.

Before she took up the position P(X) had underestimated the way people depend on someone who makes them feel safe and secure. She speaks of the change required in the public presentation of her principal-self, in order to be seen as competent or confident.

The principal is constituted differently in people's heads ... Vulnerability in a principal unsettles a staff. Transparency about how one is feeling is not helpful. I have come to think that I can't wobble too often in public. Both the principal and staff create the principal. Before I took up the mantle I had underestimated the way people depend on someone who makes them feel safe and secure (P:X).

There may be tension between the principal's need to fit in and her desire to effect change. Often a newcomer is reshaped to become custodian of pre-existing practices and values. There is pressure on the principal to follow suggestions and orders as much from those she leads, as well as from her superiors. Her professional identity is moulded in the process (Hart, 1995:118). Without this collective validation of her authority there can be no leadership. One woman, in a position of leadership, finds that she needs to be steady

and unemotional. Are men, too, as leaders, categorised in the same way? P(Z) finds it unsurprising that a staff would want these qualities in a leader; his goal is to be the

one person for them to rely on, to stand firm, to function as the backbone of the organisation (P:Z).

In the same way P(Y) contends that

staff much prefer the principal to make the decisions. They come here to teach and take co-curricular activities. An enduring feature of this school is a benevolent despot at the helm, a similarity between each of the principals of this 128 year old school. There is an institutional expectation of decision making: this is what a leader does (P:Y).

This principal uses the power that comes with the organisational position and attributed formal authority. Leadership in schools mirrors “the perceived need for principals to be strong men to control disruptive students” (Court, 1994:11). Education statistics relating to suspensions which are increasing at an exponential rate, only serve to validate this premise. The most commonly reported behaviours leading to suspensions are: physical assault (21%), continual disobedience (22%), and drugs (9%) (Ministry of Education, 1996:34). There are clear divides in terms of sex, ethnicity and socio-economic groupings. Overall nearly three times as many boys as girls are suspended (Appendix H). Ironically, women, who are more likely to be an associate or deputy than a principal, are also more likely, in this role, to find disruptive boys as part of their brief.

This construction is a reflection of a general perception of the suitability of women as educational leaders. The characteristics associated with the successful leader are more congruent with traits attributed to men than women. Both males and females associate effective leadership with an authoritarian style, defined in terms of “dominance, aggression and other stereotypically male attributes” (Wilson, 1996:827). Such attributes, toughness, power and strength include the ability “to dominate and face down opponents in situations of conflict” (Connell, 1987:73). Public displays may incorporate anger (a facet of how power is enacted) but not vulnerability (an aspect of weakness). An active-passive dualism is sustained, the former privileged over the latter in the context of educational leadership.

Prior to the appointment of P(X) the board consulted extensively with staff, students, and parents about the qualities that they would wish in a leader. Their attribute list stands in stark contrast to the list above.

The qualities of warmth, accessibility, energy, personal approach were identified as important. At the same time, however, the staff required extra strength in a principal (P:X).

In this context versions of femininity constructed in opposition are those of dependence, passivity, empathy and nurturance (Court, 1994:10). Such characteristics have been seen to suit women more in the domestic sphere, and also in teaching, which involves the care of children. For P(X) these ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ qualities are demanded. For P(Z)

they are delegated to the associate principal, and for P(Y) not mentioned at all. “Talk of hardness, drive etc. negates both the normalised feminine and situates female bodies in an impossible position” (Eveline, 1996:73). Women are thus out for the count, twice. Not being ‘masculine’ enough marks them as inadequate. Wishing to be integrated into a dominant administrative culture stigmatises them as turncoats or ‘Betty Crockers’” (Schmuck & Schubert, 1995:283).

In the vein of “nice girls don’t shout” (Court, 1989:18) ‘emotional woman’ is supplanted by ‘rational man’ (Connell, 1996). Emotion separated from reason, private from public, such dualisms encapsulate the tricky divide that women, especially, must cross if they are to ‘fit the mould’. “The presumption is that in rational bureaucracies emotions are left at the door” (Hurty, 1995:385). A principal, whether male or female, behaves according to the accepted code.

What is acceptable in the world of work would seem to be open to negotiation, allowing a personal response within the context of a particular organisation. P(X)’s experience of modifying her public presentation links with other research that shows that “Men have the power to define what is acceptable in the public and the private worlds of work” (Game & Pringle, 1983:139). Although a female workplace, the public ‘steeliness’ usually associated with males is expected, as befitting a principal. Some discourses, then, remain hegemonic. For female leaders one world view requires them to be empathetic, listeners and so on. Yet, in contradictory fashion they must also be strong, dependable, steady, and not cry.

What is clear is that the position, while appearing to be 'open to moulding' instead reflects a set of institutional and societal expectations. In fact, the leader is conceived as a liberal, abstracted individual, and the position defined without apparent reference to personal qualities. The principal so constructed is rational, forceful, autonomous, in short, male. "One of the barriers facing women is that they are not men" (Eveline, 1996:73).

5.5 More Than One Way To ...

It is generally agreed that the X factor that makes organisations superb is almost without exception leadership (Grant, 1997:35). Knitted into the fabric of effective organisations is a "deep trust and caring, an honesty and openness ... combination that enabled responsibility to be pushed out, allowed people to be innovative and so on" (ibid). P(X)'s way of working seems indicative of this style.

I really do value interactions not just as a leadership tool. On top of this has to be the capacity to provide structure and order. I would not have applied for the job if the gap between my philosophy and the culture of the school had been too wide. It is not possible, in my view, to say 'that this is the institution and this is where I am going to take it'. Instead a principal has to take some of the tenets of the culture of the school with her. It is not that simple and very much dependant on relationships (P:X).

For P(X) when she took up the position there had been much history to clear (three of the members of the management team applied for the principal's position). This required an acknowledgment of past contributions and a

gentle moving forwards. This has included considerable structural change, clarifying positions and channels of accountability, lines of communication etcetera. There were no job descriptions and no performance management systems. I found it hard to do all of this on the one hand, and then the management units arrived on my lap. The latter had to be placed in a theoretical context and then allocated. I prefer to work through this process consultatively, although its very slow work! (P:X)

In more egalitarian organisations individual input is valued, with a move away from hierarchy and the use of empowered teams. As with other leaders, usually women, (Belenky et al, 1989) this principal has a clear vision and set of goals and endpoints, and talking is the means for getting this vision across. Dialogue and negotiation are important, and central to effective operation. Collaboration means creating a vision together, not merely complying with the principal's own vision. P(X) situates herself in the middle of the structure.

P(Y)'s description of the communication process is dramatically different.

The decision-making path is simple. Meetings are a waste of time; you take minutes and waste hours! In the same way I have no truck with large group consensus, and decision-making by vote. There are no big staff meetings; in a school of this size (2100) and a

staff of 110, communication is via a faculty structure. The head of the faculty reports back to the principal, there is lots of consultation but at the end of the day the decision belongs to the principal (P:Y).

The vision of P(Y), and the maintenance of the 'tradition' of this school, are the parameters within which decisions are made. Deviation from the norm of what the school stands for is difficult. As with others this school sees itself as offering a certain type of educational experience, different from other schools, a specialist in excellence.

To some extent these two principals exemplify a key tension in organisational structuring, that between vision and voice. Authority of voice is often interposed against authority of vision (Hargreaves, 1994:251). Vision may arise via a collaborative process or it may be primarily the principal's, articulated but not developed with others. The context in which these principals operate is significant. In a workplace steeped with tradition the principal may be no more than the mouthpiece, the interpreter of a long held vision. More characteristic, perhaps, of democratic workplaces meetings can provide the opportunity for 'followers' to be heard, so providing a true forum for debate and decision making (ibid). The power to hold meetings may belong to the principal, who may or may not deem them unnecessary as an article of efficiency. Meetings, when held, can still reify an organisational hierarchy (Wodak, 1997:337).

A combination of actions and words is how I convey my philosophy. I model leadership to students at assemblies ... in the recent selection of head girl and boy I discussed the

nature of leadership with these students. For the staff I am the boss - release from the daily minutiae means that I am available to give advice, visit classrooms, pick up rubbish! I do not respond well to griping by staff, and am more likely to ask for their resignation to be on my desk in the morning. Often I am to be found discussing issues with staff out of my office, this is less threatening. Office staff know that I am only available to take calls from the CEO of the Ministry, Review Office etc - other calls will be diverted to the associate (P:Z).

With top-down control teacher professionalism with its autonomy, reflectivity, and expertise is diminished. Symbols are significant in the establishment of leadership culture. The symbols of management can operate to preserve or to recontextualise the hierarchical position of an organisational leader. "The cellular office and how it is furnished describes the status of the occupant" (Raymond & Cunliffe, 1997:85). P(Z) acknowledges the symbolic atmosphere of his office, which he ameliorates by moving out of it for a certain kind of discussion, or employs, depending on the circumstance and audience. In a work space humans, like other territorial animals, stake out their patch. While today's work spaces vary across a cline from personalised to impersonal, they can be designed to support organisational frameworks and at the same time discourage pointless status seeking.

P(X) has changed the position of her office door, a message to the rest of the team of access to her. In the previous regime the only entry was through the secretary, and it was difficult to get through. Her office, though in the corner and undeniably with an excellent

view, is middle-sized and welcoming. Informal discussion is facilitated by two comfortable couches placed on either side of a coffee table, set centre stage. A large desk is located to the left and behind the door, meaning that it is easy for someone to 'pop their head in' to quickly check things out, and for the principal to move out from behind the desk to continue a discussion.

Such actions, seemingly simple, convey a great deal about the communication infrastructure, and hub of power within an organisation. An open door conveys availability. "The large corner office, with wonderful views of the park and antique furniture and paintings, sends messages of authority and hierarchy more clearly than any well-publicised pay settlement" (Raymond & Cunliffe, 1997:850).

Conversely, entrance to P(Y)'s office is gained via the secretary cum gatekeeper. The office itself is sumptuous yet stark. The distance between the door and the principal's desk situated two thirds of the way into the room functions as a gradient of vulnerability, and one does indeed feel cowed, on the mat. Behind and flanking the principal's large, polished, wooden desk are bookshelves fronted by glass cabinets. Chairs stand in line silently along the left wall to be pulled into position as occasion demands. There are, too, in a small curve adjacent to the desk two somewhat more ergonomic chairs strategically placed, affording a more informal discussion. The central square remains silent and empty, the effect grand tradition.

So what? This school is unapologetically traditional, proud of that and its congruence between word and deed. It is undeniably successful, too, as a model of hegemonic masculinity, unintended or not. Such rituals of 'corporate life', however, are often ways of reinforcing status that have nothing at all to do with how the job gets done. With his 'super' office the prestige of the principal is clearly marked, as is an autonomy and distance from the daily melee. Spaces like this are, others contend, remarkably inefficient. Organised to "reflect bureaucratic divisions and hierarchical rankings, they not only discourage the spirit but provide a physical paradigm of limited and rigid channels of success" (Hegelson, 1990:239).

The philosophy of the school, espoused by the principal, is an amalgam of traditional history and I bring my own little bit. The little bit that I can add is to foster harmony and cohesion, and greater innovation ... tradition as a guide not a jailer (P:Y).

P(Y) comments that his contribution to the organisation has, in fact, been to provide some humanity. As well, he expresses interest in promoting a workplace culture which is congenial and people-focussed. Such claims can be viewed otherwise, as platitudes and window dressing only ... "the assimilation of female management stereotypes within the discourse of male managers equates to a form of takeover leading to a problematicising of women's relationship to management" (Olsson, 1996:373), in which nothing else has changed. The deference associated with hierarchical leadership may well be an obstacle to the development of more participatory leadership (Deem, 1993:81).

If 'men's' work becomes similar to 'women's' work in a particular workplace, the nature of this work is redefined to maintain the distinction between them. "Gender is not just about difference but about power" (Game & Pringle, 1983:14). While women may be advancing to the realm of middle management in greater numbers incorporating typically feminine qualities into the discourse of male management may mean that the gender bias in senior management is well and truly set in concrete. Women, on the other hand, who emulate stereotypical managerial requirements are seen to lack certain virtues. "Why hire a woman when she's going to turn into a surrogate man?" (Eveline, 1996:73).

Less visible in a single sex organisation, conceived as necessary, in fact this mode of leadership dominates educational organisations, whatever the sex of its student population. It is surprising, perhaps, that schools seem so wedded to structures that are seen to be outmoded in organisations outside of education. So much for educators as agents of change. In the same way P(X)'s sense of 'making a difference' may be illusory. Can gender liberate and transform the principal's role, or does the principal-role neutralise gender identity? And does it really matter - principals are too busy being principals to worry about the theory of it all!

5.6 Conclusion

The 1997 document *Appraisal of Principals* (Education Gazette, May 1997) advises Boards of Trustees that they need to take seriously the professional development of their principals. "Principals need regular opportunities for professional development, and

boards should expect to provide their principals with regular assistance and support ... The principal is the key resource in a school and as such needs to receive regular investment in his/her 'upkeep and maintenance'. As part of his/her appraisal requirements each year every principal should have at least one personal or professional development objective, and an associated programme of assistance and support" (Education Gazette insert, PMS, 1997:8).

There seems to be a marked contradiction between the notion of reflective practitioner and work intensification for the principal (Grace, 1995:156). Managing a modern large school is a complex and time-consuming business during which principals may not have the opportunity to reflect on daily or longer term practice. There is no preparation for headship in a formal sense, no organised mentoring opportunities, and little opportunity to explore both literature and practice ... "without knowledge of alternatives the process [of leadership] may prove inherently conservative" (ibid:84). Principals are characterised mostly by learning 'on the job', learning leading in situ.

The managerial model of leadership, the progeny of political change in the 1980s and 1990s, is now the norm in schools, assuming teacher dependence, teachers as followers and sub-ordinates. Principals are themselves "caught up in a pervasive web of assumptions about organisations and leadership which underwrites a managerial outlook" (Southworth, 1993:83). There are individual differences between principals, whose preferred styles may or may not be congruent with the organisational context in which

they find themselves. Women are more likely to be socialised in a way that makes their experience as leaders socially incongruent (Dunlap & Schmuck, 1995:106).

For change to occur in schools there must be the possibility of departure from the 'command and control' leadership style that has previously been linked with success as a leader, and typically associated with masculinity. The next chapter explores the possibility of such changes. In an environment where power is devolved to the community there is the possibility of participatory democracy. These new structures would seem to offer new ways of operating, and may also provide the opportunity to facilitate occupational mobility for women.

Chapter Six: Two Into One Don't Go

6.1 Introduction

The boundary between principals and boards has changed considerably following the devolution process. Some principals consider that the new discourse of governance is, in fact, one of interference (Deem, 1993:213), and resent the increased workload that has resulted. "Individually and collectively, principals repeatedly report that the time required to coach, supervise and service a board is considerable" (ERO Annual Report, 1995:8). As well, the Review Office (ERO) comments that "This was not necessarily anticipated in 1989 and it does not equate to the role of company manager in relation to a commercial firm's board, many of whose members are themselves professional directors" (ibid). The experience of principals is variable.

I am very fortunate in the Board of Trustees with whom I have an excellent relationship: having been appointed unanimously such a relationship would take a while to sour. With a new board I/they would have to work hard to establish such trust and rapport. Sometimes, though, it is hard to separate governance and management, and it is a tribute to all that such a system can actually work (P:X).

The degree to which these new power arrangements between community and school have fomented change, to spawn alternative and less hierarchical structures within school organisations is considered in this chapter.

The events of the nineteenth century shaped many of the patterns that characterise teaching today. Teaching was held in low esteem and regarded as 'easy' in an era that valued hard manual labour. From early times teachers earned low wages: "A college graduate could make more money in almost any other profession" (De Marrais & Le Compte, 1995:138). The word 'profession' commonly "connotes autonomy, expertise, pride in one's work, and resistance to a lowering of work standards and responsibility" (Tabakin & Densmore, 1986:256), and is seen as a cornerstone of women's liberty (Hughes, 1980:118). The teaching profession entered the twentieth century dominated by women, yet males occupied most administrative positions, a pattern that endures.

The feminisation of teaching is used to explain "its asymmetrical patterns of power and control" (De Marrais & Le Compte, 1995:133). It is not the nature of the work but the fact that it is performed by sub-ordinated female workers that is problematic, which an analysis of sex/class dominance patterns reveals. While the teaching profession is generally viewed as a level playing field for women, providing equality of opportunity, unequal outcomes mock this claim. That is not to deny that some women advance 'up the ladder', besting individual men. While "men do not always win in these processes ... masculinity always seems to symbolise self-respect for men at the bottom and power for men at the top, while confirming for both their gender's superiority" (Acker, 1991:166).

Within the education system what is also intractable is the state conceiving of leadership. Although a contradictory position in terms of the stated aim of devolution of power,

control of this part of the organisation has not been relinquished. Institutionalised processes lead to the “creation of conditions that make cyclical practices probable” (Connell, 1987:141). Divergent practices, such as job-sharing at principal level, which may suit women, in particular, are not only largely unexplored, but stamped ‘unavailable’. The players within the system appear to collude with this construction. Indeed, there is barely a whimper of protest, a lack of opposition from a sector that is articulate, thoughtful, and fierce at times.

6.2 Crossing The Divide

That gender privileging is pervasive throughout the educational world is without doubt. The small number of female principals, despite the preponderance of women in the teaching profession, suggests that it is more complex than “women choosing to teach, men to administer” (Shakeshaft, 1989:88). Is it rather that teaching as an extension of women’s natural predispositions, simply suits her more? Such essentialist claims have been soundly refuted as well. Yet, the sexual division of labour which places women in charge of the care of children means that teaching is perceived as suitable for a variety of reasons.

As “many of the duties of teachers such as grading papers and preparing class activities can be done at home” (Shakeshaft, 1989:62) teaching is seen to suit women with young children. When the care of children remains the responsibility of women, when childcare facilities are restricted or expensive, and when management practices frown on the mix of

personal with professional life, then it is also true that many women would choose to teach rather than move into management. The difficulties of juggling family responsibility with administrative tasks may just not seem worth it, especially if administration is not valued as a career path. A 1978 study (cited in Shakeshaft, 1989:61) shows that 40% of the women took sole responsibility for housework, cooking and childcare, as well as teaching. While there is a perception that this has all changed a recent New Zealand publication (Beckett, 1997:2) has shown that, in fact, women still carry most of the household load.

Women, young families and administration are often not seen as a desirable mix (in terms of efficiency). 'Women's work', for example as caregiver, if carried across the divide between work and home, is devalued, seen as an extension of her 'natural' self (Court, 1996:146). My own experience with a female reviewer is a case in point. Although outside of her brief she nonetheless professed interest in women's professional aspirations, adopting a kind of auntie/avuncular role. Signalling that I should be 'looking for advancement', that she considered I was ready, she retreated from this stance when I revealed that I had a young child ... 'yes, of course, you couldn't possibly ...' and I didn't. Both men and women collude in the alignment of certain characteristics within the public or private domains, and a kind of structural discrimination (Eveline, 1996:71) results. My experience as a mother was viewed as detracting from rather than adding to the execution of management tasks.

Reminded of my place back 'in the kitchen' this comment underscored, too, the "fault line" (McIntosh, cited in Regan, 1995:408) that exists in educational and other

organisations. Above the fault line is likely to be found administrators, mostly male, and below the largely female world of teaching. The discourse of mother carries with it a set of expectations, not only the usual division of labour. Motherhood conceived as management training is not the norm. Strength, seen as integral to the functioning of an effective leader, is not seen to arise from the discourse of maternity.

There are usually active but not always articulate politics of gender in every school. Among students and staff are practices that construct various kinds of femininity and masculinity, like sports, subject choices, administrative practices. Well-documented is the dominance of classroom talk by boys (Jones, 1988:143). These and other patterns (marginalising of women in texts, the use of the term 'man' as a synonym for man and woman) constitute a hidden curriculum in which knowledge is distributed differentially to boys and girls in the classroom. The curriculum not only perpetuates male dominance, but also succeeds in producing an unconscious collusion of women in the process. As a role model the female teacher occupies a contradictory position. Her presence suggests a mechanism through which girls may excel. While she may be alert to ways of fostering girls' participation her efforts are "negated by a curriculum [that] actively serves to construct and substantiate [a] kind of world view" (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1992:198). The position of women teachers who actively teach, and encourage participation and achievement of girls "in a curriculum that undervalues and derogates women is deeply problematic" (ibid). Girls learn to accept the sub-ordination and invisibility of women.

As children struggle to make sense out of the myriad events and happenings around them the dualisms, maleness and femaleness, function as skeletons which they learn to dress 'appropriately'. In this way the chaos that constitutes their world is ordered. Gender is inscribed onto male and female bodies. Socially constructed, each person is faced with "the task of discovering the way the duality is elaborated in the everyday world ..."

(Davies, 1989:11). Children learn the rules for seeing a world of two genders, not only how to differentiate while learning the behaviours of males and females, but how to use the rules (Kessler & McKenna, 1978:156).

In interaction with others people construct themselves as "normal, competent members of the social scenes in which they are engaged" (Davies, 1989:11). Children, themselves, as active participants in this process, imbibe the knowledge that defines men as powerful in the public, and females in the domestic, realms. Without the means of understanding, or challenging, the discursive practices that create the logic that men are strong, and women are weak, this remains an unchallenged given (ibid:12). For students the link between maleness and authority is strengthened, and becomes the norm for the next generation.

If men only are appointed to senior management positions women remain the exception, and thus not necessarily what is aspired to. Parents of daughters argue that they "should be provided with good role models of women in decision-making positions" (Watson, 1989:12). Same sex role models are crucial for women (Shakeshaft, 1989:15), patterning on men "incongruent with 'women's' self images ..." (ibid). Female leadership characterises most (but not all) of the 'womanspaces' created via single sex education. In

co-educational schools, however, a female principal stands outside of the norm. 'Real' leadership in the 'real' world is male.

P(Z) considers that gender-based explanations of the lack of representation of women in administration is too simplistic, that there is more to the narrative than a bald discrimination against women. In one sense he is undoubtedly correct. At an individual level not all men discriminate against all women. But where a system continues to favour one group (men) at the expense of another (women) then necessarily all males benefit from this situation. Individual change is insufficient ... "hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily what powerful men are, but what sustains their power, and what large numbers of men are motivated to support ... Most men benefit from the sub-ordination of women" (Connell, 1987:182). Institutional practices endorse men's dominance over women. A lack of questioning by the state of the over-representation of men in leadership positions in schools is tantamount to an endorsement. Consequently, the hidden curriculum of schools may also appear to be state policy.

6.3 Old Boys' Clubs

Appointments to the position of principal within a school are the responsibility of the Board of Trustees, charged by the government/state with the role of governance of a school. Presumably such a board, itself of the school community, would select the individual of 'best fit' for the position of principal. No doubt the criteria would relate both to the personal/professional qualities of the person and to the special nature of the school.

One would not expect that the sex of the applicant would be act as a determinant, except perhaps in the case of a single sex school where one might argue on the basis of role-modelling and sexual/gender empathy, but even this is not clear cut. In co-educational schools it makes sense that there is a mixed sex executive team, and boards are bound by law to seek equity in terms of gender, race, class etc). Indeed, if the hidden curriculum (Alton-Lee & Densem, 1992) of schools, as well as the state-prescribed curriculum, is to be taught, then this must be an active and transparent process of critical reflection and action.

P(Z) considers that boards may simply find it easier to operate with male principals.

Conveying the larger picture in what is now a very competitive educational environment is perhaps more suited to males ... women are more visible now in strategic positions in schools ... women operate by networking, and boards may be closer to male principals, with a similar way of articulation. This may account for the greater representation of males at principal level (P:Z).

This is a revealing statement on many levels, and presupposes that both principals and boards are male, that there is a male way of relating, and that there is a 'club' that necessarily excludes women. "The language and practice of workplaces themselves are shown to stimulate or constrain women's desire for career progression" (Eveline, 1996:71). Competition is linked to maleness, collaboration to femaleness, with

competition gaining the discursive edge. At least 50% of the population of any co-educational school is discounted because they, as female, are not easy to understand.

Lassitude in response to such claims would seem to fly in the face of requirements of educational workplaces to be advocates for equity. The annual report of the Education Review Office (1996) signals that while boards are “required to develop and review EEO policy and put in place monitoring procedures” currently about half each year take their legal responsibilities seriously” (ibid). Three months past the due date the Chief Review Officer had received 41% of the reports expected from secondary schools, 1.7% of which were considered to be outstanding, and 25% characterised as good quality reports. Most reports indicated little progress in achieving equity-related goals.

Board membership, too, is expected to be representative, the co-opting provision enabling them to redress gender and ethnic imbalances. Approximately 60% of elected board members are pakeha, usually professional, males. More women than men are co-opted. Balance in terms of ethnicity is in even more parlous state: 77.8% of board members are pakeha (Appendix I). Merely enabling new groups of people to become trustees is not necessarily empowering them (Deem et al, 1995:155). Often women and ethnic minorities are silenced (ibid:86). Boardroom practices are often unfamiliar and inflexible. As well, there is a tension created for a single voice selected as sole representative of an apparently discrete but, in fact, heterogeneous group.

Indeed, both principals and boards are likely to be male. Shared experience is likely, in domains such as schools they attended, sporting activities, community and professional associations (for example, Lions, Rotary, RSA). Membership of these groups provides a camaraderie, a linking into the power network that the 'club' becomes. These 'clubs' provide information and contacts, thus directly assisting careers. Women's roles in these domains have been circumscribed; they have often been allocated "appendage roles" (Still, 1996:70) like wife or secretary. (Ironically, women in appendage roles may acquire considerable power by association). Women's networks have typically been of the generic support and self-help type. They have joined organisations more often to establish relationships rather than advance careers (Olsson, 1992:197). Conflict may arise when "knowledge and leads so gained are used to advance a personal competitive edge" (ibid). Women are advised to become more business-like in their career networking, to learn new ways of inter-relating, to separate friendship from the workplace role (Orbach & Eichenbaum, 1995). Women must make nips and tucks, metaphorically speaking, in order to be able to fit the dress of management. In this way women are assimilated into the organisation.

Such underlying assumptions form part of an enduring pattern that Acker (1991:166) describes in this way: "We now know that gender segregation is an amazingly persistent pattern, and that gender identity of jobs and occupations is repeatedly reproduced, often in new forms". Eveline ascribes the lack of advancement of women not to a lack of merit, but rather as the preference of those on selection panels for "one of us, an expectation of likeness" (1996:72). She argues that people with the decision-making power tend to see

as “meritorious characteristics that are similar to those they possess” (ibid). At the same time women may not be appointed because of their potential to disrupt the dominant culture (Still, 1996:70). Hardly a win-win situation.

During the 1970s more women gained a place in senior management as a result of the stipulation that a senior mistress/master be included in the team. While the term claimed strong professional linkages to ‘school master and ‘school mistress’ of days past, it was often used in derisory fashion, and discarded gratefully when ‘assistant principal’ was offered as an alternative. When the mandatory requirement was removed in 1973 the expected outcome of more women applying for, and being appointed to, deputy and principal’s positions did not occur: “What happened was that boards appointed men to SM positions so that by 1980 40 state co-educational schools had no women at all in the top three positions. From an occupancy rate of 87.2% of all SM positions in 1973, women held only 62.2% in 1980” (ibid).

The impetus gained after the first (1995) Women’s Conference (of teachers) resulted in the negotiation of the Promotion of Women Review in 1986. In an interview (Fry, 1989:12) Helen Watson, PPTA Women’s Officer, argues that “our activity [the business of promotion of women] coupled with the Promotion of Women Review is directly responsible for the improvement in statistics in the appointment of women to promotion positions ...” However, beneath the fierce stare it would seem that little has really changed. While there is an attitudinal shift the figures still speak another story. In 1989 fifteen out of the 207 co-educational schools in New Zealand (excluding integrated

schools whose top positions are tagged) have principals who are women (ibid:12). In 1997 the figures (Parratt, in Appendix A) indicate that out of 320 state and state integrated secondary schools 71 have female principals.

The Promotion of Women Review not only draws attention to the positioning of women within individual schools but also provides Boards of Trustees with a wider perspective. Boards can stand aside from the sex of the applicant in an individual school, arguing that the appointment has been made on the basis of merit. When their particular situation is shown to be part of a larger pattern it is less easy to ignore predisposing factors. The assumption of appointing the best person for the job, of operating in a gender neutral way, is scrutinised, and weighed according to a wider set of criteria. Nonetheless, in spite of all the consciousness-raising, the situation is little changed.

The job of principal, on the face of it, seems equally accessible to both males and females. 'Women can do anything', an '80s aphorism hoisted on the platform of liberal feminism, implied that if equal opportunity could be assured, women will advance if meritorious enough. A dearth of women at top levels, especially in the big schools, suggests, then, that they are not of sufficient merit. Is it that 'the heat in the kitchen' is too fierce? Or is it rather that the organisational structure freezes women out so that they choose to leave for self-employment, or lower status roles, than advance into senior management (Still 1996; Hegelson, 1990)? "The powerful groups which contest power within the arena of the state are themselves gendered, [they are] are not surprisingly dominated by men" (Armstrong, 1992:228).

6.4 The Power Of One

Teachers in a school are in a highly competitive relationship with respect to promotion (Cunnison, 1989). Movement 'up the ladder' in schools occurs in predictable ways, with school-hopping and advancement via departmental promotion the norm. To become a principal one would expect to move up the promotional hierarchy, which itself is pyramidal in nature. There is a clear correlation between hierarchies of pay, authority and social position.

Both P(Y) and P(Z) pronounce that they are 'the boss', the educational or administrative leader of the school. All concur on the point of the 'buck stopping', with 'one head on the chopping block', the burden of leadership. Recent appointments, these principals are part of what P(Z) considers to be

part of a cohort of highly competent men attracted to teaching in the 1970s (these men are represented in the higher echelons of the education sector today), and quality females who have consistently been, and are still now, attracted to the teaching profession (P:Z).

Men would expect to advance, and women to remain as the bulk of the teaching force, a kind of ballast? What is proffered is the rationale that as these are 'exceptional' men it is not surprising that currently school leadership is male dominated. Such comments are

reminders, too, of the tendency of men to 'blow their own trumpet' ... "talking about one's accomplishment is a ritual common among men" (Tannen, 1994:153).

Each of these principals has taught in a number of schools, and each was previously a deputy principal. P(Y) describes his passage from assistant teacher to head of department, and employment in four schools before vying for the position of Headmaster at this large school. While he had enjoyed the challenge of 'turning around' the fortunes of a previous school, for him the opportunity to head this large, prestigious school was one not to be missed. P(Z), too, has moved up through the ranks, and was the principal of a middle-sized rural school before taking up his current position. The experience of P(X) is somewhat different. Employment with school support bodies (the Ministry and Auckland College of Education) allowed her to work within the educational milieu but not be directly involved. P(X) decided to apply for the principal's position when it became vacant six months after her appointment as deputy principal.

A lot of push from the staff and girls helped me to decide to apply for the principal's position, and I was immensely honoured by that. As well, I was mindful of the ethic 'If I got to 70 I might regret not having tried' so found myself in a place at a time. However, I nearly didn't come back into schools at all, so that's how far it had got. I decided to take the opportunity to see if practice and theory could be meshed. Having been with the Ministry and ACE I was interested to see whether it was possible to 'walk the talk' (P:X).

Many principals are motivated by the wish to get things done, and by the belief that they can make a difference. Why would P(X) need 'a push' to persuade her to apply for the

position? For many women the prospect of working in senior administration is not compelling; the position itself with unreasonable demands on family life, exacerbated by a culture of change that prevails in modern education, is seen as undesirable. This is not to say that women lack the desire to advance but not in the forum that is being offered (Wilson, 1996). The dual world that many women inhabit, and the demands of administration, still “often presumes she has a ‘wife’ at home” (Edson, 1995:44).

Previously a principal of a Class C school of around 8-900 students P(Z) relishes his position as principal of this Class D school of around 2000 students. This principal believes that

lots of principals are not happy being principals: this can be a confining role and the responsibility enormous ... The principal is the one who wakes at 3 a.m. contemplating decisions and consequences (P:Z).

P(Y), too, endorses the sentiment about workload. He describes the position of principal as very demanding, and considers that it is unusual to find a principal in the job ‘for the long haul’ these days. Only now (after one year) P(X) feels that she is beginning to be able to lift her head.

Now I can say that I am beginning to enjoy seeing what is possible, or perhaps I have just adjusted better. For the first six months I was bothered by the large gap between the real and ideal. It is clear, though, that I can't work harder nor smarter, and that I am not going to be able to do so (P:X).

Work overload is a major source of stress for principals (Carr, 1994:21). The work of principals is characterised by unrelenting pace during the day. “Chronically busy they are caught up and tied down by the unceasing demands of others for their attention” (Southworth, 1993:78). P(Z) believes that the leader of an organisation should be less busy in a practical sense, but always reflective.

Principal preoccupation endangers an organisation - too many principals are head-down so much that the big picture is lost (P:Z).

From the perspective of one year as a principal P(X) echoes the latter sentiments.

While becoming a principal hasn't essentially changed who I am I now take hell on earth days home (P:X).

What would essentially change? Different audiences require different performances, thus, while all kinds of self are possible the context in which a leader operates has significance. As she is situated in a girls' school the dislocation that many female administrators experience leaving the predominantly female world of teaching to join the predominantly male world of administration is perhaps not as jarring. Nonetheless, this principal must constantly face her femaleness and at the same time be an administrator, which can be a contradictory experience (Schmuck & Schubert, 1995:283). The changed nature of their interaction with former teacher colleagues, including loneliness, confronts those becoming

administrators. "Isolation is mentioned by many new principals as a surprise and shock" (Hart, 1995:118).

P(X) comments that relationships are not as reciprocal as when she was a deputy principal. She wouldn't ever talk about management team relationships with anyone, but she expects that all principals must feel this distance.

I need the SMT to laugh with, share chocolate biscuits and so on. Co-principals must feel it less ... I have a support group outside of the school and sanity at home that is good for me ... family support and humour is very important. What I miss is the common denominators. The wonderful thing about being in a school is the guarantee that someone will share your world view, this is intensified within departments. The SMT is my department and their support is very important. No-one in a school knows what it is like to be a principal because no-one has been a principal ... to know what it's like to have the buck stop (P:X).

Leadership for this principal is connective, including a possibility to reconceptualise power. She had previously spoken about flatter management structures, an emphasis on communication, a culture of caring. This aligns power with connectedness rather than authority. At the same time, in contradictory fashion, she is positioned at the top of an hierarchical structure, antipathetic to a feminist conceiving of 'power with' (Grace, 1995: 62). "Feminism is wary of pyramidal and linear models and looks to alternatives to hierarchies, to providing multi-dimensional ways of working (Adler et al, 1993:135).

The principal of the third school also refers to the notion of 'the buck stopping'.

While the associate principal and I don't agree always we share a common vision, and along with the other Executive members move the school in the same direction. Remarkably similar, we have a common interest in sports, are both competitive, have a strong work ethic that arises from being working class boys made good (the one from Otahuhu, the other from England). There is, though, no sharing of the principalship - happy to compromise, and listen to ideas nonetheless the principal makes the decisions (P:Y).

Such statements, made by an authoritative principal, brook no argument: the assertion is that there is only one 'right' way to operate. What is conveyed is the principal as visionary, a normal career path, attributes of persons in charge: sportsmen, listener, strong leader. These seemingly innocuous comments are very powerful keepers of the prevailing single leader ethic/world view, communicated through language.

Each principal refers to the stress of the job, and the isolation, yet a sharing of responsibility is seen as onerous, unworkable and unlikely to be accepted. What is the source of these sentiments? Edmonds (1979:32) argues that "one of the most tangible and indisputable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership without which disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together or kept together". Can there be other than a single person at the helm if success of an institution is so closely linked to the one person at the top of the hierarchy? P(Z) is not aware of any organisation of any size that has two heads. AP(Y) comments that

shared leadership may be seen as weakness, as an inability to make up one's mind..

Autonomy, “the primary mark of maturity in the patriarchal world” (Hurty, 1995:395) is thus posited as the only really feasible option, and becomes what all would ‘expect’ of a leader. The quality leader is thus heroic, strong, broad-shouldered. The glove is male, and only male hands will really fit. For women the relationship between strength and femaleness is ambiguous. Strength is seen in narrow focus.

Organisational change outside of education, leading to more democratic and participative leadership styles is perhaps more apparent (Grace, 1995, Brosnahan, 1996). An accompanying devolution of power to govern at community level provides the opportunity for workplace democracy in educational organisations. Not only has the culture and discourse of management in education moved into schools but the community has been invited to participate. New power relations characterised by a negotiated sharing of power and influence within the school are possible. This would seem to be a prime opportunity for review of organisational structures, and to review the ways in which principals lead.

6.5 Associate Or Not?

The narrative that these principals construct is similar. For reasons of honesty, simplicity, reducing complexity, compatibility, and extreme effort the possibility of sharing leadership is seen to be a non-option. All principals accept the the burden of responsibility that

comes with the position, and that this is their 'cross to bear'. A clear line of accountability is obvious, as is the sense of a single leader generating a vision. Efficiency has achieved the discursive ascendancy. Where does this leave the associate principal?

That the role of the principal has become increasingly onerous is without doubt. Nonetheless, a senior management structure with two people in charge P(Y) views

as harder to work and not the best way to run a school; too much compromise and easy solutions. Ideal people are required (P:Y).

This principal's response to the suggestion that this is the basis of a marital relationship was that this was a poor analogy, although in both situations the 'partners' have different access to resources, including power. He is aware that two schools have taken up the co-principal option and concedes that it may work for them.

... different horses for different courses. I support 'niche creation' in education, the provision of choice. My personal view is that this particular niche is not popular, for the same reasons that I espouse. A single leader is an honest, simple arrangement (P:Y).

There is a considerable difference in the length of time that the associate and the principal have been in the school, the principal 7 years, associate 35 years.

A repository of institutional knowledge the associate readily accepted my appointment as new principal. It was clear what was expected of him and he is aware that the

principal is the boss. At the beginning of our working relationship I gained much from the associate's thorough knowledge of the workings of this large school. At the same time it seemed that he appreciated being asked for advice (P:Y).

It is clear that within the discourse of school leadership a sharing kind of arrangement is “likely to be marginal to existing practice and dismissed by an hegemonic system of meanings and practice as irrelevant or bad” (Weedon, 1987:35). If popularity is gauged by the number of students on the roll then baldly P(Y) is correct. This, then, becomes a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy.

For P(X) the experience of working with an associate has brought about a change in perspective. Initially she would have chosen a flatter management structure, one principal and several deputies, no associate. Being able to share responsibility has been gratifying: “women [are] eager to be in the centre of things ... chilled by the notion of being alone at the top” (Hegelson, 1990:51). Many principals describe the isolation they feel, distanced by work pressure from the school organisation, and also from other principals as a result of a new form of ‘inter-secondary school sports’, competition between schools (Evetts, 1994:119) for students. However, a co-principal’s position she still can’t entertain on the basis of her recent appointment as principal, anticipated lack of staff support, and the implication that the board would never consider the proposal as a viable option. It is, thus, not placed on any agenda. Drawing on an implicit system of norms and values to discount this option this principal, too, effectively if not intentionally, undermines this counter discourse (Kotthof & Wodak, 1997:x).

Both of these principals express some ambivalence about the position of associate principal. For P(X) gradually a different relationship is developing that is different to that with the deputy principals. She has found that it is beneficial to have someone else

who knows what it is like to be a principal, to have the buck stop (P:X).

On the other hand P(Y) views the future of the associate's position in 'his' school as limited. There had not been such a flexible management approach when the associate principal's position was first mooted so it was the only viable option. When the incumbent retires he

may dispense with the position and create three DP positions ... although it is useful to have the AP stand in for me when I am away, fronting staff meetings, assemblies... (P:Y).

The third principal is effusive in endorsing the position of associate principal within the management structure. It relieves him from the daily grind, allowing him to operate as a reflective principal, integral to effective professional practice. He considers that unless there is intervention by the government, which seems unlikely in the climate of self-managing schools, the associate principal's position would continue to be available as a management option. Whether schools choose to uplift the option becomes their prerogative.

The future of the AP's position remains in the balance. Time will tell whether it can stand on its own merit (P:Z).

Given that the position of associate principal is not well known in the educational environment, and endorsement ranges from effusive to sceptical, the chance that it will survive on its own merit seems highly unlikely.

In secondary schools the associate principal position would seem to be very important as a valuable training ground. Disestablishing this position is perhaps another example of what Cynthia Cockburn (1991, title) describes as “Men’s Resistance to Sexual Equality in Organisations”. Not only are women grossly under-represented as principals, but the associate position is denied, either via male occupancy or by disestablishing the position. While AP(Y) laments the lack of opportunity this presents for all teachers, for women particularly it is more serious. Usually they do not inhabit principal’s positions; fairness would suggest that they would have more than an even chance at second pegging. Removal of the second peg means that this opportunity is extinguished, and the point at the tip of the apex more clearly demarcated.

An associate principal’s position is endorsed when it links with the requirement that a principal be ultimately responsible for the workings of a school. (A shared principalship is seen in a different light even though the principal-associate arrangement seems to demand the same level of trust and empathy, and both arrangements reduce the enormous workload a principal experiences). The associate as second-in-command, while occupying an indeterminate position, is clearly ‘Two I/C.’, and thus accommodated. That one associate is finding this balancing act difficult, that one other endorses strongly this career path, is not known to the principals with whom they work. Despite the opportunity to use

the interview transcripts as a point of communication, to my knowledge none of the interviewees discussed the interview with each other. In a context of appraisal and accountability one may have expected this opportunity (relatively objective, and free!) to be seized (Poster & Poster, 1993:179).

As a noticeable evolution of management style and attitude outside of education seems to be occurring (although the representation of women remains a concern) one might expect learning institutions to experiment with various options. Apparently different, having diversified under 'Tomorrow's Schools', in order to offer consumers viable choices, the one vision, one leader model remains, almost as an anachronism. Is it that faced with the principal before us our own school days are recalled with such vivid detail that we are frozen into compliance? Hardly a realistic scenario. Those 'within the system' are very likely to regard this model as an example of good practice which has not been sidelined or overtaken because otherwise (in a competitive market) something better would have arisen to take its place.

6.6 Conclusion

Has much changed? There is still a single leader, and even though there is an acknowledgment of the enormous workload a sharing arrangement is itself seen as unwieldy. That the role of principal has become increasingly onerous is offset by the prospect of "being in charge, doing it my way [and] being on my own" (Crow & Glascock, 1995:36). Principals are still trying to identify as professional leaders as well as

managers, and 'principal preoccupation', a lack of 'time for reflection', to some extent viewed as par for the course.

The reason for non exploration of other options is food for thought. It may well be encapsulated in the comment made to AP(X) as she contemplated her future career path:

As associate principal you never get to have that place in history (AP:X).

Development of new structures described by metaphors such as a web (Wilson, 1995:361), and double helix (Regan, 1995:409), signify alternative ways of conceptualising power in organisations. The Chief Executive Officer of the Auckland City Council, Jo Brosnahan, characterises her preferred leadership model as that of servant/leader, in the sense of a leader being there to serve people. While she concurs that the New Zealand model of public sector reform is world leading, she identifies deficits in the relationship of leadership style and reform. Too often managers are hired for their technical rather than people skills, with people often promoted up the ladder "to their level of incompetence - it's the Peter Principle in action" (Grant, 1997:36). Today's organisations are more volatile workplaces, information-based, characterised by rapid communication, individual self-discovery and responsibility (Brosnahan, 1996:3). What is required, then, (Brosnahan, 1996; Regan, 1995; Hegelson, 1990) is a change in the way people work and are rewarded.

The next chapter offers the co-principalship as a comparison, and considers whether it is possible, and on what terms, to reconstruct leadership in secondary schools, and to incorporate alternatives in the mainstream leadership discourse.

Chapter Seven: 'Plus Ca Change' ...?

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to tie together the threads of stories told by leader-practitioners in secondary schools. These are passionate educationalists: the time and commentary that they provided enabled me to obtain a snapshot of the exigencies of leadership in 'their' school, their particular style, and educational background. The context, then, is practice in action.

Within the wider edu-political climate of devolution, efficiency, accountability, and rampant change, there is a promise of leadership change. The positions of associate principal and co-principal are structural changes that may assist the advancement of women into senior management positions, and move secondary schools towards collaborative leadership and management, surely the way of the future. These are tools that the state could, or allow others to, employ. A state that prides itself on provision of choice, promoting equity, demanding accountability, must also deliver as promised.

I bring to bear my own experience (Grant, 1987:113), as a woman with a considerable teaching history, as a mother of a newly-teenaged boy, and as a member of a management team that includes a co-principalship. Is this a future scenario for schools where the pyramidal structure holds sway? Whether, in fact, changing the structure, moving from a pyramid to a web would constitute a shaft in the side of hegemony so that 'real' change

occurred is a moot point. Finding myself complicit in hegemonic practice, supporting a curriculum and way of operating that inherently devalues women, was shocking to me. Awareness has, though, produced small windows of opportunity, which I now use. Is this sufficient or still marginal to core practice?

A friend with a management role in Treasury entered into a wager with me at the inception of the co-principal's position, convinced it would not last. Two years maximum was the sentence: I won the wager, and the shared management arrangement is alive and well, six years on. This seems to have been a common theme, a genuine lack of understanding of the practical operation of such a structure. I include in this chapter a description of some of its daily workings, to show both its similarity and difference as an alternative leadership cum management discourse.

The future ought not to be painted bleakly. Cribbing the phrase from Sir John Jeffries (National Radio, September 1997) in interview with Brian Edwards I, too, see myself as a 'lapsed optimist'. I resist then the tendency of research towards negative theoretical explanation: "The result is we know more about causes of failure than causes of success" (Rosener, 1991:7). My role, as mentor to the young women (and men) entering teaching, must be imbued with hope, and possibility for change.

7.2 Co-operation In Action

A co-principalship, as in School W, located within a management team of six, promotes itself as something different. Other principals and associate principals have variously criticised the structure as inefficient, personality dependent, inherently destabilising, confusing. At the same time what is conveyed is perplexity; that such positions could function on a daily basis, or endure, is beyond their ken.

... if a guy wants leave he would go to P(Y) as the headmaster ... in the first instance, compared to a personal matter ... he would go to the second principal. With co-principals year on, year off, and only one signing right, who would they go to ... could argue that in effect it's the same here, but maybe it's better ... less confusing (AP:Y).

A bird's eye view from within School W, aided by the arguably critical lens of academia, provides the following account of the history and practice of its senior management team.

An immediate and noticeable difference is the office in which all members of the team are housed. An oval room with sliding doors to partition one section off, to allow confidential conversation accommodates all six members of the team. Reminiscent of open plan housing or classrooms one is reminded too of the proverbial 'Piccadilly Circus'. Sometimes the level of noise threatens to overwhelm, but the collegiality and sense of belonging is obvious. What is incidentally offered is an ongoing accountability (one's actions and words are very publicly pronounced), and protection in terms of difficult

personnel situations. Mentoring is available on the spot. This, then, is the hub of the school, students and staff move in and out of the office to talk to the management team member who can answer their query. There is no standing on ceremony although it is expected that common courtesy would apply. Symbolically, this team pronounces collegiality, open discussion, and is inclusive: “territoriality moved from the individual to team space” (Raymond & Cunliffe, 1997:85).

The ‘team of six’ comprises two co-principals, an assistant principal, and three other members. Within the team, then, there is a divide in terms of permanence but this is not evident in daily dealings. The rationale for creation of revolving positions was to further devolve power, to provide opportunities for staff members to experience management at senior level. New members provide fresh ideas and perspectives. These appointments are internal appointments; staff apply and the team (excluding the departing member) consider the applications. The decision is a team decision. A gender balance is maintained although, at present, as two men hold permanent appointments there is more opportunity for women to move into the team. (Should the assistant principal leave it is possible that this, too, would become a rotating position). The balance between stability of the organisation and personal professional development is critical.

Hence, a promotional path within the school was created. This was envisaged as a launching point for further career development outside of the school. Alternatively, it would add to the pool of expertise within the staff at large if the ex management team member chose to stay once his/her term had finished. All within the team have an

allocation of management units specifically for this purpose. This allocation has only recently been actioned, after much debate in various forums; the staff, the team, staffing committee, the board. A long and arduous process, the disadvantages of participatory management are evident. It takes time, requires giving up control, being open to criticism, exposes conflict and there is the risk that ideas may be rejected.

One of the co-principals had been concerned that earmarking units in this way would work against the idea of devolution, capturing in the team an excess of management units, thus limiting advancement opportunities for the rest of the staff. Some team members, however, had found the situation inequitable, with an 'even' allocation of tasks, but not equal remuneration. The above rationalising has eased what could have become a corrosive situation, threatening to upset the team's stability. In this context conflict is not defined as a negative event. Rather it creates room for reinforcement of goals, and a redesign of vision. A "high vision" (Vandenberghe, 1995:41) school is characterised by continuous reflection and assessment, directed towards improvement of the organisation.

Typically, budgetary processes are negotiated between the board finance committee, co-principals, and departmental heads within the parameters of the 'strategic or education plan', a document that arises via public contestation in the larger staff forum. Responsibility for buildings is devolved to a committee that is composed of representatives of middle management (heads of department), executive officer (non teaching position), coordinated by one co-principal. Staffing responsibilities are shared, all appointments involving an appropriate combination of co-principals, the team member with that

management brief, and head of department. Each member of the team has a set of portfolios which are apportioned in a 'negotiated' process at the end of each year. In fact, the length of the rotational period has limited the potential flexibility of this process, but at the same time people have been able to make strong claims for a portfolio on the basis of perceived strength, interest and background.

The team is situated at the centre of a hub, and at the same time team members are positioned at intersections throughout the wider structure. All members of the management team are classroom teachers. I am coordinator of the professional development committee (with a budget of \$40,000), student executive, timetable team, support person for several departmental heads, and one dean group (240 students, 2 deans, 10 form teachers from a pastoral collective). I am also a departmental head (middle management). Along with other staff I am a member of the staffing committee. Up until 3 years ago I was involved with extra-curricular activities, but after 15 years service in this regard I 'retired', to take up my role as mother supporter at cricket and water polo.

As busy as a principal? Perhaps, but in a different way, (and clearly not busy enough if there's time to write a thesis!) While an autonomous member of a team if I am not there, someone, usually a co-principal, will pick up the responsibility for management of a particular dean group. I recommend the suspension of students but always the decisions are made in consultation. Legally I cannot sign the form: does this matter? Signing is not hierarchically constructed, and in all other parts of the process I 'carry the can'. It provides the opportunity to discuss the situation, obtain support, reflect on the process,

share the burden. Interviewing students, informing parents, writing an incident report, appearing at the board meeting, keeping records, are also devolved responsibilities.

It was assumed that experience of working at this level in a school would 'count' when applying for positions outside of the school, that there would be a linking to promotional structures outside of the school. Often, numbers, that is number of management units, are what counts. The language associated with this system ranks very clearly the unit bearer: numbers seem unambiguous. These easy measures are presumed to illuminate but at the same time they obscure the narrative of devolution and worth of experience. In fact, although the team members perceive themselves as assistant/deputy principal equivalents, without the name, others do not perceive them in this way. One team member of three years standing, recently missed being short listed for a position. This was the feedback she received:

... of the women, the applicant who pipped you at the post had been a deputy principal for 6-9 months, and thus was more experienced. She has had experience of standing-in for the principal when he was away. What I want is a traditional deputy principal ... this is not a flat management structure (P:T).

Experience viewed through traditional lenses does not recognise a deputy principal without the label. Although this woman had three years experience in an equivalent role this explanation was not heard. The structural nature of power (Armstrong, 1992:228)

means that alternative ways of operating are neither recognised, nor understood, and marginalised. Only certain career paths are stamped with approval.

The management structure in School W seems to more closely match organisations outside of education that are looking for alternative ways to lead and manage, ways that they assert are necessary for organisations of the future. There is a clear intent, and endeavour, to move from rigidly bureaucratic to more democratic and participatory styles of leadership and management, towards community, defined by a centre, uniting around a common set of values. It is possible for schools to become human communities for the education of young people. The co-principals believe that “when hierarchical power structures are devolved and those in positions of leadership work together with members of staff, students and parents, the culture of a school changes ... students exercise real power ... Working within the framework of a devolved management structure, they believe, may well give them more influence than that achieved by their peers in other more conventional hierarchical structures” (White & Gray, 1997:18).

The management and leadership style in a school, it is asserted, can limit the learning experiences which students have. Caring and reciprocal relationships are professed to be at the heart of this organisational culture. The culture of collaboration is deemed to be resistant to hierarchy, promoting real change.

7.3 Leading Differently

In today's management teams there is a devolution of responsibilities, and leadership, which in some schools means inspiring followers to lead, a servant leader model (Brosnahan, 1996:25). Strengthening teachers as professional colleagues rather than subordinated workers (Southworth, 1993:83) is seen as a more ethical and just way to operate. However, the decision making path in each of these schools still leads inexorably to one principal with the right of veto. Leadership discourses have given principals the authority to shape the educational vision and philosophy in 'their' schools, which most principals view as 'their due'. Others, like the co-principals at School W, have resisted the pressure to restate 'their' vision. This reluctance to take ownership is not seen as workplace democracy, but rather as a lack of strong leadership. Prevailing norms are hard to shift.

For interactive leadership to take hold organisations must be willing to question the concept of 'my' school and the inherent autonomy encapsulated in it. It is true that the co-principals of School W are remarkable. It will be equally true that principals of other schools are remarkable. The contention for not enacting the position of co-principal has been that it is not legally constituted, that extra-ordinary compatibility would be required, and much time would need to be expended to ensure this. Associate principalships are similarly criticised.

The co-principals have achieved a degree of understanding as a result of managing the change from deputy principals to being the co-principals themselves, via consultancy and independent feedback. While it is true that they worked together as deputies it is equally true that some adjustment was required in moving from a pairing operating in adversity (much discontent had characterised the previous regime) to being the principals themselves. Reconstitution was a challenge, much hinging on the new order. Many eyes focussed on what was a novel way of operating in secondary schools. Several sessions with an independent facilitator enabled the two principals to explore similarities and differences in educational philosophy and pragmatics, thus initiate and sustain a way of operating that would ensure cohesion and integrity in the joint role.

The principal-associate principal combination, in some senses, constitutes non-traditional leadership, only effective in organisations that accept it. As evidenced in this study not all do. Whether they do is framed within the discourse of personal choice rather than that of organisational health. The fittest survive, begging of course the question of what constitutes fitness - legal endorsement provides a clue. Co-principalships are excluded, associate principalships at risk. Radical change in schools which legislation in the last decade has created would suggest an opportunity to reflect on the way in which principals lead. These radical possibilities have largely been buried.

A clarion call is sounding from both within and outside of educational organisations. There is evidence that in some organisations the call has been answered (Brosnahan, 1996; Grace, 1995), resulting in some move to organisational change, a move to more

democratic workplaces, a reworking of organisational structures. However, educational markets operate within an institutional framework and the government's job is still to design the framework. Democratic accountability to an external market need not necessarily result in greater internal democracy in a school. A renaissance in modern form of strong leadership is another outcome. While apparently increasing the autonomy of schools the discourse of education still presumes a strong leader, a kind of fighter who will battle with the Ministry for resources, and put the school on the map in its community.

Apparent weakening of central control of education plus the relative inexperience of new boards (potentially every three years) has led to a power vacuum. An individual school can hardly be seen to counterbalance a national state. Devolution of educational management responsibility to each school site level does in practice empower the centre as no unitary body will exist to act as a check and balance against the power of the centre. Change is only possible when individuals who belong to a particular organisation can see the point in changing. In coming to such a decision principals, teachers, community members are influenced by local or national conditions and trends in wider society. There is a surface devolution of educational responsibility to trustees and parents but actually a deep well of central educational control.

There is the danger, too, that school leadership will be returned to class and patriarchal control, mirroring the skewed representation on governing bodies. As with flattened management structures which can conceal hierarchical control boards, too, exercise power inconsistently. The reality of the power relations at individual school sites has been to

further empower the strong principal, or to further the political agenda of any vociferous group. With significant representation of middle class and professional parents the community is not empowered, as envisaged, and lies largely dormant.

7.4 Gendered workplaces

Structure alone does not determine behaviour. Non-hierarchical structures do not necessarily lead to more flexibility, gender-wise. There may be a contradiction between education for democracy as a formal aim of the schooling system and the actual experience of non-democratic socialisation (Grace, 1995:202). Students faced with shared leadership in their particular school may value the arrangement, and at the same time construe it as odd, in keeping with the philosophy of the school, but not of 'the real world'. On the other hand children can "take up a range of male and female positionings if they have access to the discourse that renders them unproblematic" (Davies, 1989:12). Loosening the gender ties can provide a greater flexibility of approach, and better fit young people for their future workplace.

It is generally apparent that "work organisations have been almost as delinquent as schools in socialising women to acquire management positions" (Dexter, 1991:5). While the rhetoric of equity is espoused, and the theory vigorously supported, in practice cracks open through which the less committed can slide. School W assiduously meets its EEO requirements, and the annual Women's Review has been a positive force for change. Nonetheless, despite promises of afternoon tea (the way to a man's heart?) it is perceived

as 'women's business', and only a handful of men attend. Ignoring is a powerful block. The men involved would be astonished at this reading of their non-attendance. This action, some perceive as a tactical and sensitive retreat, others consider that it is 'women's business' so stay away. Still others respond with the charge of sexism, and lament the 'plight of males' these days. There is no understanding of the politics of advantage, gendered organisations, discourse of masculinism. A member of staff, himself engaged in study towards an M.Ed. Admin, felt that the workload was so enormous that to *add in gender would be suicidal*.

It is clear that it is "self-defeating for men not to be interested in these issues ..." (Wilson, 1996:833) but pragmatism prevails. These days it is not uncommon for middle managers in education to undertake tertiary courses - too often, though, study of management without reference to gender is their experience. None of the educators interviewed for this thesis displayed any knowledge in this area.

Studies in both the United States and Australia are finding a lack of adequacy in explanations that locate the problem in women's behaviours. "It is time for corporations to look at their own behaviours" (Eveline, 1996:67). As workplaces and organisations were originally occupied by males only they, unsurprisingly, wore a male face. Increasing recognition that "culture may be a precipitating factor in women's decisions to avoid senior roles" (Still, 1996:70) has not been accompanied by changes that would bring women 'insider' status.

Although many studies have shown that women are both task and person oriented they are often seen as unsuitable for management. Women are often the social workers of management, and dominant discourses constitute women as empathetic. School W, sympathetic to gender issues, nonetheless requires ongoing socialisation to counteract a falling back to the norm, male-defined. A recent vacancy in the management team, which on the basis of gender equity would be offered to a suitable woman, was earmarked by the men for a man. This was not an underhand action, but proposed because it 'made sense'. The rationale, initially persuasive, was that none of the female applicants had the requisite administrative experience that the vacancy implied. Discussion highlighted flaws in the argument, pointed to the administrative experience gained as a teacher and dean, and endorsed adaptability and skill transfer. Women in senior positions must often be vigilant in order to facilitate the promotion of other women. In the absence of such discussion the linear career discourse, and what counts as experience, remains unchallenged. Balancing by numbers is a small step towards EEO, but insufficient.

Recent research (Vasil, 1996:144) on the confinement of women in the tertiary sector to the teaching rather than research domains is encapsulated in the phrase "self efficacy...an individual's perceptions of confidence in their ability to perform a given task". This is offered as an explanation for the lower ranking of women within the academic hierarchy. Given that the tertiary research/teaching, and the secondary management/teaching, divides for women endure, it is unsurprising that women have little experience in the domains of research and management. Underlying assumptions about jobs and their values subtly rationalise gendered hierarchies. Organisational arrangements can block women's upward

mobility leaving gender biases unchallenged even when there is an awareness of inequity. Again the discourse of fittedness prevails.

Male decision makers draw support from an implicit system of norms and values, from highly effective rules that marginalise women and possible counter discourses, that is gender is institutionalised. Women managers are often defined in terms of lack, thus often emulate stereotypical managerial requirements. Some women distance themselves from their identity in order to be successful. Women who are successful in management are expected to be strong leaders, an outcome of masculine and patriarchal assumptions. The 'preferred way' of doing things effectively restricts women to middle management.

Strength is described very narrowly. The traditional strong female leader, the mother, models empathy and nurturance, seen to suit women as teachers. This is not the kind of strength that suits a manager. The dominant discourse denotes female leadership as empathetic although women employ more than one leadership style. Resistant feminist discourses construct strength as good. Typically women are positioned by a patriarchal discourse to see strength as incompatible with femininity and somehow bad. There is a need to relinquish or redesign strong leadership, to include, for example, reciprocal talk as a source of power, and to re-introduce women's emotions and sexuality into organisations. Such changes have the potential to lower the barriers to women's progress into senior management and leadership.

Applying a summative theoretical analysis to the experiences of these educational leaders in a way that avoids a universalising, prescriptive approach, and at the same time describes the experiences of the women, and men, who feature in this thesis, is difficult. The experiences of these leaders are both idiosyncratic and at the same time representative of their gender class. Too often the focus has been on the dualism of difference, a negative representation of women in the context of power and authority. Women, as a group and individually, are often perceived to be lacking the necessary qualities that would enable them to achieve senior leadership positions in schools. When the stereotypes of the typical man and typical leader are almost identical necessarily it is nigh impossible for women to gain purchase, but male advantage remains unexplored.. Moving away from gender difference in style may provide the opportunity and facilitate occupational mobility for women. Leadership itself must be viewed as problematic so that the silence on gender issues with respect to educational leadership becomes deafening.

7.5 A new kind of leader?

While the set of expectations boxed within the position of principal remain unwrapped, then a match between the position and potential occupant will be a major determinant of appointment to such positions. Whether a leadership style can emerge depends on cultural and structural factors. The 'best' leadership style may still, in the end, be dependent on organisational context. Those most likely to be successful as leaders are not necessarily women but those of either gender "best able to adapt to the tribe's customs" (Vilkinas & Cartan, 1993:33). However, the tribe's customs are all too often male, and endorse a

narrow conception of leadership. A balanced leadership style, one that combines a high degree of concern for both employees and production, seems desirable. In order to operate schools in a more inclusive way certain things need to be restructured: the principal-associate principal combination is a structural insert that may fit the bill.

Big schools themselves seem more suited to males, more 'women's organisations' (that women aspire to lead) are medium-sized (Rosener, 1990). Small schools could allow a rethinking of the discourses of leadership and management, and organisational norms currently dominant. Big schools remain the touchstone, conceived as 'good' schools, which in reality may be no more than a creaming off of the strongest students serving to concentrate high achieving students and leaving behind low achievers (Sergiovanni, 1995). Commitment to big schools may simply be a resistance to the dismantling that small schools would allow: there could be a reduction in elaborate administrative structures and hierarchies. The recent (December, 1997) salary offer provides inducement for schools to continue to grow, given the proposal that on top of the base salary principals of large schools are paid an amount per student. Pegging salary to student numbers is disturbing, and surely venal.

A broad range of experiences and subsequent reflection and learning best prepare a leader (Brosnahan, 1996). Exposure to responsibility, voluntary work, travel, parenting, handling crises and so on lead to changes in perspective. For principals the jump from the domain of teaching to that of school leader can be considerable. The position of associate principal could be a pragmatic step towards a formal system of 'principal preparation'.

Leaders, too, require nurturing, and principals need to be trained in reflective practice so that their vision is more than coping with the paper deluge that descends from on high. These leaders play significant roles in our communities. Too often their creative output is stanchied. As well, such a mentoring process could facilitate women's advancement into senior management.

Trying to categorise leadership is a challenge: a group of traits, a set of skills, a certain stature, an organisational position or some combination, only serves to show how diverse leaders are. What is known and agreed is that "principals are chronically busy" (Southworth, 1993:78). Principals are required to undertake professional development but beleaguered as they are it is unlikely that they can, or feel that they can, take the opportunity. It is likely that their professional development is limited to attending principals' conferences unless other motivation is available. This professional development tends not to be focussed on principal self-reflection. Appraisal has become the matching of goal setting to goal achievement, a kind of box ticking exercise, a dangerous kind of professional development that is overly self-serving. Shared leadership, either by enacting the associate principal's position, or constituting a co-principalship, can result in a decrease of work intensification, and isolation, that is a feature of leadership in modern schools.

That sharing options are not uplifted, and embraced with relief, begs a number of questions about the principal-associate principal combinations, and management teams overall. Trust, congruence, collaboration, 'power with' are explicit features of shared

leadership: one might reasonably expect that the principal-associate principal combination would rest on similar foundations. The ability of the principal to dictate terms, in effect to 'pull rank' should difficulty arise, often takes precedence, and is seen as a necessary feature of leadership. The principal must be prepared to 'carry the can'.

A diminishing of trust between schools is apparent, and not unexpected in an environment that pits schools against each other in order to ensure their survival. For these principals professional community has been sacrificed to autonomous advantage, and an iron law of inevitability about market intensification prevails (Grace, 1995). A predatory kind of mentality results, and this kind of strength in a leader seen to be of the utmost importance.

7.6 Conclusion

I set out to determine whether the position of associate principal in some secondary schools was significant, in terms of changing perceptions about what constitutes leadership in these organisations. Although the principals could easily see the advantages (reducing isolation, sharing workload, exchange of ideas, standing in for the principal, training of the associate) ambivalence about the position was strong. The associates endorsed the professional development opportunity the position provided, with reservations relating to the status divide, and uncertainty about the boundary between the two positions. The co-principalship was seen as a curiosity. Not only was it not understood but no effort was made to do so. There was evident a niggling thought that such arrangements simply meant that the principal was not really 'up to it'.

The role of the state, an apparently invisible, 'sleeping' partner is significant. While the state insists on a single leadership, and refuses to act in any meaningful way when EEO requirements are not met, when it acknowledges a concerning dearth of women in leadership positions but takes no steps to rectify the situation, when alternative ways of leading are discounted, then a certain ideology remains firmly in place. The gaze of its own auditing agency needs to swing in its direction. Why does it refrain from doing so?

Part of the responsibility for bringing up children is delegated to the school. Qualities such as responsibility and care are assigned, as well as the provision of an effective learning environment. Schools like other public sector organisations are not businesses, as there is no overall profit objective, but they are required to be business-like. Implicitly, they have to produce a lot more than a profit, namely communities that are worth living in. In this regard modelling power sharing would seem to be a profitable aim. When hierarchical structures, and linear decision making, typify schools children learn once more that leadership equals 'command and control'. Sharing arrangements which remain marginal to effective practice are viewed as oddities. The principal is very clearly 'the boss'.

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Appendix A



10 October 1997

Linda Dillon

ad

Milford
AUCKLAND

Dear Linda

Regarding your request for data on secondary schools, the Data Management and Staffing Sections of the Ministry are pleased to provide the information attached at no charge.

The information requested in questions 2, part of question 9 and questions 10 and 11 is not readily available and will require further analysis. The time required to complete this work is estimated to be two hours. At \$60 plus GST per hour the total cost will be \$135. If you wish us to proceed with these items please forward a cheque for the above amount, attention the Information Officer, Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Private Box 1666, Wellington. Please include a note of the outstanding items.

Thank you and good luck with your research project.

Yours sincerely

Maureen Farratt
Data Analyst

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

1. At 1 July 1997 there were 320 state and state integrated secondary schools in New Zealand. In addition there were 18 private secondary schools but the detailed staffing data you requested is not available for these schools.
2. This figure is not currently available and would require further analysis.
3. Secondary schools will be classified on the basis of their 1 March 1997 total rolls, which will include students in Years 7 and 8 in Year 7 to 15 schools, adult students, full-time equivalents for part-time students and students in special needs units. Students enrolled in attached intermediate departments, foreign fee paying students and assisted students whose fees are paid by MFAT do not count for the classification of secondary schools.

Total Roll	Classification
-200	A
201-500	B
501-850	C
851-	D

4. Principal and Associate Principal

A school's entitlement to these positions is determined by the classification of the school and as specified in the following table.

Total Roll	Principal	Associate Principal
200	Class A	
201 – 500	Class B	
501 – 850	Class C	
851 – 1400	Class D	
1401 – 1600	Class D	Class B
1601 -	Class D	Class C

How many, and which, schools are entitled to appoint to this position ? See Q8

What is the situation with primary/intermediate schools ?

Primary and intermediate schools have an entitlement to a Principal. Depending on the staffing entitlement a primary or intermediate school may also have an entitlement to 1 or more assistant principal, deputy principal and/or senior teacher.

5. There is no legal definition of an associate principal. An associate principal is employed under the conditions of an Individual Employment Contract whereas deputy principals are mostly employed under the conditions of the Secondary Teachers' Collective Employment Contract.
6. Other than the principal and the associate principal, schools are now able to name members of senior management by any names they want to use. Associate principals have often been informally called the second principal but in recent years, at least, they have always been known as the associate principal.

7. No information available.
8. The following secondary schools have an entitlement to an associate principal during 1997
Rangitoto College, Westlake Boys' High School, Westlake Girls' High School, Macleans College, Massey High School, Waitakere College, Auckland Grammar, Epsom Girls' Grammar School, Mt Roskill Grammar, Avondale College, Pakuranga College, Howick College, Manurewa High School, Otumoetai College, Tauranga Boys' College, Fraser High School, Palmerston Boys' High School, Hutt Valley High School, Burnside High School.
9. The total number of secondary principals at March 1997 was 331. Please note that associate or second principals are also included in this count. 82 of these principals were female.
12. There is now no longer any specific entitlement to senior masters/mistresses although a large number of schools will still have people with this designation.
13. We have no information on the specific regulations regarding the size of schools. If you contact either the National Operations or Legal Sections of the Ministry of Education they may be able to answer this.

Appendix B

██████████
Milford,
Auckland 9.
21/6/96

The Principal,

Dear Sir/Madam,

As indicated by the covering note I am embarking upon a thesis which will complete the degree of Master of Philosophy. My chosen area of study is the position of associate principal, in secondary schools. These positions are relatively uncommon and represent a fairly recent change in the management structure. I am interested in exploring the parameters of such positions, and in particular, the division of labour between principals and associate principals.

The project will comprise three stages:

Stage 1: a general questionnaire to gather primarily statistical data, and job descriptions

Stage 2: face-to-face interviewing in selected schools

Stage 3: analysis within a theoretical framework

(Stage 1 will help to shape the research design in the second stage of the study).

Confidentiality will be respected including the use of pseudonyms when the thesis is published. A code of practice is contained within the contract that I have signed with Dr. Lynne Alice, Director of Women's Studies at Massey University. She would be pleased to discuss matters related to the thesis.

The purpose of this letter is to request the participation of both you and the associate principal in this study. Protocol demands that contact is made through the principal, and I should be grateful if you would discuss this project with your associate. What is required is that both of you, independently, complete the questionnaire. You are both welcome, of course, to retain copies, and to subsequently discuss your responses, which may/may not prove illuminating. Should only one of you wish to participate that will still be an acceptable option.

What I need at this stage is an indication of your willingness to proceed further. I require the return of the accompanying consent forms in the envelope provided, by June 30, 1996. If you are unable to take part in this project a return to that effect, with reasons if possible, would help to complete the data set. Thank you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

Linda Dillon
(B.Sc: Dip. Tchg; Dip. Soc. Sci.)

Appendix C

QUESTIONNAIRE

The answers to this questionnaire will provide information about the division of labour between principals and associate principals. Your assistance is appreciated.

SECTION 1

For questions 1-10 you are required to: **either** - Circle the categories in which you fall
or - Fill in the gaps

1. Management position: ... PRINCIPAL
... ASSOCIATE PRINCIPAL

2 Date of your appointment to this position:

3 Length of time in this position:

4 Date of appointment of first associate/principal:

5 Age group ... 30-40 Years
... 35-39
... 40-44
... 45-54
... 55-59
... 60-64

6 Sex: ... Female
... Male

7 Professional association?
Circle group/s of which you are a member.
If other, please specify.

- ... PPTA
- ... SPANZ
- ... PRINC. ASSOC.
- ... ASSOC. PRINC. ASSOC
- ... DPS ASSOC.
- ... OTHER

8 Length of teaching service
(a) Duration

- less than 10 years
- 10-15
- 16-20
- 21-25
- 26-30
- 31-35
- more than 36 years

(b) Starting date:

(c) Breaks in service (indicate duration and purpose)

e.g. 1990 3 months study leave - *Fullbright*
1984 12 months maternity leave

9 Management history

Briefly outline your management history.

Include HOD, Dean, specialist positions, e.g. Timetable or ESOL, Careers Adviser, Counsellor, PPTA Chair, Sports or other Administrator, etc. Indicate change of position in the same school.

e.g. School A HOD Bio, PR1 1982-4
School B HOD Sci, PR3 1985-8

10 Management structure

Indicate the management structure/team in which you currently work. (If other members, please specify.)

(a) Number of members	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(b) Sex of -	... PRINCIPAL			... MALE		... FEMALE
	... ASSOC. OR 2ND PRINCIPAL			... MALE		... FEMALE
	... DEPUTY PRINCIPAL/S			... MALE		... FEMALE
	... OTHER TEAM MEMBERS			... MALE		... FEMALE

SECTION 2

The following six questions are more open ended. Descriptive answers are required.

1 The Shorter Oxford has these words listed to define Principal and Associate Principal. Choose words from the list below to show the relationship between Principal and Associate Principal in your school.

overseer	companion	Principal	Associate Principal
mate	friend		
follower	commander		
chief	ally		
peer	confidante		
deputy	first		
second	partner		

2 In the manner of sayings such as a tree is to forest as a duck is to flock, choose suitable words to complete this sentence:

A Principal is toas an Associate Principal is to

3 Your job

What was the job description given to you when you applied for the position?
(A copy of the actual wording would be useful.)

4 (a) Task Allocation.

How was it decided what tasks you would do?

Use the gradient below to show the importance of each factor.

	Consideration:				
	Weak <-----> Strong				
PERSONAL STRENGTHS	1	2	3	4	5
PERSONAL PREFERENCES	1	2	3	4	5
JOB DESCRIPTION	1	2	3	4	5
LEGAL REQUIREMENTS	1	2	3	4	5
BOT EXPECTATIONS	1	2	3	4	5
MANAGEMENT TEAM MAKE-UP	1	2	3	4	5
SEX	1	2	3	4	5
AGE	1	2	3	4	5
PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE	1	2	3	4	5
OTHER	1	2	3	4	5

(b) Comment on the process of task allocation, and the opportunity for re-negotiation. How would this happen?

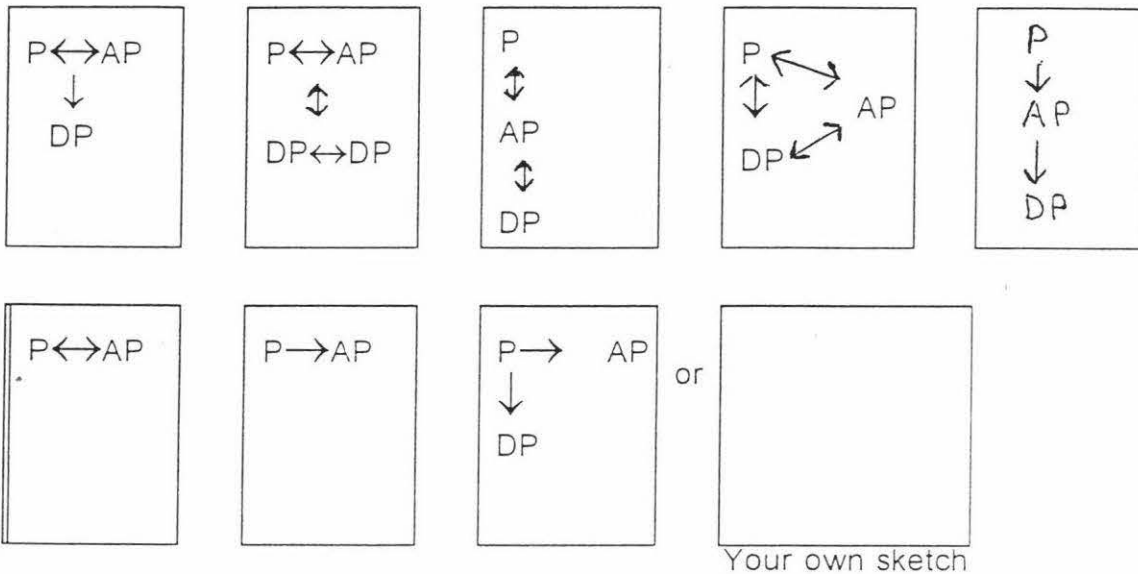
- (c) Circle the appropriate columns in the table below to show who has primary responsibility for these tasks in your school. Descriptors: P=Principal; AP=Associate Principal; DP=Deputy Principal or Assistant Principal; S=Several or all team members; O=Outside of team.

March 1 return	P	AP	DP	S	O
Professional development	P	AP	DP	S	O
Attends Board meetings	P	AP	DP	S	O
Parent information report evenings	P	AP	DP	S	O
Suspensions	P	AP	DP	S	O
Budgetary control	P	AP	DP	S	O
Guidance coordination	P	AP	DP	S	O
Curriculum development	P	AP	DP	S	O
Timetable	P	AP	DP	S	O
Staff appointments	P	AP	DP	S	O
Student Activities	P	AP	DP	S	O
P.T.A. liaison	P	AP	DP	S	O
Day-to-day management	P	AP	DP	S	O
Staff meetings	P	AP	DP	S	O
Exam. co-ordination	P	AP	DP	S	O
Enrolment policy	P	AP	DP	S	O
Uniform: daily management	P	AP	DP	S	O
Newsletters to parents	P	AP	DP	S	O
Assemblies	P	AP	DP	S	O
Prizegiving speech	P	AP	DP	S	O
Major capital expenditure	P	AP	DP	S	O
Principal's report	P	AP	DP	S	O
Property	P	AP	DP	S	O

5 Given that the management structure in your school includes at least

- ... ONE PRINCIPAL
- ... ONE ASSOCIATE OR 2ND PRINCIPAL
- ... DEPUTY/ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS

which of the following sketches most closely represents the decision-making process.



6 Other comments.

Any other comments that you may have regarding questions posed, related experiences etc ?

Thank you for your assistance

Docs\Formprinques

Appendix D

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] 9.
13/7/96

Dear Lynne,

Oh dear! Your errant Masters student returns. No excuses, just an explanation that the combination of paid work, sickness, mothering, and sundry personal dramas, proved unbeatable in terms of interference with my studies. My son (11 years) even directed me to watch last Thursday's documentary on stress! Anyway, resolutely back on track.

I shall arrange to come to Massey before end of August, by which time there should be survey results, and theory, to discuss. I am about to send out the surveys, having received 10 out of 14 replies: 2 of these have decided not to participate, and 1 other has chosen to depart from the A/P arrangement, so doesn't exactly fit. I may follow up the negative replies because I'm cross that an educational institution should refuse to participate in educational research. Am I allowed to be cross, as a researcher ... well, I won't say that, but try to get some more information from them, anyway. Some respondents were actually enthusiastic!

That raises the question of incomplete data sets, a scientific paradigm, which I need to discuss as part of the process. As I am using a multiple methods approach, as per Reinharz Ch. 11, the survey/questionnaire (is there a difference?) functions as a point of entry to the interview, and also provides preliminary data, but not an end in itself.

The analysis of the data should prove interesting. I'm endeavouring to pre-code the questions for ease of analysis, but the later questions will not fit a simple structure. Are there references you can suggest to assist with analysis of metaphors, and the like ... "a principal is to _____ a as an associate principal is to _____", or do I justify my inferences in terms of the literature, and my standpoint?

Several people I know who have recently completed theses give them the final seal of approval by applying statistical analyses, after the event, dazzling with numbers. Some haven't actually known what the statistics show. I'm not a statistician, so what to do ... bung in a computer stats. programme, consult a statistician, read a simple stats manual? I suppose some sort of cross tabulation may prove helpful, and degrees of significance, but it is a specific and small study group, and there is no way or aim to extrapolate, but simply to situate the study within other management/educational/feminist studies.

I have made some contact with Mollie Neville, and will go to see her, hopefully this week. I look forward to your reply.

Regards,

Appendix E

Women's Studies Programme

a commitment to excellence in teaching, flexible courses and a friendly environment

The Women's Studies Programme at Massey University offers 24 courses at undergraduate level, a BA major and entry to the Graduate Diploma, M.A. M.Phil and Ph.D study. Courses are available in both internal and extramural modes. For further information : The Secretary, Women's Studies, Massey University, Private Bag 11-222 Palmerston North, New Zealand. Tel. (06) 350.4938 Fax (06) 350.5627. Email L.C.Alice@massey.ac.nz



**MASSEY
UNIVERSITY**

[REDACTED] ve.
[REDACTED] brd
[REDACTED] 19

Dear Linda,

Thanks for your letter dated 13/7. I've been away in the US hence my silence.

I think it's really important to see your project as exemplifying a qualitative case history methodology. Despite the extent of your reading about the complexities of possible research methodologies, remember that your number of interviewees is small and your project is focused on analysis of their responses in relation to your feminist theoretical framework.

Hence, discourse analysis is irrelevant and unhelpful. In the vein I also react strongly to language of "data sets" and "data". What you have gathered is interview materials or personal narratives for a *qualitative* project. There is absolutely no point in considering coding and statistics for such a small group. It is the themes and experiences that emerge, which you will interrogate in your analysis. In a sense the questionnaire has prepared your groundwork/context and the interviews will take you further towards addressing your basic research questions about shared principalships in the light of your feminist reading about education, organisation, and so on.

I see your project as a relatively straightforward exploration of gender and power dynamics within a small number of educational contexts - and so it should be for an MPhil. Please do not be more ambitious than this, save it for a PhD.

I would like to see you in August or September. I will be in Christchurch between August 23 and September 3. Please phone the Secretary at 350 4938 and let her know when you can make a couple of days to visit. we can talk things through in detail then. In the meantime I'd like to hear from you more often (and will re-commit myself to more frequent responses)! Would you please either mail or phone at the end of every fortnight - even if only to say you're still working on an idea or question. I helps me stay in touch and may remind us both about the timetable for your project. Time flies etc.

I hope things are generally going well outside your research, I know how complicated time management can become.

Best wishes

Lynne Alice

Appendix F



29 April 1996

Ms Linda [redacted] on

[redacted] re

[redacted] rd
[redacted] 9

Dear Linda

Associate Principals - Secondary Schools

Thank you for your enquiry regarding associate principals. The concept of associate principals was launched in response to the management of very large schools with roll sizes in excess of 1400 pupils. I understand that the job type was introduced as a "super deputy principal" in the late 1970s in response to the phenomenon of very large schools. These included the South Island schools of Burnside and Linwood in Christchurch and also Ashburton College. The other main places where associate principals have been used have been Hutt Valley High School, in Wellington, some in Hamilton and also Auckland with schools like Fairfield, Rangitoto, Howick and Pakaranga. It is important to note that no school is able to have two principals, and that was a factor in the creation of the job.

As you may be aware the associate principals are covered by the expired Secondary Teachers' Collective Employment Contract (expired 30/1/95). The rates in this contract are driven by the school roll size, thus:

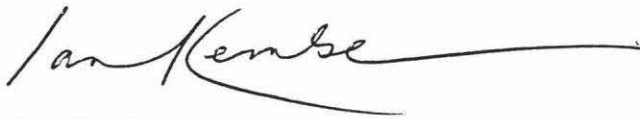
Roll	\$
1401-1500	59,219
1501-1600	59,219
1601+	64,968

Each employing school will have their own arrangements for job description. Currently there are only 14 such positions in New Zealand.

The history of the associate principals and the flexibility of management issues, (which your letter addresses) are areas best discussed with the Ministry of Education, (Private Bag 1666 Wellington). Your letter would be best addressed to Mr Eric Pedersen, Manager Early

Childhood and Schools division. I have gained most of the information for this reply from the Ministry in an effort to get you some information to go on.

We wish you well with your studies.
Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ian Kember". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Ian Kember
Advisor
Education Sector Group

Appendix G



19 April

Linda Dillon

██████████ue

Milford

Auckland

Dear Linda

the change in advertising of senior vacancies which you have queried came about as a result of an approach by Epsom Girls' Grammar School, who advertised their associate principal's position in the 14 July 1995 issue. The Gazette staff are always open to suggestions which seem to us to make the Gazette easier to use. We are very aware that it compresses a lot of information into tight formats and that teachers are overloaded with necessary reading. Equally, because cost holding is one of the "drivers" in Learning Media's *Education Gazette* contract with the Ministry of Education, we would not lightly introduce changes that are likely to take up more space.

We clear format changes to the Gazette with our controlling section in the Ministry of Education, Communications Division (current Director, Peter Northcote). If an overview from the sector seems appropriate, we would consult NZSTA, for example, or the teacher unions.

To make a comparison with the AP/DP change, we responded to a sector-based approach from the Catholic Education Office who requested amalgamation of the integrated and state school advertisements. This was a more major change than a separate section for AP/DPs, but after a very amicable period of negotiation on how best to proceed, the change was introduced 15 August 1995. If you look in the official notices for 14 July 1995, you will see the lead notice for introducing this change.

We did not similarly notify schools of the AP/DP change because it seemed likely to please the whole secondary sector, and we did not need schools to do anything very different with their advertisements initially (different levels of positions should be sent on separate forms). The change was very rapidly picked up on by the secondary advertisers (who do not always notice other things we would like them to respond to so quickly). This indicates that the separate AP/DP section made sense to them as a way of operating. It certainly assists us currently when we profile numbers and types of positions advertised for the Ministry.

Yours sincerely

Robin Corney (Editor)

Appendix H

Suspension Statistics, Ministry of Education, 1996 : 34

Ethnicity	Male	Female	Overall Rate per 1000
Pakeha	3295	1088	9.40%
Maori	2835	1097	28.50%
Pacific Islanders	585	193	15.80%
Other	561	152	15.20%

Most commonly reported behaviour

1 July - 31 December 1996

Continual Disobedience	22%
Physical Assault	21%
Drugs	9%

NB: 42% of those suspended were in levels 3-5 of socioeconomic docile rating.

Appendix I

BOARDS OF TRUSTEES

1996 New Zealand schools Nga Kura o Aotaroa, Minister of Education
A Report on the Compulsory Schools Sector in New Zealand 1996:77

320 schools : Secondary Schools

By Gender	Total of Principals Appointed	Percentage elected	Percentage Co-Opted	Total Numbers
Male	56.20%	59.60%	48.40%	1924
Female	43.80%	40.40%	51.60%	1498

By Ethnicity	Total Percentage Appointed
Maori	14.80%
Pacific Islanders	3.80%
Asian	1.00%
Pakeha	77.80%
Other	3.30%