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CHANGING THE MASTER OR

MASTERING THE CHANGE ?

Women Secondary Principals and Occupational Closure

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines causes of, and reaction to, the under-representation of women as Principals in the secondary teaching service in New Zealand in the 1990's. The model of occupational closure developed by Witz (1992) is used as a theoretical base to describe the sexual division of labour and the vertical and horizontal segregation of women in the paid labour force.

The concepts of exclusion, inclusion and change are used to analyse work history data derived from interviews with the research participants. It is argued that marked changes in societal and individual attitudes and in workplace practices are contributing to alterations in gender relations. Of particular importance, in contemporary inclusionary processes, is women's awareness of, and the value they attach to, the positive contribution that women can, and do, make to workplace relations.

The thesis concludes that, despite the gains that some professional women appear to have made, access to positions of real power and equality in the workplace has not yet been achieved.

To my daughters and grandchildren. May they always be able to stand in their own patch of sunshine.

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ADDENDUM

Following discussions subsequent to the publication of this thesis, I feel it is necessary to include the following addendum.

In both the Introduction and in the Methodology chapter I claim to be doing feminist research. I state on page 54 that " it is implicit in the literature that feminist research is primarily research about women, for women, *by women....*". I then argue that it is possible for a man to do feminist research. While I am still prepared to debate the issues, I accept that this a highly contentious argument and that my discussion in support of my assertion is somewhat perfunctory and does not recognise several important points.

These points should be added to that discussion. First it is acknowledged that a man can do *pro-feminist* research but because a man has not experienced gender discrimination at first hand he cannot do *feminist research* per se. This argument rests on the uniqueness of the relationship between feminist theory, feminist research methodology and gender politics compared to research carried out by members of dominant groups on other disadvantaged or less powerful groups. Thus the second point to be made is that when men carry out research about women and particularly research that claims to be on behalf of women, they should state very clearly their gender politics and values and recognise the problems associated with conducting emancipatory research. These problems include the potential for the dis-empowerment and exploitation of the group under study and for faulty analysis.

Finally it should be recognised that interviewees may well explain their experiences more clearly to a male interviewer (rather than a female one) because they can assume that a man could not know about them because he is male. However a woman may withhold some information from a man that they would readily divulge to a female researcher.

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INTRODUCTION

It was, I think, appropriate that this thesis was written in 1993; the centennial of women's suffrage in New Zealand. It explores one aspect of New Zealand women's changing paid work status. Suffrage gave women the ability to influence decision making at the national political level. This research investigates women's experiences in making inroads into positions of responsibility and decision making in co-educational secondary schools in New Zealand. It is also entirely appropriate that the general principles of feminist methodology should be adopted to conduct this research.

My sociological interest in the topic of women and work has grown out of a series of experiences and reflections during the course of my forty year working life. When I first started work as an adolescent, men with whom I worked talked of their experiences in the depression of the 1930's. It left a deep impression on me. The details are lost in subsequent reading and discussions, but the effect of those men's words has translated into an academic interest that has grown over the years. I became interested in the impact that work has on the totality of people's lives, how this changes over time and place under the pressure of changing values and particularly in changes to gender relationships at work..

When I went teaching in a central city co-educational secondary school I became Head of Department responsible for less academically able or inclined children, or, as they were more prosaically known, slow and reluctant learners. Emphasis was placed on helping those adolescents to acquire the skills, knowledge and attitudes to get and hold a paid job. These objectives became even more important as the recession of the 80's deepened. To improve the teaching effectiveness of my Departmental teaching team I made a more detailed study of the role of work in people's lives. I found that there was

very little in the literature that referred specifically to the status and role of young women in the workforce or the gender related problems that they might encounter.

A further stimulus to my interest in women and work was my observation of some women who made dramatic changes in their work and lifestyle after losing a husband through death or divorce. It seemed as though these women were released from some sort of restraint that had inhibited the full realisation of their potential as individuals, particularly in the work that they did and the positions they attained. They literally seemed to grow and blossom as a person - sometimes from being drab and uninteresting to being sartorially more fashionable, and socially and vocationally more outgoing, proactive and successful.

On returning to fulltime university study after an absence of twelve years, feminist sociology and Women's Studies had become established as courses of study in social science faculties. They made a considerable impact on my academic thinking. These disciplines were challenging the status quo, asking searching questions and exploring new research methodologies that were directly relevant to my own academic orientation. So much seemed to be going on for women, so many women, according to the mass media, were being successful in a variety of fields, that I wanted to talk to a group of women who had succeeded. I wanted to know what the reality was for them. For despite the media attention to 'high fliers' and despite the advent of EEO legislation, women are still under represented in top positions in work hierarchies. Furthermore women continue to be confronted with obstacles and handicaps in their work careers that originate from an androcentric work environment. As Olsson (1992;13) observes "women's opportunities, choices and labour market situation are affected not only by their abilities and skills but also by the traditional stereotypes and attitudes our society attaches to women's sexuality." Upwardly career-mobile women must resort to practices that overcome these inhibiting attitudes and handicaps.

Academically, during the past three years, I have concentrated on the gender relations associated with the processes of occupational closure and the consequent horizontal

and vertical segregation of the workplace. I wanted to know more about how women experienced these discriminatory practices and what their responses were, and how they overcame the difficulties and inequalities that they encountered at work. I was particularly interested in how some women made it to the top of a profession, to positions that traditionally had been held by men. Work, gender relations and inequality increasingly came together as a cluster of factors to provide a focus from which to choose a thesis topic.

With my teaching background and some knowledge of the career structure in the secondary system I decided to explore the professional career experiences and perceptions of women Principals of co-educational secondary schools. This gave me a discrete sample of women who had reached the senior position in an organisation's hierarchy. I assumed that competition for appointments becomes harder as one climbs the organisational hierarchy. (Slyfield, 1993; 18). Therefore if gendered inequalities are a factor in handicapping women's career paths, women who had gained a Principalship would have experienced them in their progress to the top.

My research questions then became 'why are women under represented as Principals, what stops more women from gaining this position, how do they overcome the perceived impediments to their careers and if gender relations had changed during their careers how had these changes contributed to the small increase in the number of women Principals?

As my research progressed it became apparent that the questions elicited responses involving a wide range of factors. This meant covering a large body of literature and running the risk of generating data that gave no clear answers to specific issues. Nevertheless I persisted with the broader enquiry. I preferred to stay with the wider picture, attempting to fill in with broad strokes the panorama of my research participants lives rather than focus on a narrower issue. I realised that if the question was; 'why are women under represented as Principals in the secondary system?' and

given the tendency (identified in the research) for women towards a holistic life view, my record would inevitably become a more comprehensive 'lifescape'.

The thesis has consequently become an enquiry into a rather broad topic. The focus has, however, been narrowed in two ways. Occupational closure theory has been used as the theoretical base and the concepts of exclusion, inclusion and change as the organising framework. Secondly this theoretical focus has been applied to a commentary by a discrete population of the transitional nature of gender relations in their profession. Out of the many social realities for professional women in New Zealand I have documented how twelve women perceive their world, the inequalities they have experienced and the changes that they feel have occurred both personally and in the wider society.

While the organising framework has been in terms of occupational closure theory concepts, I have found that the unruliness of the data is such that it cannot always be fitted into neat sociological categories. This difficulty only serves to highlight the complexity and inter-relatedness of the many facets of human social interaction.

I found writing this thesis a very exciting and absorbing project to undertake. There has been a sense of immediacy and of being directly involved, of being witness to significant change in peoples lives and feeling the impact that a few exceptional women were having on their school environments.

I want to emphasise how much I appreciate the frankness with which the respondents shared some of their major personal experiences with me. These intimate aspects of their lives have enriched the study and added an important dimension to my understanding of the difficulties that professional women face in climbing organisational hierarchies. If for no other reason, I want to thank them for that. I think that the positive actions taken and the firm decisions made, particularly about their personal lives, embody the essence of women overcoming gender inequality and discrimination.

CHAPTER ORGANISATION.

Chapter 1 is a comprehensive review of the relevant literature. The Witz model of occupational closure is used as a theoretical background in a summary of gender relations in the workplace. The chapter considers the literature which deals with women's occupational exclusion, the ways they gain inclusion and the nature of changing gender relations in the workplace. The literature review is data driven to the extent that I have attempted to cover all of the issues that the respondents raised in the interviews.

In Chapter 2 I describe the various methodological components of the study. These include the choice of method and the field research processes. The chapter ends with some concerns that I had about a man doing feminist research.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 contain summaries of the discussions with the research participants, each Chapter in turn dealing with exclusion, inclusion and change. Chapter 3 covers the perceptions the respondents have of the exclusions and discriminations they have experienced. Chapter 4 deals with the inclusionary processes used by the Principals to work their way through the hierarchy of the secondary teaching profession. Chapter 5 describes the transitions the respondents have undergone personally as well as the ways they believe gender relations in the work place have changed during the course of their working lives.

In the concluding Chapter, I summarise the major points of the thesis, relating the perceptions and experiences of the Principals to the theoretical descriptions reviewed in Chapter 1. I conclude that while there has been some improvement at work for some advantaged women there is little evidence that they have gained significant access to real power. Neither is it clear whether those apparent gains can be sustained in the long term or that there have been any real gains for the majority of women.

CHAPTER ONE.

LITERATURE REVIEW.

INTRODUCTION.

Helen Lynch, the *Bulletin* Business Woman of the year in 1990, is steadily making her way up the corporate tree at Westpac. - - Lynch now finds herself on the third highest management level in retail banking (Johnstone, The Bulletin, Nov. 24, 1992).

Glass ceiling starts to break. Robyn West's selection for the job of general manager of Digital New Zealand is a milestone for women in the IT industry. Though there are increasing numbers of women filling information system managers roles, there have been no women occupying the top job in the leading companies selling IT product and project skills - - (Perry, Dominion, Aug. 23 1993).

These articles are typical of the many that I have collected since beginning this thesis. Increasingly, in magazines and newspapers there are articles about women gaining appointments to senior management positions in politics, industry, commerce, the arts and sport. What makes them newsworthy, and of particular interest to me is that women reaching these sorts of positions in organisational hierarchies is a relatively recent phenomenon. These women are the exception; the articles are recording the changing status of professional women. ☺

Perry suggests that though women are now filling some management positions they rarely fill the top jobs. Women tend to be clustered in publicity, personnel, purchasing

and office administration. The lack of women in senior management can be blamed on many things; women's own fear of advancing beyond a certain level; the glass ceiling imposed by the old boys' network; the dual role difficulties of combining marriage (often with motherhood) and a career; gender based differential treatment that puts women under a critical spotlight and finally the negative effects of sexual harassment.

Brief though Perry's article is, it covers all the major features of gender inequality addressed by the academic and theoretical literature. But more importantly what all similar articles also do is beg the question, why? Why are women under represented in senior management? They also prompt the corollary questions, how did successful women achieve the positions they have and what, if anything, is changing for professional women? These are the questions that I shall explore in this thesis. While this has broadened the scope of the research very substantially it has been my experience that discussion of any one aspect will automatically draw a response that demonstrates the close inter-relationship of all three questions.

While there is a "very sparse body of literature on women in management" (Neville, 1988; 9) it is growing. Out of the social movements of the 1960's¹, second wave feminism and the growing voice of women's studies in academia, an increasing body of literature documents and explores the issues of women's inequality in the labour market, their successes and changing status. This literature, describing and explaining the disadvantaged position of women in the paid work force, covers a wide field. As I have indicated mass media articles document the achievements of individual women. More empirically focused writing (in social science literature and in texts aimed at a wider readership), describes the gender based institutional and cultural obstacles women face at work as well as the strategies and tactics women employ to overcome their subordination in the work place. Sociological theories explain the sexual division of labour and the structure and processes of occupational segregation and exclusion. The total picture of the experiences that women face in

¹I refer here to the human rights movements in general that included in New Zealand, civil rights, Maori land rights, feminism, gay rights environmentalism and conservationism

paid work is a complicated one. No one theory "can encompass the complex reality of occupational segregation" (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990:32). No one discipline adequately covers all of the circumstances involved. There are gaps and discontinuities in relation to gender inequality and there is a need for links to be made between various theoretical perspectives. There is, for example, a need for considerable cross referencing and dialogue between all of the social science disciplines particularly in their treatment of gender (and class and ethnic inequities). Witz (1992:32) maintains there are "important gaps in the literature on how men . . . secure privileged positions in the labour market." Despite these shortcomings and differences I believe a useful and comprehensive survey can be made in sociological terms.

It is the purpose of this chapter to look at the literature concerned with the questions I posed earlier; why are women under-represented in senior positions, how do they overcome the obstacles and what has changed for this to happen? My attention is directed at that literature which describes the continuities and changes in the day to day practices and experiences of professional women in the paid labour force. There is, I believe, a dynamic of change in the lives of these women and in the social-historical period in which they have lived that must be captured. I am particularly interested in those perspectives in the literature that reflect the issues raised and experiences recounted by the research participants and the literature that contributes to an understanding of these perceptions in terms of occupational theory. The literature reviewed is not, therefore, an exhaustive summary but an attempt to locate an analytically useful framework from which to make sense of the data.

I will review the various strands of the literature in three sections. Each part will review both the more abstract and theoretical, sociological explanations of the gendered and segregated occupational structure and the more empirical descriptions of workplace interactions. Section one will address how women are excluded from some occupations and positions. The second section will cover the ways in which women overcome the difficulties they face, while section three explores the extent to which the

employment situation for women has, and continues to change. This format follows the pattern that most of the interview discussions followed. The women involved in the study talked first about why it was difficult for women to gain promotion followed by how they had managed to achieve the positions they currently hold. Finally they explained how things have changed in their lifetimes, and the concerns and reservations they have about those changes.

EXCLUSION AND SEGREGATION; HOW WOMEN ARE KEPT OUT.

The Sexual Division of Labour.

Women do not have equality of opportunity in the market place. The reality is that there is a sexual division of labour that crowds women into a limited number of occupations and restricts their access to positions at the top of organisational hierarchies. In both the public and the private sphere this is the most universal form of the division of labour (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990;6). Typically women are found in work that reflects their domestic role of caregiver, nurturer and supporter while the stereotypical female is not seen to possess the personal qualities deemed necessary to hold senior, responsible decision-making positions (Lipton, 1986).

At the theoretical level the structure of the gendered division of labour is described by Hakim's (1979) concepts of vertical and horizontal segregation. Horizontal occupational segregation exists where men and women are employed in different types of occupations. Nurses and secretarial workers are typically women, - truckdrivers and firefighters are usually men. The more manual, primary sector jobs seem to be highly resistant to change, whereas more middle class professional occupations show some erosion of the barriers to women. There are, for example more women real estate agents, accountants and legislative officials now than there were ten years ago (Dept. of Statistics, 1990;64). But lawyers, doctors and managers we assume will be men.

Vertical segregation exists where men hold the higher grade occupations or jobs. This can occur in two distinct categories. Women can be excluded from senior positions

within the same organisation, a case of internal vertical segregation. Women can also be found in lower status categories within the same occupation, an example of external labour market segregation (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990:34). The teaching profession is a good example of the two categories of vertical segregation. Women predominate in pre-school and primary school teaching, while men increasingly predominate in the higher status secondary and tertiary establishments. (Slyfield, 1992, O'Neill, 1992). This is segregation by differential recruitment and employment in the external market. Internal vertical segregation occurs within schools and colleges where women are grossly under-represented as Principals, Deputy and Assistant Principals and as Heads of Departments. The situation in New Zealand is the same as that found in Britain between 1980 and 1987 by Crompton and Sanderson (1990:35). "At every level *within* the teaching profession, the proportion of men in headships or senior positions is disproportionate to their presence in that level as a whole" These two categories of vertical segregation come together in Universities where women are a smaller percentage of the teaching staff than in secondary or primary teaching as well as having the lowest representation in senior positions (Dept of Statistics, 1990:55, 65, Slyfield, 1990, 1993).

Occupational Closure Theory

Vertical and horizontal segregation describes the structure of the sexual division of labour but these concepts do not tell us the processes which bring about a gender segregated work world. An explanation of these processes is proposed by Witz (1992) in her development and refinement of neo-Weberian closure theory. Neo-Weberian closure theory (Parkin, 1974, Murphy, 1988) explains how dominant individuals and groups- usually white and male in Western capitalist countries- close off access to high status, high reward positions to those, like women and non-whites who are in a minority or are in a subordinate position in society. In the case of women contenders for top jobs, the male heads of organisations and departments, systematically consider for promotion only those who share the same ethnicity, gender and social class as

themselves and exclude those who do not (Neville,1988, Alban-Metcalf,1991, Cockburn,1991).

Witz's work is both sociological and feminist. While Witz's study is grounded in a different historical period and location, I shall use it as a general theoretical model. There are several features of the model of occupational closure that Witz has developed that make it a powerful and versatile analytical tool and a very strong weapon in advancing the political feminist cause of equality in the market place. Each of these features contribute to a more complete theoretical background to women's disadvantaged position in the labour market.

Witz uses occupational closure theory to explain how women were excluded and demarcated in the medical profession at the turn of the century. Women were segregated both vertically and horizontally in the one profession; an example of segregation via both the internal and the external labour market. The strength of the Witz model is its wide applicability. The concepts of exclusion and inclusion and the tactics and strategies employed to effect these processes also explain vertical segregation via the internal or organisational labour market, that is, how women are kept out of the senior positions within a particular occupation. Witz analyses the professionalisation of medical occupations - 'professional projects' - in the emerging medical division of labour and identifies the application of gendered, collectivistic and individualistic criteria and the use of credentialist and legalistic means² in the processes of exclusion and inclusion. These criteria can be utilised just as well in analysing women's labour market condition today. It is not now possible to use credentialism to exclude women from appointments and positions. Nevertheless, as we shall see, informal, gendered criteria are used to discriminate against women. Women in turn gain inclusion into jobs by the applying strategies, tactics and criteria that are non-gendered and individualistic as well as those that are gendered, collective and

².See Witz,1992;46. Gendered, collectivist and individualistic criteria refer to the process of making women (collectively) ineligible while men are considered on individual criteria without any gender bias. Credentialist and legalistic means refers to the ineligibility of women because they have been debarred from routes of access to gaining the necessary skills and credentials.

individual. As circumstances change, the means available are adapted to maintain or usurp the relations of power.

A further important aspect of Witz's work is her focus on the gender component of middle class professions. This has been a neglected area of research on gendered aspects of women's paid work. Most previous studies have focused on working class occupations (ibid;34). Witz argues that "the generic notion of profession is also a gendered notion" (ibid;39). It is the gendered basis of middle class professions, - the patriarchal structuring of gender relations that has particular relevance for my research.

The adaptability of gendered practices is a very important aspect of this study. Witz and others recognise the "historically, culturally and spatially variable forms" (ibid:11) of gender relations. The practices and behaviours that are used to maintain gendered positions of advantage change according to changing political, legal and social factors (Colwill,1982; 2). Crompton and Sanderson (1990;43) comment on the dynamic nature of the changes in gender relations that continually occur in the occupational structure, occupational segregation being reproduced by "practices which are the outcome of past conventions regarding the 'proper' relations between the sexes, the particular characteristics of national economies, and so on, as well as transformed by divergent practices - " This historical specificity is also noted by Savage and Witz (1992;52) and Alban-Metcalf and West (1991;155).

The historical and social locatedness of closure practices coupled with a sense of continuity and change (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990;166) can be seen in the difference between Witz's account of the professionalisation of medical practice one hundred years ago and the inclusionary and exclusionary tactics and strategies employed by women and against women as they invade management hierarchies in the 1990's. In the past men were able to sustain the exclusion of women from jobs and occupations because women were unable to gain the necessary credentials or qualifications or on legal grounds. Exclusion was also maintained collectively against women because they were women and therefore deemed unsuitable emotionally and

intellectually for many jobs. Women were not considered to possess those skills and personal qualities required for demanding, management and decision making positions. Women fought this exclusion by using both the credentialist and legalistic tactics of occupational politics and the equal rights and separatist tactics of gender politics (Witz, 1992;101, 195).

As a result of second wave feminism which emerged in the 1960`s, the subsequent force of feminist politics and feminist scholarship, affirmative action programmes and Equal Employment Opportunity legislation , women can now compete for jobs on the basis of non-gendered individualistic criteria, (Walby,1990;51,58 : Crompton and Sanderson, 1990;183 : Savage and Witz, 1992;38). This does not mean, I hasten to add, that equality of opportunity and access has been achieved for women in the labour market. Women are able to compete on a more equal basis but along with that goes a change from the formal, structured, patriarchal strategies that worked at the turn of the century to the more informal, cultural practices of exclusion of the present. Gains have been made, old forms of closure have been overcome, but the male domination and power relations of the workplace are maintained by different kinds of resistance, demarcation and discrimination (Cockburn,1991).

Patriarchy, Socialisation and Gendered Work Roles.

Effective closure is only possible if socially privileged actors have the power to exclude some categories of people from specific jobs, positions or occupations. Fundamental to any explanation of the gendered power relations of the workplace is an understanding of the concept of patriarchy. Witz (1992;11) defines patriarchy as "a societal- wide system of gender relations of male dominance and female subordination" that explains the gender divisions at work. Male dominance she argues "is institutionalized and systemic - - constituting a web of privileges and advantages which are mutually reinforcing and which pervade the many sites of social relations and interactions" (ibid;24). It is the universality of patriarchal structures, patriarchy`s adaptability, persistence and durability over time and across circumstances that enables

continued male segregation and domination of women at home and at work (Cockburn, 1988;32). It is these patriarchal power relations that were central to Witz's study and have proved to be central to the life experiences of my research respondents.

The pervasiveness of patriarchy enables men to define what are appropriate gender, work roles. They are therefore able to dominate, exploit and oppress women. Beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that are characteristically masculine or feminine are developed in a process of continuing and lifelong socialisation (Fox,1984). Socialisation processes in the home, at school and in private and public social interactions, ensure that male values and norms predominate to perpetuate male dominance. Thus women and men are socialised into roles that advantage men. These roles transferred to the world of work translate into a sex segregated workforce in which internalised patriarchal norms determine which sex holds which jobs and which hierarchical positions.

Implicit in the socialisation process is the internalisation of the dominant norms and values by both sexes. Women are therefore disadvantaged in that they have internalised gender roles that are fundamental to an institutional and systemic patriarchy both in the public and private spheres as well as across class boundaries (Cockburn, 1991). Socialisation into male and female work roles conditions and influences the nature and outcome of all work relationships and interactions at all levels (Greenhalgh and Gilkey,1986;135-148 ; Kanter,1986;121-134). Women learn that "men lead; women follow; men manage; women teach (Neville,1988;3). Thus women are more likely to have limited and gendered career expectations, while those who do aspire to jobs and positions traditionally held by men will feel, and be made to feel, out of role, again with possible negative consequences for their confidence and effectiveness (Fox,1984). A low self concept leads to self doubt, lack of confidence to take risks or to take the best career option and a fear of succeeding when operating out of role (Jacobson, 1985, Moore 1986, , Morrison et al, 1987, Powell,1988). Bell and Young (1986)

comment that there are "vast numbers of bright and capable women who, despite evidence to the contrary, doubt their competence."

Furthermore it is a societal expectation that women's primary responsibility is domestic with all its ramifications. Thus career women in permanent relationships have always to confront, not only the expectations of society that she fulfil her domestic 'responsibilities', but also the demands of her career. A working woman who carries the burden of a dual role sometimes has to be superwoman as she is swept round the 'two career carousel' balancing act required to meet the demands of paid employment and unpaid domestic responsibilities (Moore, 1986; 5; Jacobson, 1988; 16; Powell, 1988; 1, 75; Beufell and Greenhaus, 1988; 149; Ellis and Wheeler, 1991; 163).

There are further repercussions from a woman's domestic role that seriously affect her working career. The 'career breaks' imposed either by maternity or child care time out, or having to subordinate one's own career aspirations to a male partner's requirements to relocate, means a break in job continuity and consequent loss of position in the promotion ladder. Other difficulties associated with women's dual role responsibilities can be promotion decisions by employers going against women because of suspected divided loyalties, limitations on ability to work outside normal hours, and lack of mobility that precludes taking appointments that require relocating (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984; 66, Stead, 1985; Ch. 2, Dex, 1987; 88).

The power of socialisation to sex type what is appropriate work for women is stressed by Pavalko (1988; 226), while Milkman (1987; 157) argues that sex typing of jobs suffers from "cultural inertia". Once a job becomes established as male or female the hiring tradition becomes extremely inflexible- employers and workers accept such divisions of labour as the norm (ibid; 8), a view that does not accommodate changes in the division of labour over time. Jacobs (1988) however suggests that continuity and change in job segregation by sex is explained by a life long system of social control that depends on differential socialisation at different life stages. Where the accumulation of obstacles is too great, occupational segregation by sex will continue.

On the other hand changes in the sex typing of jobs can occur when some women overcome the obstacles in their career paths. The power of patriarchy is implicit in Jacob's expectation that although there could be "substantial flows of women in and out of male dominated occupations" the overall sexual division of labour will remain substantially the same (ibid;52). When a significant number of women gain senior positions in an occupation the risk then is that the occupation becomes feminized and devalued, a further example of the ability of a patriarchal society to control the power balance in gender relations.

Career women therefore find themselves in a patriarchally controlled, social environment in which a sexual division of labour vertically and horizontally segregates them in the workplace. Socialisation into a gender role that gives primary domestic responsibility to women limits their work involvement and seriously handicaps their potential professional careers. This is the background to women's entry into the work force. During the course of their careers they will continue to be confronted with discriminatory attitudes and behaviours .

Problems, Obstacles and Handicaps.

Throughout their working lives professional women have to face and overcome a variety of obstacles and handicaps to their careers in the form of inhibiting practices and behaviours from men and women, from subordinates, peers and superiors. I have argued that these forms of resistance to women achieving senior management positions are directly attributable to the power of socialisation in a patriarchal society to define gender roles. While this position is debated from a range of perspectives it remains a central theme throughout the literature (Hartmann, 1979, Milkman, 1987, Jacobs, 1989; Walby, 1990). It is also the perception the respondents in my research have of their work experiences.

Negative Sexual Stereotypes At Work.

Several writers (Colwill,1982, Alban-Metcalf and West,1991; Cockburn, 1991; Ellis and Wheeler,1990; Neville;1988; Pringle,1990; Still,1990) discuss the many cultural, institutional, collective and individual ways that women perceive gender discrimination in their daily working lives and in their career paths. These gender specific, differential experiences arise from societal attitudes to appropriate gender roles and the associated sexual stereotypes.

The negative sexual stereotypes that working women have to cope with are expressed in both societal attitudes and in male and female fellow workers attitudes and interpersonal behaviours and responses. They result in fellow employees responding to women in terms of a gender stereotype rather than to the work position the woman holds. Thus the woman's gender role is emphasised to the detriment of her organisational role (Ellis and Wheeler,1991;39).

These negative sexual stereotypes include the belief that women will either be typically female, weak, dependent and passive or that on receiving promotion they will have to be aggressive if they are to be effective- an almost no-win situation (Jacobson,1985;7, Neville,1988;28, Al-Khalifa,1989;87). In a man toughness is appropriate, for a woman it is not. That women are dominated by their biology, lack commitment to work and will stay in employment only until they can escape to set up a home and family are further persistent stereotypes despite women's increased participation rates, lower fertility rates and shorter maternity leave (Walby,1986; Milkman,1987; Pavalko,1988; Cockburn,1988; Witz1990). Women are believed to have more time off sick and, particularly as managers, to be adversely affected by PMT. Women are also stereotypically emotional, intuitive and reluctant to accept responsibility while men are believed to be rational, analytically logical and ambitious (Ellis and Wheeler,1991). Female bosses are often seen as having a less aggressive, more supportive management style which is often seen as inappropriate , (Still,1990;79) and which is believed to indicate a reluctance to delegate or to manage

subordinates in a suitably authoritative manner. Women are believed to be less effective in handling conflict and competition because of their predisposition for consensus management (Moore, 1986;5 ; Ellis and Wheeler, 1991). ³ Thus men have all the desirable qualities for managership and women do not. Since men do most of the appointing and promoting, women are disadvantaged by these generalised beliefs about their abilities and potential as managers. Yet many of these qualities are valued in the context of androgynous management and are those that will be needed in a changing and competitive world economy (Kanter, 1986).

Gender stereotyping also means that women find themselves channelled into the increasingly sex differentiated positions of public relations, personnel or purchasing officers (Cockburn,1990;64 ; Grint 1990;222). Women are more likely to be in line rather than staff jobs. Promotionally there appears to women to be a glass ceiling through which they are not expected to pass.(Cockburn,1991;63). Furthermore men seem to have a fast lane promotion path based on potential facilitated by the male networks that permeate organisations. Women however feel they have to prove themselves worthy of promotion every step of the way (Neville,1988;3, Alban-Metcalf,1991;164, Cockburn,1991;46,63, Court,1992;189).

Systematic Male Bias, E.E.O. and Tokenism.

Each organisation has a distinctive culture that is a political arena of networks of power and communication. These networks include old boy networks, sponsors and mentors creating a "closed and gendered circle" (Savage and Witz"1992;15) that maintain a male homosociability in which men feel more comfortable. Women are handicapped in this male political culture because barriers are heightened to exclude them from the informal networks. They suffer from lack of appropriate feedback and supervision due either to men's inability or reluctance to interact effectively to include and empower women (Collins,1983, Jacobson, 1985, Ellis and Wheeler,1991). Lipton's (1986)

³A contradiction or ambiguity in sexually discriminating beliefs; consensus management is one means to reduce conflict and competition and to empower subordinates.

research describes how men don't consider women as suitable applicants for traditional male jobs, especially those that carry with them some authority and responsibility such as management. Effective management has a gender which is male- it is associated with masculine characteristics (ibid;166).

Equal Employment legislation, implemented to eliminate sexual discrimination in the workplace, has not yet been able to achieve equality of opportunity for women (Colwill, 1982;46, Cockburn, 1991;74,215, Hunt, 1992). Affirmative action programmes and EEO legislation has served to heighten public awareness of women in management (James and Saville-Smith, 1992;91). Nevertheless organisational rules, regulations and processes are routinely manipulated to maintain male workplace dominance (Cockburn, 1991; 220).⁴ Women get a sense of powerlessness against such male domination of organisational control (Kanter 1986).

The concept of women as tokens in organisations prior to EEO legislation is discussed by Kanter, (1977). The appointment of women to relatively senior positions is still a form of tokenism that accedes to the legal requirements (of EEO legislation) but subverts the intention and spirit of that legislation. Women are appointed more as a minimum 'quota' rather than on their individual merit. Being viewed as a token by men in the organisation detracts from the woman's organisational role and consequently from her perceived competence and ability (Colwill, 1982;139). This does little to empower women or advance the principles of equality.

How organisations respond to women's presence in the workplace is an expression of that organisations culture. It is demonstrated by such things as whether lip service is paid to promoting and developing women rather than creating opportunities for women to achieve real power and influence. This unstated and informal side of an organisation is also apparent in such behaviours as tokenism and the extent to which negative

⁴.Discriminatory manipulation of regulations and rules are difficult to prove. They are the insidious forms and hidden obstacles, acceding to minimum requirements or appearing to act equitably. These points are discussed later in this chapter.

stereotypes of women (lack of commitment, and vision etc) prevail (Kanter,1986; Ellis and Wheeler,1991).

Individual Discriminatory Experiences.

Women can also experience discrimination and differential treatment from male colleagues at an individual level. Women are often treated differentially when being interviewed by predominantly male selection panels for recruitment, training or promotion. They will be asked questions about their family responsibilities and divided commitments, their husband's jobs and any anticipated difficulties they may have with male colleagues because they are female. Male applicants are not asked these sorts of questions (Alban-Metcalf, 1991; 164, Neville, 1988; 24).

Those women that do make it into a male enclave (organisations or occupations in which men and a male value system predominates) may experience a 'chill factor', (Cockburn, 1991; 65)- a deliberate coldness and lack of cooperation. Their opinions and ideas are not taken seriously and they find that they must concentrate their energies on 'women's issues' rather than being recognised as having expertise in important 'male' agendas such as buildings or finance (Cockburn, 1991; 60-65, Alban-Metcalf, 1991; 159-166).

Discriminatory behaviour also occurs with men who have difficulty working and relating to women either as their superiors or as their subordinates. In mixed company women find themselves treated as a novelty or as the subordinate, irrespective of what position they hold. (Still, 1990; 78-88), and they have to be careful how they assert their authority or intervene. Their male colleagues are not constrained in this way (Jacobson, 1985; 5). Women managers also find they are judged by other women with different criteria than their male colleagues, their success often apparently being resented (Still, 1990; 89, Alban-Metcalf, 1991; 167, Cockburn, 1991; 69, Court, 1992; 189).

All of these obstacles, problems and barriers constitute the process whereby occupational closure continues to be effective and adds to the stress of being an effective woman manager. Women must meet the demands of the job itself and the organisational and managerial problems that occur at that level of responsibility, irrespective of their sex, as well as the problems associated with being a woman. It is this double burden that is the basis of the often made claim that women have to be twice as good to get half the recognition of their male counterparts (Powell,1988;112, Alban-Metcalf,1991;167, Korndorffer,1992;127) .

Seeking A More Balanced Life.

There is some discussion in the literature of working women, especially those with managerial responsibilities seeking to bring a degree of balance into their lives. They attempt to balance the two competing demands arising from the dual roles of homemaker and career woman (Marshall,1984;Ch.8, Jacobson,1985;152-171, Cockburn,1991;71, Alban-Metcalf and West,1991;166). Discrete role engagement and the divorce of the public and private parts of one's life, Al-Khalifa (1989;92) argues, is much more a feature of masculine, management behaviour. There is also some evidence that women have a holistic life-view, seeking to integrate the various parts of their lives rather than placing undue emphasis on their careers. Indicative of this perspective is that women choose occupations and positions that are consistent with their personal beliefs and philosophy and that suit their preference for a negotiated, democratic, personal, interactional style of leadership (Powell, 1988,Ch.5, Neville,1988;28, Crompton and Sanderson,1990;128, Ellis and Wheeler,1990;48). It is also suggested (Powell, 1988,89, Alban-Metcalf,1991;160) that professional, career women tend to choose jobs or positions that are satisfying and fulfilling or one's that offer a challenge or the opportunity to effect change or promote a particular (and usually liberal) philosophy, (Neville,1988, 85).⁵

⁵This is not to imply that some men do not also seek satisfying fulfilling jobs. But for women added to the other difficulties they face, these tendencies increase the disadvantage and limitation imposed on their career progress.

Although the many references above suggest otherwise, there is a deficiency in the literature on the topic of the balance that women seek in their personal and professional lives and the importance they attach to promotion as opposed to job satisfaction and goal realisation. While the word 'balance' is used frequently, particularly in contemporary writing, it does not occur under a separate heading. It does occur frequently in my experience anecdotally in recent media features and documentaries, (Cartwright,1993). There appears to be a need for far more research not only into the ways that women seek to get balance into their lives but also into the types of positions that women managers hold, the basis for the job choices that women make and whether those career destinations are a form of self exclusion or segregation, a strategy of inclusion or the latest form of patriarchal occupational closure.

INCLUSION ; THE PROCESS OF USURPATION.

Despite all of the discriminations, despite a patriarchal society at large and a patriarchally dominated workplace in particular, some women have succeeded in breaking down the androcentric constraints which they face and thereby gain places in what have, in the past, been male preserves (Dept. of Statistics, 1990; 9-10). In places there appear to be cracks in the glass ceiling. How have some women been able to achieve these advances ?

The literature that addresses inclusionary strategies and practices falls into two parts. The theoretical strand is based on occupational closure theory. But because sociological literature is sparse on details of inclusionary practices I will draw on education and organisational literature to provide the more empirical aspects of inclusion. A substantial part of this information is found in the work histories of successful women. These accounts have provided researchers, not only with comprehensive accounts of the difficulties upwardly mobile women encounter, but also the strategies and practices that have enabled women to work their way through

organisational hierarchies (Pringle and Gold,1990, Ellis and Wheeler, 1990, Still, 1990, Mitchell,1984) . That I have had to refer to other disciplines indicates the need for greater cross discipline integration of research in human social behaviour (or an expanded sociological research base) .

Inclusion Theory.

Theoretically Witz uses the concept of inclusion to explain how women gain access to occupations that traditionally have been male preserves. "Inclusion describes the upwards, countervailing exercise of power by a social group which is hit by exclusionary strategies, but which, in its turn, seeks inclusion within the structure of positions from which its members are collectively debarred" (Witz 1992;48). This means that upwardly mobile, career minded, professional women, aware of their vertical segregation within, say the secondary teaching hierarchy, will resort to processes that will negate those practices which have tended to keep them from getting promotion. They will have to create a situation where they are judged on their merits as individuals rather than be rejected because they are women. Witz (ibid;50) defines usurpation and inclusion strategies quite explicitly. A gendered strategy of inclusionary usurpation describes the ways whereby women, who are hit by gendered strategies of exclusion, do not simply acquiesce in the face of patriarchal closure practices, but challenge a male monopoly over competence. They seek to be included in a structure of positions from which they are excluded on account of their gender. It is usurpationary because it is a countervailing strategy, in tension with an exclusionary strategy. It is an inclusionary strategy of usurpation because it seeks to replace gendered, collectivist criteria of exclusion with non-gendered, individualist criteria of inclusion.

Inclusionary Practices.

Translated into practice, inclusion has been gained in New Zealand by using the power of Equal Employment Opportunity legislation coupled with universal education to

remove the potential to exclude women on gendered collective, legalistic and credentialist grounds (See Witz,1992;46). Women are able to be considered for employment on non-gendered, individualistic criteria (Crompton and Sanderson,1990;63, Witz,1992;195, Hunt,1992)⁶.

Furthermore, although what is more often recorded in ethnographic work histories and media feature articles are the achievements of individual women, there is also a substantial collective element in women's inclusionary strategies. This is most obvious in the collective strength derived from the equal rights gender politics of feminism (Witz,1992;43). Gender, Witz argues, has been used as "a resource for solidarity and collective action" by women which they use in typical female closure strategies (ibid,38).

Inclusion is also promoted by the use of both non-gendered, individual as well as gendered, collective *and* individual arguments to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment in the market place. This would appear to be a contradiction in demands for equality - you can't claim to be treated the same, that is equally, if you also argue on individual and collectively different grounds, as a woman, that you are different from men. The sameness /difference dichotomy is resolved by Cockburn, (1991;9-10) who argues that "as women we can be both the same *and* different from you, at various times and in various ways.. . .What we are seeking is not in fact *equality*, but *equivilance*, not *sameness* for individual women, but *parity*"

Equal rights politics argues that women should be assessed on the qualities they bring to the situation as individuals, that is, treated the same as any other, irrespective of sex, (Walby, 1990). Yet it is also argued that women bring valuable qualities to the market place, qualities that are seen as more appropriate to the changed management structures of the 1990's (Kanter, 1986;181, Morrison et al 1987;156, Moore,1986;8, Gatenby and Humphries,1992;141).

⁶Other factors that have influenced women's greater participation in the workforce are described later under the heading of Socio-historical Context.

It is necessary, therefore to examine strategies and practices that are employed by women to gain inclusion. These processes emphasise both the ability to be the same as men, (if not better) but also strategies and practices that focus on women choosing to contest positions based on what they believe they can offer, as women, that is different and worthwhile. This is the difficult terrain of gaining inclusion and equality on both sameness and difference arguments.⁷

Equivalence; The 'Same But Different' Argument

The Sameness Approach.

There is a substantial body of literature that documents the work histories of successful professional women. Their behaviourist and liberal feminist orientation is indicated by their titles ; Janet Macdonald's "Climbing The Ladder", Helen Place's "Managing Your Career", Coyle and Skinner's "Women and Work; Positive Action For Change", Leonie Still's "Becoming A Top Woman Manager" and "Enterprising Women", Morrison, White and Van Velsor's "Breaking The Glass Ceiling". Written often by writers with an organisational management background the usual format is to survey the difficulties women face followed by a summary of the ways many successful women have achieved senior positions. These are essentially descriptions of how women have qualified for positions on the basis of being the *same* as men.

Still (1990;162) argues that there is no one way to succeed- no magic pill career strategy. Women with different backgrounds are working in a variety of organisations, encountering a range of corporate structures that present different problems requiring various solutions. Nevertheless these prescriptions for success have much in common. To gain inclusion in top jobs aspiring, career minded women are encouraged to follow the example of successful professional women. They advocate acquiring the appropriate skills, qualifications and credentials as well as having clear career plans, knowing how the system works and how to use and take advantage of informal power

⁷A further ambiguity in the gender politics argument to be discussed in Chapter 6.

networks and mentors. In short women should acquire all the qualities, attributes and skills valued in male dominated organisations; they should be the same as (but preferably better than) men. They can then compete for promotion on the basis of non-gendered, individualistic criteria, that is they should be assessed on the same criteria as men because they are applying as qualified, experienced, professional, individuals not under the collective category of female.

Valuing Difference.

Typically the prescriptive texts like those by Still and Ellis and Wheeler, discuss the usual 'success' strategies mentioned above. But these and other authors (Marshall, 1984, Shakeshaft, 1986, Neville, 1988) also stress knowing yourself, your career goals and your value system. There is within these sorts of recommendations the implication that women may also have qualities to offer that, their proponents at least believe, are distinctively female, different *and* beneficial to the organisations in which they work. The different perspective that women can bring to an organisation can be in their management style, in commitment to ideals and beliefs in more equitable outcomes as well as in the concept they have of the qualities they have as women (Marshall, 1984, Pringle, 1987; 112-116, Neville, 1988; 83-87, Al-Khalifa, 1989, Ellis and Wheeler, 1991; 103). These are arguments based not on being the same as men but on gaining inclusion by valuing and emphasising what women can bring to an enterprise that is *different*.

A Feminine Management Style or the Style of the Nineties ?

Difference is recognised in what is perceived to be a new, and possibly more typically feminine, management style. There is some comment in the literature that organisations of the future will need the special qualities that women possess and bring to management, as distinct from the traditional, hierarchical and authoritarian male style (Moore, 1986; 8, Kanter, 1986; 181, Morrison et al 1987; 156). Kanter maintains (1986) that the skills needed to be an effective manager in today's competitive, economic

climate are not typically masculine or feminine but can be learned or developed by either sex and that many of the necessary skills are ones that women typically possess.

There is some debate as to whether there is an identifiable feminine management style or whether it is the style of management more appropriate to the changing organisational environment of the 1990's. James and Saville-Smith (1992; 94) maintain that whether there are substantive differences between male and female management styles is inconclusive. However, Shakeshaft's research shows that there are common elements in the style of many women managers and Neville (1988;28) argues that the "... literature shows quite clearly that women have a (leadership) style that is not the (male) norm but has proven highly successful. . ". Court, (1992;194) maintains that women have a holistic view of their lives, derived from the learned skills of nurturing, affiliation and commitment to others that influences the way they lead. It is also suggested that women bring a different perspective to management, a perspective based on co-operation, communication, negotiation and consensus. These are qualities more generally associated with women than men (Neville, 1988;29, Still,1988;47, Pavalko,1988;238, Gatenby and Humphries,1992;141). I believe that further research is needed into what qualities and attributes women do actually bring to the workplace that are distinctly different.

Haecceity.⁸

Valued difference is also implicit in the concept of haecceity. It is a convenient, one word label that most closely expresses the essence of the female qualities and perspective discussed above. What I have labelled their haecceity refers to the uniquely feminine qualities that some contemporary career women perceive themselves and other women bring to the workplace, particularly to management. It is most important to say at this point that, like Court, (1994;21), I am not suggesting that all women have these attributes and share this orientation or perspective. Throughout

⁸.Haecceity,(say hek see ity), literally 'thisness', the feminine of hic, this,the property that uniquely identifies an object.

the literature the liberal feminist 'be better than the men at their own game' approach is very pronounced. Nevertheless, I believe that there is an increasing emphasis in the literature, particularly feminist literature, on this concept of haecceity.

Neither do I believe that some men do not also have similar qualities, high ideals, vision, and commitment to change and to articulated goals, but I do argue that awareness and use of their haecceity by women is an important contemporary inclusionary strategy that has been identified by Marshall;1984, Neville;1988, Al-Khalifa;1989, Court;1992,1994 and in my own field research. It is one of the contradictions of gender politics that essentially female qualities,traditionally used to exclude women, are now used by women as a basis of strength and an argument for inclusion.

The haecceity that women appear to bring to their work situation is demonstrated in several ways ; in their leadership style, in their more positive self concept, in their rejection of the stereotypical female role, in their attitude to primary relationships, in their sense of vision and challenge and in their desire for balance in their lives.

Firstly a positive self concept means the women are more proactive and not prepared to be passive, subordinate females (Neville, 1988;111, Court, 1992;192).Neville describes her respondents as women who were definitely in charge of their lives, who confidently make important decisions about their careers and the types of schools they choose to teach in based on their educational, political and personal philosophies. Neville`s research respondents were self-motivated, strong women with courage, who made their own decisions, women with internal motivation that has over-ridden the comparative lack of role models, mentors and supporters traditional to the male dominated career structure (of educational management in N.Z.). They are women who "have become well-known role models, mentors and sponers themselves" (Neville,1988;111).

Women also display their more positive self concept and greater strength of conviction in their beliefs in rejecting the stereotypical female role. As female, senior managers they no longer adopt an apologetic, 'gender cringe', but neither do they reject what are seen as valued feminine qualities (Court, 1994; 8-9, 12-17). Moreover my research participants expressed their proactive demeanour by saying to men, as Cockburn (1991, 227) and Savage and Witz (1992; 26) do, 'you can't be neutral, you are either part of the solution or part of the problem'. Men have to accept their responsibility for inequalities in gender relations and start to do something about it.

An indication of this sense of taking control of their lives is also shown in the importance the women attach to having supportive primary relationships and the decisions they are prepared to make about their partners (Neville, 1988, Alban-Metcalf, 1991; 158, James and Saville-Smith, 1992; 93). A far greater proportion of women at the top are single, divorced or without children. Neville records a higher proportion of single and no longer married women among the managers than among the total population of women teachers. Successful women are more likely to be in marriages, particularly re-marriage, in which there is far more negotiation about each partner's career (Neville, 1988; 60, Pavalko, 1988; 221, Powell, 1988; 87).

A further crucial element possessed by most successful women is a sense of a clearly defined cause, vision or set of ideals, (Marshall, 1984; 196, Still, 1988; 152, Court, 1992; 193, 1994; 13), a commitment to them and to effecting change (Marshall, 1984; Ch. 11, Neville, 1988; 135, Court, 1992, 196). Accepting the challenge to bring about change is noted by Neville, (1988; 86). She also identifies in women leaders a sense of vision (*ibid*; 135) as does Marshall (1984) in her chapter entitled 'Re-Vision; Alternative Futures'.

Another element of women leaders' haecceity is closely related to the desire for a balanced life discussed earlier. This is a sense of wholeness about their lives that sees work and management as an expression of their holistic life view (Pringle, 1987; 113, Al-Khalifa, 1989; 92) or as a logical extension of their identities as women

(Court,1994;14). Discrete role engagement and the separation of the various public and private parts of their lives, according to Al-Khalifa (1989;92) is much more a feature of male role behaviour, particularly in management.

All of these elements combine to form women`s haecceity, a total perception of themselves and a way of presenting in which women are saying , ' what we are and what we bring to any situation or inter-action is *different* (in that it incorporates valued qualities), and furthermore it is *better*.' (Al-Khalifa, 1989;89-96).

Summary.

Under the heading of Inclusion I have reviewed the ways in which women are contesting male dominated domains. The women who are managers now have developed their careers in a changing social, political and economic environment. They have taken advantage of those changes and in turn they have played a part by their example, energy, ideals and commitment to the attitudinal and occupational changes that are altering other women`s lives. We need now to assess the extent and quality of those changes in terms of progress for women.

CHANGE ;COSMETIC OR REAL?

In this final section I will summarise how contemporary writers assess the position of professional women in the 1990`s. I want to gauge to what extent these commentators think that the status of professional women managers has changed, whether these changes are real or cosmetic and what predictions or implications they have for the future.

The Socio-historical Context.

Women`s changing involvement in paid work must be set in a socio-historical perspective (Witz,1992;37). There have been significant forces that have shaped women`s occupational status and employment position, factors that have operated since World War Two to cause changes in gender relations at work. Social structures,

as Crompton and Sanderson, note (1990;43) are in a constant state of change, "there is a fluid and dynamic nature to the occupational order".

The Extent of Change.

Significant among these transformative forces has been second wave feminism. The drive for equal rights, resulting in equal employment legislation and associated affirmative action programmes has created a more positive climate for women seeking professional employment (Walby,1990;59) . Women`s greatly increased participation rates in paid employment (Haines,1989), are due to a number of factors. Lower birth rates and increased child care facilities has meant that women can return to work much sooner than in the past. Together with better health and altered attitudes to working mothers has been the pressure for a second income to satisfy a growing desire for the variety of available consumer goods. But increased employment opportunities for women have only been possible because of the changed industrial structure and employment patterns. The growth of the tertiary, service sector and particularly the development of the communications and information industries, has met, to a large extent the growing employment demands of women of all ages. And women have been better equipped to be employed in these growth industries with the appropriate qualifications gained in a more universally available education system. There are more successful women providing role models for others, as well as helping to change attitudes and the acceptance of women in non-traditional work roles. These factors have contributed towards a changed work environment and altered social attitudes that have had positive effects for aspiring career minded women (Pavalko,1988;218-221,Walby,1990;51,184-185,CromptonandSanderson,1990;165-167, James and Saville-Smith,1992;91, Armstrong, Briar and Brooking, 1992).

The post war period has shown positive results for women`s equal rights. Particularly in the last two decades the opportunities to successfully pursue professional careers have improved for women. There are increasing numbers of women in the workforce and they are gaining increased representation at senior management level (Morrison et

al, 1987;157, Haines,1989 Department of Statistics, 1993). More and more women are contesting senior positions, backed by the legality of equal employment policies, the removal of credentialist barriers and the support of affirmative action programmes.

The statistics show some increase in the number of women reaching senior positions and there is wider recognition that the opportunities for women for career progress are quantitatively and qualitatively different to the situation fifteen years ago (Dept. of Statistics/Ministry of Women`s Affairs,1990, Haines,1989, Department of Statistics, 1993). As Kanter states(1986;182) "- this is a very positive and promising era for women`s career achievement (but) it is also one that demands a new and different kind of skill". Ellis and Wheeler (1991;209) record that the in-demand careers for the 1990`s will require multiple skills and cumulative knowledge - an excellent situation for women.

In some occupations women have made substantial gains. In the banking industry only half a percent of managers were women in 1982. This percentage had lifted to four per cent by 1989. In the teaching profession there has been a gradual increase in the proportion of women in positions of responsibility, but they are still seriously under represented as Principals (Slyfield,1993;8).

Although increases such as these are predicted to continue, women`s representation at managerial level will remain low (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991;154). Traditional discrimination they argue has been augmented by new forms to maintain male predominance. For the proportion of women to significantly increase "there will need to be dramatic change in the attitudes, values and practices" (ibid;154) of the men who hold influential positions. Neville (1988;152) would be more optimistic if she "felt that all the current talk (by men) about equity sprang from deep conviction." The reality she experiences "is a deeply held antipathy to women " that only a radical social change will alter.

Continuing Patriarchal Constraint and Discrimination.

Although the statistics are a tangible measure of the progress that is being made in some areas, there are continuing constraints on women achieving equality in the market place; there has been continuity within change (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990;24). Patriarchy, the domination and subordination of women by men in their public and their private lives, appears just as powerful, durable and adaptable as it has always been (Cockburn,1988;32).These patterns of horizontal and vertical job differentiation are historically and cross culturally the most pervasive and persistent aspect of women's involvement in paid employment (Jacobs, 1989;18-20). Traditional forms of discrimination are replaced by new forms ; formal ways of excluding women are superseded by informal practices when legislation precludes more traditional strategies of discrimination (Alban-Metcalf, 1991;155 : Cockburn, 1991;215-220). So while employment opportunities for women have expanded, patriarchal practices, albeit in changed form, have continued to deny women equality of access to all jobs (Walby,1990;194-195,235).The general perception is of men conceding some ground only to retrench with new forms of discrimination (Walby, 1991;173, Cockburn, 1991;220).

Although women's labour force participation rates have steadily increased they still remain lower than men's, and their proportionate representation at senior level is substantially lower. Walby (1990;59) maintains the degree of inequality between men and women has declined only very slightly. While the "absolute exclusion of women from paid work is diminishing, their segregation into low paying industries and occupations - - has declined only a little." There has been a decrease in vertical segregation, a lessening of the extreme horizontal segregation of men and an increase in the extent of mild horizontal segregation of women (ibid 28).Crompton and Sanderson (1990;166) see the emergence of the highly educated and qualified working woman as " likely to be the most enduring phenomena carrying over into the twenty-first century." But such changes, while they may appear to be progress, may only be a

change from one form of gender inequality to another. Women may have gained effective access to jobs previously barred to them, they may have gained some freedom from the domestic hearth but only to be dominated by a more public form of patriarchy, particularly at work (Walby,1990;201). Alban-Metcalf and West (1991) talk of the "insidious" forms of discrimination and the "hidden obstacles" to professional women realising their potential.

These more subtle obstacles to professional women's career progress occur in many guises. Cockburn (1991;216) believes that men are engaged in a damage limitation exercise, often making things difficult for women simply by refusing to change their practices. Token women appointments (Kanter,1977, Pringle,1987;104) can be used as a means of meeting the bare minimum of EEO requirements. Legislation policies are not always easy to implement and can be subverted (Cockburn,1990;46,215-220). Some organisations adopt a laissez faire attitude towards EEO, doing as little as possible (Worth,1992;33), while others use the legislation only to advance individual women rather than as a means to improve the position of large groups of women (Cockburn,1991;74, Hunt,1992)

Other Limiting Factors.

Women appointed to senior positions can also feel themselves isolated from other women. When they achieve 'exposed' senior positions, they can easily feel alienated from their sisters but exposed to male domination in the upper echelons of organisational hierarchies (Pringle,1987;115,Cockburn,1991;236, Ellis and Wheeler,1991;80). Promotion may be gained at the expense of popularity, close personal relationships, marriage and children (Alban-Metcalf,1991;158,James and Saville-Smith, 1992;93).

The progress made by women in the professions is however not matched by women working at lower level jobs and occupations (Department of Statistics,1993;79-103). It seems paradoxical that the expansion of work opportunities for women may have the

effect of widening the gulf between middle-class, professional women and working class women who may feel alienated from the 'boss class'. If we move towards a more two tiered society, the potential for greater class polarisation between the newly-emerging "female elite" group of professional, managerial women and those less advantaged in the market place will not help the feminist equal rights cause (Crompton and Sanderson,1990;176) ; gains for some will only fragment inclusionary projects and enable patriarchal occupational closure against women to persist. And it will be mainly white women among the men at the top (Cockburn,1991;73).

A further form of discrimination is when large numbers of women take over a range of positions in an occupation and it is then deemed to be feminised. The 'feminisation' of an occupation results in it's devaluation and consequent lowering of the status of the women employed there and it's avoidance by ambitious men (Cockburn,1991;60 : Crompton and Sanderson1990;35, Burton 1988;9, Thompson,1989;203 Game and Pringle, 1983;57 Pringle,1987;104).

Gender segregation also occurs where women are appointed to 'soft positions. Grint (1991;222) notes that women are more often found in public relations, personnel and publicity posts. Similarly Savage (1992; 58,124, 146) argues that although women are gaining jobs demanding high levels of skill and expertise they are not jobs with correspondingly high levels of authority and organisational power

While there has been a proliferation in the mass media, in magazine and newspaper feature articles of the management positions attained by some women, there has been little if any assessment of the real numbers involved or the relative level of power and influence these women can command. Similarly, although Radio New Zealand and TVNZ have run programmes celebrating Suffrage Centenary Year the general impression has been that progress for women has been abysmally slow; "slim pickings" Susan Kedgley described it (1993).

Summary.

This review opened with two media articles reporting the appointments two women had achieved. That some women are making inroads into male dominated occupations has been very much a part of the rhetoric of Suffrage Year. Nevertheless the literature shows that the sexual division of labour persists. Women continue to be horizontally and vertically segregated in the paid workforce, patriarchy continues to show its durability and adaptability. Women still face discrimination at work and professional women confront obstacles and handicaps in gaining promotion through their occupational hierarchy.

But just as old forms of gender discrimination have been replaced by new discriminatory practices, so too have women adapted the ways in which they seek to usurp male domination of the professions. The effect of social movements, equity legislation and a positive emphasis on valued female qualities has enabled women to gain inclusion to positions previously denied them. Rather than being perceived as a weakness, the 'same but different' argument is now seen as a source of strength, its manifestation as having a positive contribution to the workplace.

Although the proportion of women at management level cannot be said to have changed radically, women are making inroads, attitudes are changing- albeit slowly. While the actual number and proportion of women in positions of authority still remains low, gender inequality has a much higher profile. Research about women, by women, for women and the publication by female publishers of women writers on women's issues has greatly increased.

In summary therefore the literature can be seen to contain ambiguities and contradictions of previous arguments and debates for equality for women in the workplace. I believe this reflects the transitional status of gender relations in the workplace. This sense of transitional ambiguity is repeated in the perceptions and experiences of the research participants.

This chapter has considered sociological aspects of the sexual division of labour discussed in recent British, American, Australian and New Zealand literature. My research explores the perceived reality of that sexual division of labour for women Principals of New Zealand secondary schools.

*

CHAPTER TWO.

METHODOLOGY.

'Feminist' for me implies assuming a perspective in which women's experiences, ideas and needs (different and differing as they may be) are valid in their own right, and androcentricity - man as the norm - stops being the only recognised frame of reference for human beings. And by 'methodology' I mean both the overall conception of the research project - the doing of feminist research - as well as the choice of appropriate techniques for this process, including forms of presenting the research results. I use the word methodology in the singular, but by no means do I wish to suggest that we work towards the one and only 'correct' feminist methodology : clearly feminist methods can and must differ according to the specific circumstances of our research projects (Duelli Klein, 1983; 89).

INTRODUCTION.

This research records and analyses the perceptions of gender inequality experienced by women Principals of coeducational secondary schools in New Zealand, how they have overcome the difficulties they faced in gaining promotion through the teaching profession and the changes they believe have occurred during their careers. In this chapter I shall explain the reasons for choosing a feminist methodological perspective to record those perceptions and the research processes involved in gaining the data . The chapter concludes with a discussion of two concerns that I had prior to undertaking the field work.

METHODOLOGICAL CHOICE.

My choice of a qualitative, feminist research methodology has been influenced by three factors, my prior work experience, my egalitarian beliefs and most importantly the relevance of the principles that inform feminist social science research to this study.

Let me elaborate these points.

Personal Preference And Beliefs.

My preference for a qualitative methodology that involved talking with and recording respondents' experiences suits my own inter-personal style and has developed out of my secondary school teaching experience. In my pastoral work as Form Dean and Guidance Teacher I believe I developed some facility in listening skills and in recognising critical issues. I felt that I would gain a better sense of my respondents social reality from the personal involvement and interaction afforded by interviewing.

I realise that not all social scientists believe that the role of sociology is social reform. However, based on my reading of the literature as well as personal observations, I believe that women do experience inequalities and that the task of social sciences should be to clearly identify them and to use the knowledge acquired to work towards a more egalitarian society.

A Feminist Research Perspective.¹

The above considerations were the background to the most important factor in my methodological choice; that of conducting this project from a research perspective that enabled me to record the women respondents' perceptions of their reality. It has been this imperative to record women's definition of the situation that has seen the development of research methods considered more appropriate to feminist research.

¹. A full discussion of the development of feminist methodological perspectives is contained in Armstrong, 1993; 70.402 Research Methods in Women's Studies, Massey University.

Before I develop the discussion of the choice of a feminist research methodology, I want to clarify the use of some terms. Harding (1987; 2) makes clear distinctions between method, methodology and epistemology. In making these distinctions Harding clarifies aspects of confusion that can arise about feminist methods of inquiry and focuses attention on what distinguishes feminist research. Confusion can arise when the term research method is taken to include methodology and epistemology and therefore is taken as an "explanation of what is unusual about feminist analyses" (ibid; 2). Harding emphasises the important inter-relationships between research method, epistemological and methodological issues. She argues, however that it is not research method per se that distinguishes feminist inspired social research but the methodological and epistemological perspectives influencing the way the research is carried out that in total gives feminist research its distinctive features .

A research method is defined by Harding as "a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence." The term method should not be conflated with methodology which is the "theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed." Epistemology Harding defines as a theory of knowledge that answers questions about what counts as knowledge and who or what are legitimate sources of knowledge. With these distinctions in mind she argues that it is the different ways that theories are applied by feminist researchers and the legitimization of women as "'knowers' or *agents of knowledge* " (italics in original) that identifies the distinctive features of feminist research. These distinctive features contrast with, and are a challenge to, traditional social science methodology.

The natural science positivist tradition is based on, the objectivity of the researcher, a value neutral stance and the measureable, testable, experimental method (Rheinharz, 1983; 168-169, Geiger, 1986; 337, Hunt, 1992; 52). The main features of mainstream, positivist, social science are summarised by Nielsen (1990; 4-5) as a set of inter-related assumptions. The first assumption is that there is an objective reality that can be known and recorded by a subjective (independent) researcher. This therefore, assumes secondly

the "separation of the subjective knower and the objective to-be-known world", particularly insofar as "the subjective should not infect the objective truth".

The third assumption is that knowledge of the social world is verified through using the senses to observe human behaviour and that inter-subjective verification is both desirable and possible. That the same data gained by different observers should therefore give rise to the same conclusions leads to the fourth assumption. This is that social life is patterned, that there is an order to the social world that follows a cause and effect form.

Finally there is the assumption that natural and social sciences share the same methods in gathering knowledge, that these methods are the "best, if not the only, legitimate way to ground knowledge", and that "the rules and procedures of science minimize subjectivity and personal bias"

The anti-positivist approach to social science explanation and research challenges each of these assumptions. Fundamental to the critique of positivism is the emphasis placed on the individual actors "own perceptions and interpretations of the world fashioned through interaction with other actors" (Bilton et al, 1981; 637-639). But this social reality is an ongoing process in which "successive experiences shape and reshape a subjective definition of self and society" (ibid, 649). Thus the positivist approach provides a static picture while alternative methodologies enable the researcher to tap into the ongoing processes of the actors' changing construction of social reality.

Academic feminism in particular, has developed theoretically and methodologically, as both a critique of, and an alternative to, positivist science. It incorporates all of the long standing and ongoing critiques of positivism (challenging all of the basic assumptions listed above) as well as introducing an awareness of specifically feminist concerns, by exposing the androcentric bias in traditional research, and by showing how women are marginalised and silenced. Feminist social science is thus both anti-positivist and pro-

feminist², the arguments for a feminist research perspective inter-twined with the critiques of positivism. This duality is clearly evident in the descriptions by feminist writers of the development of feminist research methodologies as distinct alternatives to the positivist, malestream tradition.

Feminist research perspectives have developed out of the academic challenge to positivism and the critical climate epitomised by the second wave feminist movements of the 1960's. Acker, Barry and Esseveld, (1991: 132-151) identify three principles that distinguish feminist research. These are that research should, firstly, be *for* women, that is it should produce knowledge that aids the liberation of women. Second, the *methods* used should not exploit or oppress women and thirdly that the research "continually develop a feminist *critical perspective* that questions dominant intellectual traditions and can reflect on its own development" (ibid,132.emphasis added).

Within these broad, distinguishing principles a multiplicity of feminist research methodologies, (Reinharz, 1991; 243) have developed that have responded to feminist, academic womens' epistemological and ontological concerns. Feminist scholars questioned and rejected traditional androcentric constructions of knowledge (Personal Narratives Group, 1989; 263, Reinharz, 1983; 162-187, Sutherland, 1986) that made male experience the norm, reflected the position and interests of its producers (Reinharz, 1993; 248) and tended to make social knowledge incomplete and therefore made women invisible and unstudied. Research and the production of knowledge had been controlled by men, reinforcing the dominant and patriarchal ideology and version of reality (Roberts, 1981, Spender, 1983, Edwards, 1991, Hunt, 1992, Reinharz, 1991). Important elements of feminist research have therefore been "making the invisible visible, bringing the margin to the center, rendering the trivial important, putting the spotlight on women as competent actors, understanding women as subjects in their own right" (Reinharz,1991;248). For women, the answers to the ontological and

² Not all those who identify themselves as feminist "adopt a critical perspective towards dominant intellectual traditions that have ignored or justify women's oppression. (They) accept the natural science model of sociology." (Acker et al,1991;151)

epistemological questions ,what is the nature of our reality - the truths of our experiences - and how do we know these truths, were not the same answers that mainstream, positivist science and male definitions of knowledge had produced.

It was with this critical attitude, this challenge to positivist methodologies, that feminist researchers were not prepared to simply add on women`s issues to existing bodies of knowledge , to just add on women to existing fields of study and research (Roberts, 1981, Watkins, 1983; 81, Stanley and Wise, 1983; 196, Harding, 1987; 3) It was not sufficient to include an extra chapter on 'Women at Work' in a sociology of work text. Nor was it acceptable to "add on another method to the existing corpus", (Reinharz, 1983; 166) or to "cynically 'put' women into their scholarship so as to avoid appearing sexist" (ibid; 241). What has evolved, therefore is a distinctive "orientation" to research methodologies that more accurately reflects the "complex, contradictory and multifaceted"(Edwards, 1991; 6) nature of women`s cultural and social situation, a methodological approach that deliberately take women`s experience into account (Duelli Klein, 1983: 91) and captures the multiple and subjective truths of peoples lives (Personal Narratives Group, 261 , Kohli, 1981; 69-72).

If feminist researchers were not prepared just to add on woman`s experience, what is different about feminist research that distinguishes it from traditional research? It is important to recognise, as the quote with which I opened this chapter and the following discussion by Reinharz and Nielsen makes clear, there is no one feminist methodology but a feminist orientation to epistemological and ontological questions.

In her comprehensive examination of feminist, social research methods Reinharz (1991) both challenges traditional, social science methods and emphasises the distinctiveness of feminist methodologies. Reinharz argues that feminist methodology is the sum of feminist research methods and has evolved as a perspective rather than as discernable sets of procedures (ibid, 240). This perspective does not reject non-feminist scholarship but has developed a distrust that prevents the uncritical acceptance of mainstream methods and is "constantly on the lookout for what we perceive to be non-

feminist consciousness (ibid 247). Feminist research is thus "grounded, both in the disciplines and in a critique of them" (ibid 249).

Feminist theory is essential in informing feminist research because, as Reinharz (1991; 249) argues, mainstream sociology minimizes gender relations in favour of class. Distinctively feminist research perspectives recognise that 'feminism in all its forms is a politics of change' (Edwards, 1991; 4), that indeed, all research is political (Oakley, 1981; 54), whether or not scientists actually want to use their research for political purposes. Since human experience is gendered and the dominant, hegemonic world view is male -and white- to gain a perspective of the world that is identifiably female requires a political and gendered orientation that rejects androcentric norms and values and accepts women's definition of reality as valid data (Personal Narrative Group, 1989; 4-6). Feminist theory informing a feminist research perspective "means being able to see and analyze gender politics and gender conflict" (Reinharz, 1991; 250).

Three remaining themes identified by Reinharz (ibid 240) that distinguish a feminist research perspective are the inclusion of the researcher's experience in the project, an interactive relationship with the people studied and the direct involvement of the reader.

Traditionally, in mainstream research, the researcher's own experiences are thought to be irrelevant and to contaminate a project's objectivity. Feminist researchers however consider these personal experiences and concerns to be relevant and, rather than prejudice the study with bias they make clear the researchers value position. Reinharz also suggests (ibid, 263) that feminist interview based studies enable a sense of connection between the researcher and the subjects. While developing rapport with respondents can make a valuable contribution to some studies, Reinharz believes that establishing an interactive, non-exploitative relationship that includes mutual respect, shared information, openness and clarity of communication is more often achievable. In arguing for collaborative and interactive interviewing Oakley (1981; 41-51) suggests that the best situation is achieved "when the relationship between interviewer and

interviewee is non-hierarchical" and where their own identities and values are felt to be an integral part of the research.

Involving the reader more directly is a further characteristic of much feminist research (Reinharz, 1991; 263). Addressing the reader directly and thus forming a connection to the people studied is most easily accomplished where interview quotes are used in the presentation of the research (ibid; 267). This procedure enables the reader to better understand the interviewee by directly 'hearing their voice' rather than their response being filtered by the researcher³.

Oral narratives generated in research that incorporates the feminist perspectives discussed above will, I believe, capture the 'truths', the realities of the narrators lives as they have experienced them - they have an "extraordinary potential as a tool of feminist research (Gluck and Patai 1991; 1). The relevance of the individuals definition of reality is shown in a discussion by Du Bois, Duelli Klein and Westkott (1983) of two important dimensions to women`s lives that had not previously been emphasised, (dimensions that positivist methodology may not be able to capture). These writers refer to the double consciousness that women experience, they are in and of society but in many ways excluded from it, there are norms and stereotypes associated with women and yet women themselves are aware of their other level of consciousness (Du Bois, 1983 112) , aware of a different perception of the reality of their lives.⁴ Women`s accounts of their lives demonstrate how they live within, but in tension with patriarchal systems of domination (Personal Narratives Group, 1989; 7/8). Their stories produce either narratives of acceptance or narratives of rebellion but both are counter narratives challenging definitions imposed by a male dominated society.

The second important dimension of women`s lives, (arising out of double consciousness) is the centrality of gender to human life (Personal Narratives Group, 1989; 263). Steinberg`s review of Burton, Cockburn and Watson (Contemporary

³. The researcher always has a 'filtering and editing' effect. The use of quotes not only minimises this but also serves as a constant reminder to the researcher in the writing up process.

⁴This discussion, I believe, supports my emphasis on the concept of haecceity.

Sociology 1992 Sept.) shows that when gender is made visible it exposes "mainstream sociology as a distorted and inaccurate gendered enterprise" that helps to maintain "privileged white male power" (ibid;581). The institutionalisation of gender throughout society perpetuates gender inequalities but it is only through the words of women's narratives that the pervasiveness of those inequalities can be fully articulated and understood.

All of these arguments in favour of distinctive feminist research methodologies raises the issue of the representitiveness of accounts of individual lives and the subjectivity of these sources . Geiger (1986) maintains that feminist scholars challenge the assumption by traditional social science that accurate knowledge of women's experiences and perceptions has been recorded . Women's life histories she argues, substantiate "our claims that these cultural generalizations and models of social life are typically androcentric" (ibid;337). Furthermore, rather than being a weakness it is "precisely because they are subjective documents, life histories exhibit integrity ; they do not claim 'un-gendered point-of-viewlessness' " (ibid;338). Roberts (1981;16) far from seeing subjectivity as bias, accepts that all researchers and researched are influenced and affected by their experiences and world view. Women's definition of their reality is therefore valued and accepted as valid data (Duelli Klein, 1983; 89, Du Bois, 1983; 111, Personal Narratives Group, 1989; 4-6).

Some of the underlying principles of feminist research are also challenged by Stacey (1988).⁵ She questions whether the ideal of a completely collaborative and reciprocal research product can be achieved, - information will always be modified, influenced and authored by both researcher and respondent (ibid,23). More importantly Stacey recognises the potential in the close relationships that can be established in some feminist research for research subjects to be at risk to greater exploitation, betrayal and abandonment than in more positivist, abstract and masculinist research methods. She

⁵Stacey discusses these issues in relation to ethnographic feminist field work. Her arguments and concerns, I believe, are valid for any face to face method of data gathering where the basic principles of feminist research as discussed in this thesis are applied.

claims (ibid,24), "(T)he greater the intimacy, the apparent mutuality of the researcher/researched relationship, the greater is the danger." Her conclusion is however that the researcher must be rigorously self aware of these potential ethical pitfalls so that the dangers can be minimised.

Relevance of Feminist Methodological Perspectives.

These criticisms notwithstanding, the feminist methodological perspectives discussed above have, in my view, direct relevance for my study because they focus on, and are sensitive to, the gendered nature and double consciousness of women's lives. Such methodologies will not marginalise, exclude or devalue women's perceptions of reality but will accept as valid women's account of their work experiences. The gendered inequality that is perceived to be part of the social interaction and structure of the workplace found expression in the narratives of the women with whom I talked. It is this focus on the validity of subjective experience as it is recounted in oral narratives, that is fundamental to the distinctiveness of contemporary feminist research coupled with the basic principles held by feminist, qualitative researchers that I believe is most appropriate to use in this study of women's work careers

Qualitative research using oral narratives of work histories as data sources have considerable advantages. Oral narratives include the individual's biography over a specific historical period in a particular social context, all of which are essential factors that inform our understanding of the social processes that have impinged on and affected the narrator and locate her in the process of social change over that period (Thompson,1981, Dex,1991;1-15). Oral histories, it is argued (Plummer,1983;73-82, Thompson,1981,189-305) are less likely to reduce the individual human being to an abstraction(Plummer,1983;78) and make us aware of "the violence that can be done to other people's consciousness by imposing our own terms on it" (Thompson,1981;293); maintain a focus on the concrete, "the detailed, the particular and the experiential" (Plummer,1983, 60) and on important experiences of the narrators life (ibid;53) ; emphasise the importance of how people 'see' their world and how their perspective of

that world emerges over time; tend to show far more clearly the effect of individual decisions in the processes of personal and social change (Thompson,1981;298/9) and show the potential for flexibility that is needed to fully explore the ambiguities and the 'untidy social reality' on which interpretation rests (ibid;292/4).

THE RESEARCH.

Overview.

The reasons stated above are the basis for carrying out this research consistent with a feminist research perspective and entailing the use of qualitative techniques. I decided to carry out one open ended interview with each of the Pakeha women Principals I could contact in the North Island.⁶ Only one interview was practicable with people who had busy work schedules. Follow up was by letter after initial transcription and write up of the interviews.

Respondent Selection and Contact.

The decision to focus my research on women Principals of coeducational secondary schools was made because they would give me a discrete sample of women who met what I considered were essential criteria for this study. These criteria were that the research participants should be articulate women who had achieved a top or very senior position in their profession. Ideally they should all hold the same level of job in the same profession. That profession should be one that has been dominated by men⁷ and be in the public service. The reasons for these criteria are as follows.

I wanted articulate respondents who could provide data that was rich in detail but who were also cognisant of, and able to express their views on, the professional and gender politics involved. My experience of people holding senior positions in secondary schools was that by the very nature of their job they had, in the main, a reasonable

⁶ I chose only Pakeha women to eliminate any cross-cultural differences and confined contact to the North Island to minimise travel costs.

⁷ As defined by Dept of Statistics,(1993;94) ; 'professions in which males represented 85% or more of employed persons'.

facility with verbal communication. Furthermore being at the top of their organisation they would be busy people and the amount of time they could allocate for an interview would be limited. There would, therefore, be time constraints that required respondents who could talk concisely and economically.

The respondents had to be at the top of their profession because if patriarchal practices vertically and horizontally segregated women then the top of an organisational hierarchy would be the hardest for them to achieve. Women who have worked their way to the top will have experienced the difficulties associated with competing for prestigious positions that are encountered by anyone seeking promotion in their career. In addition, as women, they would have experienced any androcentric, discriminatory practices that resulted in their vertical and horizontal segregation. They will also know, personally, how exclusionary practices might be overcome.

Selecting a profession where men had traditionally dominated the decision making positions would provide a site where the conflict of gender relationships would be emphasised in promotional situations. Finally the public service was chosen to give a measure of control over some potential variables. Public sector organisations have more clearly designated selection, appointment and EEO policy procedures than private sector organisations. Furthermore, the public sector tends to have well organised union structures that apply these policy directives more strictly.

The twelve women that I eventually contacted met all these criteria in that they would be articulate - indeed several had already featured in the literature; they are in the public education system with strong unions (PPTA and SPANZ⁸) and there are clear promotional regulations and selection procedures; Principals of co-educational schools have traditionally been male and co-educational schools are organisations where women have been horizontally segregated into 'women's subjects' as well as vertically segregated from senior appointments.

⁸SPANZ was however criticised as being somewhat patriarchal and traditionalist by some of the respondents.

Of the twelve respondents who were finally interviewed, one held the second most senior position in her school. The other eleven were Principals of co-educational secondary schools. Their ages ranged from the late thirties to the mid fifties. The length of time they had held their current position varied from two to ten years.

Respondent/participant and interpreter relationship.

The choice of terms to refer to the 'subjects' of the research and the researcher needs comment. Throughout the thesis I use the terms respondent and participant interchangeably for the women in the sample, and I consider myself to be the interpreter of the women's narratives. I use these terms deliberately to distinguish my orientation to the interview /discussions as distinctly different from the traditional (and I feel hierarchical) subject-researcher relationship. Changing the vocabulary does not, of itself, change the hierarchical nature of the relationship. Only the perception of the relationship of the parties to the research project as being non-hierarchical does that. The use of these terms signals acknowledgment that the final story must capture the women's perceived experience, their 'voice', but that I as interpreter am an active participant in the questioning, recording, interpreting, and analysing of those work narratives. It is vitally important to me that the relationship between me as interpreter and the respondents is, and is seen to be, collaborative, interactional and reciprocal and that my politics and agendas are made explicit and are recognised as an integral part of the project (Oakley, 1981;44, Edwards, 1992 ;6). It will make a nonsense of the study if any of the narrators declare, "That's not what I said !" (Borland,1991). If I am recording and analysing the perceived experiences of gendered inequality of women Principal's work lives, then what I record must be in terms of *their* definition of reality. As the Personal Narrative Group argue (1989;201-203), it is essential to know whose voice is being recorded and in what ways the interpreters active participation in the dialogue shapes the resulting narrative.

The Interviews.

The respondents were contacted initially by letter (see Appendix A) inviting them to take part in the research and assuring them of confidentiality and anonymity. Anonymity was assured by giving each respondent a pseudonym. Appointments were then made by telephone and confirmed. Consent forms were signed by all participants (Appendix B). The initial interview with the first respondent was intended more as a pilot to check that my interviewing style was effective and to ensure the interview guide (see Appendix C) covered all the key issues. However this preliminary meeting proved to be entirely satisfactory and I was able to use all of the interview data from that meeting and the interview guide format in all the subsequent interviews.

The meetings with the research participants were not conducted as question and answer sessions but more as a discussion. This was developed from my initial statement of women's under-representation as Principals and the following open ended question of why this should be; what stopped more women from achieving this appointment. I used an open ended question to begin the discussions because this allowed the respondents the greatest latitude to talk about what was most important for them, to allow for the introduction of any factors that I had not included in my interview guide and to ensure that I was not imposing an agenda beyond the broad framework of the initial question. The respondents initial responses were often quite lengthy and usually introduced most of the key points in the interview guide. In each case I followed what was salient for the respondent but also asked follow up questions to gain clarification of points only briefly mentioned that were already contained in the interview guide. That each participant had their own particular focus of interest is reflected in the higher incidence of quotes in Chapters 3,4 and 5 on some issues by some individuals.

The meetings were discussions in that, as each session progressed, I added my own experiences and values to complement the respondent's inputs. Making my own value

position clear is consistent with the principles of feminist research discussed before by Reinharz and Oakley.

The Interview Question Schedule, as explained in Appendix C, is the list of questions on which the the interviews were conducted. However, the Interview Guide is the short form of the schedule that I had in front of me as I talked with the respondents. The brevity of the Interview Guide was quite deliberate. To ensure that the respondents talked about their perceptions of their gendered work experiences, and so that I clearly 'heard' their story, my intervention had to be at a minimum and my concentration and attention as a listener at a maximum. I wanted to maintain eye contact, to (mentally) note any body language and emphasis and to avoid any distractions caused by paper shuffling, note taking or referring to lists.⁹ I wanted a one page document that contained all the factors that my reading - and the initial interview confirmed- were critical to this study.

The interview guide is therefore a short, working document, with which I was thoroughly familiar, to which I was able to quickly refer if necessary. The open ended question allowed the respondents to introduce their individual perspective. Where further clarification was sought it was usually in the form; "You suggested that secondary education could become feminised. How (or why) do you think this might happen?", or "You mentioned compromise. Do you think you have had to compromise your beliefs (or your management style)?" Each follow up question came from the full question in the Interview Question Schedule but was phrased depending on the way the issue was mentioned in the prior discussion. Where a topic had not already been mentioned, I would introduce it by saying, for example, "I've heard it suggested that men have a fast track promotion path. Have you seen any evidence of that ?"

Each taped session lasted approximately forty-five minutes and was without exception carried out in a very pleasant, comfortable and highly productive way. The interviews

⁹ I have heard of one interviewer who was so engrossed in his interview schedule that when he looked up he found the room empty, his subject gone!

provided some very rich and detailed data from participants who were pleased to be involved in the research and expressed an interest in seeing the final results. In fact two of the women have said they would like to meet up with all the others for a 'debriefing' when the thesis is finished.

Transcription and Analysis.

All interview tapes were fully transcribed, using the respondents pseudonym, and then category coded. The initial coding was refined and the interview data then collated under those categories. These data categories came under three main headings -exclusion, inclusion and change- which were the three main focii of the discussions. These then became the basis for the data summary and analysis in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. While there was some cross referencing of the categories, they appear as the sub-headings in the data write up chapters.

Copies of the these chapters were sent to the respondents asking for specific feedback as listed in the accompanying letter. (see Appendix D) The return rate to this posting was 50% and the replies were incorporated into the appropriate chapters.

Interviewing Concerns.

My experience as a Guidance Teacher and Dean in secondary schools made me reasonably confident in my listening skills and in my ability to follow through on what were the important issues for the respondents as well as being able to draw out the items in the interview guide. I did, however, have two concerns. Firstly I felt that 'interviewing up', could put me at a disadvantage, that is in interviewing respondents holding important senior positions, the desired result of a free flowing discussion would not be achieved. This proved to be groundless. In all of the discussions I felt perfectly comfortable and the respondents certainly appeared completely at ease. There was no sense of a hierarchical relationship in the sessions and the discussion flowed from one point to the next.

My second concern was, how would these accomplished women react to a late middle age, male, ex secondary school HOD, sociology researcher who wanted to discuss gender inequality . I anticipated that this combination of factors could be grounds for suspicion or at least caution by the respondents. Again my fears proved groundless. The participants talked frankly and freely about their public and private lives. I believe this atmosphere of trust and frankness was created firstly by my assurance of the ethics and confidentiality with which the research would be carried out. Secondly I had made my gender politics explicit, consistent with the principles of feminist methodology outlined above. Finally, I very soon realised these women were used to being in charge, they knew what they wanted to say and knew how to get their message across whether the audience was friendly or not.

However , although it was not an issue for the respondents, it is important to recognise that it may be considered by some to be inappropriate for men to carry out research on women and gender issues. It is implicit in much of the literature that feminist research is primarily research about women, for women *by women* (Stacey, 1988; 24, Harding, 1987; 1-14, Nielsen, 1990; 30, Gluck and Patai, 1991; 2). I would contest this¹⁰ and argue that as a man I am just as able to carry out research on women as an able bodied woman (or man) is to study disabled women - or an intellectual academic is to study street corner societies or Polish immigrants. Indeed Stacey (1988;25) contends that in woman to woman research "feminist researchers are apt to suffer the delusion of alliance more than the delusion of separateness and to suffer it more . . . ". If the choice of methodology is right, if the respondent's 'voice' is heard, if the resulting transcript and analysis is derived from a truly collaborative enterprise, then the conclusions will be valid. Furthermore, I would say, like Stacey, that there may well be advantages in being a male interviewer because I won't presume to know some things because of common sexual background.¹¹

¹⁰Provided always that I carry out the ethical requirements of Massey University Ethics Committee and am aware of the potential harm to the research participants by exploitation or betrayal as discussed above

¹¹Excellent arguments, too lengthy to include here, are made by Harding, (1987), for men undertaking feminist social science.

In the end I will know if I have been a good listener and faithful recorder - the narrators of their work histories will tell me - as will my colleagues who work in the area of women`s studies. Women may still be disadvantaged and misrepresented by men. They are not still prepared to keep quiet about it !

CHAPTER THREE.

THE BASIS FOR CHANGE;

EXPERIENCES OF EXCLUSION.

We went to a conference and I said to him on the first evening during the social time 'Well what do you think of the group?' He said 'Do you know what I really see when I look round? I see the men are ten years younger than the women and they walk around as though they've got every right to be here and the women are those ten years older and I look at them and I realise that you've all worked bloody hard to get here' (Helen Eade).

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INTRODUCTION.

This chapter summarises how the research participants responded to questions focusing on why it is more difficult for women to gain promotion in secondary schools and what were the factors that contributed to women's exclusion from senior positions? Each of the discussions with the research participants started with a very open ended question; 'Fifty per cent of all secondary teachers are female but only twenty percent of secondary school Principals are women. Why ? What stops women from being appointed to principalships ?' The responses were often quite lengthy and varied in what was salient for each individual. However they were remarkably consistent in what were the common issues and themes for all of the Principals.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO EXCLUSIONARY EXPERIENCES.

A fundamental concept in all the Principals responses is exclusion. The factors, identified by the respondents, which contributed to their exclusionary experiences were: socialisation and expectations in terms of dual and gender roles, self concept and confidence, limited career aspirations, striving for more balance between one's public and private life, experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and the effects of E.E.O. legislation.

Socialisation and Expectations

Socialisation into a female gender role had a major impact on the respondents' work careers. Although there were differences in the life experiences of the research participants what was common to them all, however, was that at the beginning of their working lives, twenty to twenty-five years ago, there was little or no expectation in New Zealand society that women would be full-time permanent employees. Moreover, married women with children did not aspire to have a work career. Emma Harkin explained it by saying;

In my generation there was nothing to suggest that women could make their own way in the world, basically a woman's lot in life was dependent upon the person she had married and that was the socialisation that was typical, I think, of almost all young women of my generation. -- So for the older ones there was no way that path of opportunity was open for you.

Young women in New Zealand in the late 1960's were socialised into a gender role in which they got married, had children, assumed all the usual domestic responsibilities of creating a home and caring for husband and children, but with limited paid work expectations outside the home (Neville, 1988; May, 1992; Middleton, 1992). Sue Imrie comments that;

. . . women my age mostly grew up, I think, expecting to probably get married and have a family . . . we expected probably to work, but didn't have the same perceptions of careers that men do. And if that's true of women of my generation then it's certainly true of our male colleagues of my generation, their expectations of what we would do is different as well.

And Jan Coombe remembers that ;

. . . my husband was the person who was going to have the career and it was me who was going to be the supporter.

The respondents felt these were society wide expectations, held by men and women, husbands and families and by institutions. Cath Jones for example realised that she;

didn't really fulfil the role that my first husband really wanted me to.

Very clear recollections of institutional socialisation are held by Emma Harkin;

I well remember when we were inducted to the studentship. You had a week at Teachers' College beforehand, and they pointed out "there, there dears you've got to, everyone's got to enrol in the Government Superannuation Fund, but never mind when you get married, you can draw the money out and buy a washing machine". That was just the way the world was. . . . The social pressures to stay home and look after your children were overwhelming.

She adds;

And of course in my generation there was no thought of working while your children were small. The whole concept was that you could work until you got married and you then could go back to work after your children went to school.

Any work plans a young woman had were subordinate to and conditioned by the demands of her husband's career, she was expected to 'pack and follow'. If his job required relocating then, whatever part-time work or social connections the wife had were secondary considerations as Helen Eade explains ;

It was the expectation that if the man moves on promotion, the wife will give up her job and go along with him.

Confidence and Self-Concept.

Women of the Principals' generation who were starting adult life in the early 60's had grown up in a society where the gender roles were well defined and internalised. Women's role was one of supportive home-maker - the breadwinners helpmate. Though they are now, assertive accomplished women they are very aware that the lack of confidence so many women of their generation had, (arising from their socialisation into a subordinated gender role) limited their careers. They comment that even now what holds women back is lack of confidence, which they believe, is reflected in some female teachers reluctance to be assertive even when they are applying for promotion. Helen Eade says that;

A lot of it is in womens' own mind set, that they see their limits as being AP [*Assistant Principal*] that is their goal, they don't see any further than that and for me initially that was the problem - the goal as well.

And Pat Davies maintains that women teachers seem to lack the confidence to persist when applying for promotion;

I don't think there's a reluctance to go for those jobs so much, I think that that's changing rapidly but I think that after they have made their first applications for any level job whether it be PR1 [*Position of Responsibility, Level One*] or Principal they are more inclined to give up seeking promotion faster than men do, just from what I've observed.

Limited Career Aspirations.

Socialisation into a homemaker role and a low self concept both contributed to limited career aspirations initially. In addition for some of the women Principals, the decision to take up teaching as a job (rather than a career) was made sometimes out of frustration. It was a frustration with their domestic role and the limitations that it imposed on their working lives. The original decision to take up teaching as a job subsequently developed into more clearly defined career plans. I think the following two responses show the depth of feeling and strong reaction by intelligent, well educated women to the domestic constraints imposed on them. Jan Coombe says;

... I was going to do the traditional thing which was round at my time of the early 70's but I found I couldn't stay at home, it was just too depressing, to never ever feel you were ever achieving anything or getting somewhere. That's what I felt. Whatever you were doing at home was just repetitious and never seemed to be finished.

Beth Kerr remembers that;

I was conditioned by my mother and my generation to think that my identity would lie with my family. I felt thoroughly miserable until eventually by circumstance - - I got back into the classroom. The time I was out was so miserable for me and when I looked to what my husband thought I should do I felt

terribly uncomfortable and sad about it. In fact what I suffered then was so great that I have never relinquished my hold on my career beyond that time because I realised the difference it made to me.

An initial limitation on their early career aspirations was that very few people expected them to undertake a full-time working career. And often the constraint came, not only from widespread social and family expectations, but from the individual's own internalised norms.

Emma Harkin describes how women did not aspire to a career, that women would not aim for senior teaching positions, particularly Principal ;

First of all for so many of us older ones there was absolutely no expectation of being a Principal. For someone like me the concept of being the Principal of a state co-ed secondary school was beyond my wildest dreams.- - people did not have an expectation of women in leadership positions and also they looked at women with family responsibilities and said how can you fulfill this task with your family.

They did not expect to have a career, so they did not do those things which enhanced and accelerated a career. One of those important factors was forward planning (Pringle, 1987; Ellis and Wheeler, 1990; Alban-Metcalf, 1991). Several of the Principals commented on the large number of capable young women who undertook teaching studentships but who had no conscious plan of building a professional career or of getting to the top of their chosen profession. Sue Imrie felt that;

Young female teachers of that generation didn't have the same perceptions of careers that men do.

For many women the climb through the hierarchy of the secondary school was not planned. It came often as a reaction to circumstances. Typical of the path many of the participants took to reach senior positions is described by Beth Kerr ;

I stayed in the same school [*while*] my children grew up and that job was never one to which I looked for promotion. I never looked at the Gazette for what was going . My promotion came out of my track record I suppose, people suggested that I might do this or do that right up until the final position I held there which was Deputy Principal. When I look back on it, I am somewhat astonished that I took so long to recognise that it might be interesting to hold a management position. I was an HOD [*Head of Department*] there for several years and that was a very hard job and a very rewarding one I suppose. It never occurred to me that senior management might be a logical progression for me. That school was my extended family, and people there knew me and my husband and children and landmark events were registered there and I thought of no other world for almost all of that time.

Initial Career Obstacles.

Once they had taken up teaching as a job, the Principals I talked with found three major types of obstacles to career progress ; the male bias in the hierarchy of the secondary system; problems associated with the dual role of homemaker and paid worker; the strongly felt need by these women to bring some sort of balance to the duality of their lives. Let me address each of these in turn.

Systematic Male Bias.

An important obstacle to women teachers attaining senior management positions is that a gendered appointment and application bias tends to concentrate women in the 'female' subjects of Art, Home Economics, Commerce and English (O'Neill,1992;68, Slyfield,1993;21). Power in the school thus stays in the hands of men (Grainger,1992;53). This form of internal horizontal segregation, puts women in subject areas from which higher appointments are less likely, though not impossible (Crompton and Sanderson,1990; Grainger,1992). Furthermore, several of the respondents were aware of the attitude that women, especially those with a husband who may move on promotion or those with young families, are not seen as good investments to send on courses compared with male colleagues.. As Jan Coombe said ;

... you never get asked when you've got two little children and you're going from school to school to school following your husband.

A much more serious handicap for women teachers recognised by the study participants is the career break sustained through the years out of full-time employment that women devote to child bearing and rearing. Helen Eade explains how this disadvantages women for promotion;

... therefore when they come back in after having a family they're quite a few years older than their male counterparts and the trend seems to be for employing people in the upper management level at about thirty-five on and often the women when they reach that same level are forty to forty-five, therefore they're not given the consideration that they should be. So if they've taken five to ten years out that certainly plays a part later on.

The bias in favour of younger men is noted by Lyn Aburn;

Because women are older when they are ready for top positions, the decision may go in favour of a younger man, especially when they [*Board of Trustees*] are wary of anyone near fifty, man or woman, they think they may be "in cruise mode".

The women felt that these sorts of organisational difficulties would only be compounded if a woman teaches at a more traditional, conservative school where the male bias is even greater. Sue Imrie's comment illustrates how women consider the environment in which they work more important than the position they hold, whereas men consider the position itself more important than the location :

So men I think, see being a Principal as important and *where* it is, as not as significant . Women I think are quite careful, often of the working environment in which they put themselves and it's difficult enough to be a woman holding a senior position like this without also setting up a whole lot of other difficulties like going to be a PR (*Position of Responsibility*) in a school where it's predominantly a male culture, if you like, that can exclude women.

Dual Role Demands.

The heavy demands that the dual role imposes was experienced by all the women who ran a home and family and held down a paid job, part or full-time. All of the women, who had done both, commented on how difficult it was. Jan Coombe summed it up best saying;

"I got back into teaching quite quickly (*after the birth of her first child*) and even then - my husband was the person who was going to have the career and it was me who was going to be the

supporter. So I did several part-time jobs, but I remember resenting it at that stage, the fact that it seemed very easy for him to do all these things and for me I had to get the children into child care and do all those sorts of things, so they were barriers. Those sorts of things were barriers in terms of the role, the traditional expected role of the wife and mother as the caregiver and you were doing both of those things.

Some of the frustration in trying to fulfill both roles well shows in Cath Jones words;

I went through the whole domestication bit and spent my days trying desperately to keep up being homemaker as well as teach at school, bottling, cooking, baking, keeping house, gardening, all the rest of it.

The importance of family support to enable full-time as opposed to part-time work is stressed by Pat Davies;

At the start, with children, it's often part-time (*teaching appointments*) and so on. Families are very important for women in terms of promotion, by that I mean the wider family. I would not have been able to accept my first permanent, full-time position without (*a family member*) looking after the children - - my husband at that time didn't help, didn't consider it...

While Beth Kerr notes how the demands of domestic and paid obligations don't help in clear thinking about the future of the job;

I think because they've got so many eggs in so many baskets and so many demands are being made on them, that their

thinking doesn't go in those straight (*career*) lines to the future.

They are better at living in the moment, it's hard for them to be so clear.

Several of the Principals remarked that carrying out a dual role put tremendous stresses on women and they noted how women teachers often have a struggle with the two sets of demands. Within the system much of that struggle came from the patriarchal structures that are part of the school psycho-social environment. Even to get a job can sometimes be difficult. Cath Jones, fresh from University and wearing an engagement ring felt that;

. . . every interview I went to, for which I was very well qualified, they wouldn't employ me because I was obviously engaged, I would be married in a few months, I would have babies in two years, be out of the system and be a waste of time.

Seeking a Balance to a Dual Life.

I want at this stage to introduce the element of 'balance'. Most of the research participants referred during the discussions to their need to reconcile the competing demands on their lives (Neville, 1988; Cockburn, 1991). But wanting to bring some sort of balance between the various work, social and domestic parts of their lives, can have a self-imposed limiting effect on promotion. As the previous quote by Sue Imrie indicates, many women teachers tend to look not only at the job itself but at the environment in which they are working as well. They won't take appointments for appointments sake, just to move further up the hierarchy. An important consideration for them is the atmosphere of the school and the philosophy for which it stands, a point I will discuss later.. Equally important is how much the demands of the job will intrude on other aspects of their lives.

The women sometimes found that the priority they gave to family or job commitments was a difficult choice to make. Decisions made by the Principals in the study and

observed by them in other women teachers, often went in favour of doing a classroom, teaching job well but having time for life outside the school, domestically and socially. This meant that taking a PR (*Position of Responsibility*) was not considered because of the extra demands of time and energy it would take away from their private life.

The extra demands of time and energy that holding a senior position, particularly a Principal, would require meant that promotion was not sought while there were obligations to a young family. Why she delayed applying for a principalship is explained by Emma Harkin;

And then I stayed at that level for a long time because I needed, that balance I was talking about. I didn't want to make the commitment of time that being a Principal would take, I still needed time for my family.

The demands of the position are also assessed from another point of view. Sue Imrie maintains that ;

. . women have different reasons for applying for Principals jobs sometimes. Not many of us, I think have a career path that culminated in our being a Principal. - - I think that women have different perceptions of what they want from work and I think there are some now who look at what Principals jobs have recently become and don't want it. They see themselves as being able to contribute more successfully in other areas.

What I have recorded so far from the discussions with the Principals are some of the predisposing factors that work against women moving upwards through the hierarchy of the school. In summary they have said that being socialised into a female gender role means a subordinate status, a low self-concept and associated lack of confidence and assertiveness. These socialisation outcomes have occurred in a society in which patriarchal dominance imposes limitations on women being freely able to enter and

pursue a teaching career based on their individual merit rather than on the basis of their sex (Witz;1992).

The handicaps that these profesional women face they attribute directly or indirectly to the androcentric society in which they live and work. They see that internalisation of a patriarchally defined female role means that women teachers do impose limitations on themselves by unassertive behaviour in applying for more senior positions, by having to divide their time and energy between job and family. Seeking to live a more 'balanced' lifestyle can limit career prospects in that it introduces another factor to take into account when considering promotion to demanding positions.

Whether striking a better balance between the various facets of their lives is a function of women`s subordinate experience is not clear. Certainly the remarks by the Principals would suggest that women`s socialisation makes them less likely to prioritise one aspect of their lives at the expense of other aspects. But seeking balance is an attitude that is consistent with womens` more people centered approach to social interaction in general and to management in particular (Powell,1988; Ellis and Wheeler,1990; Cockburn, 1991; Savage and Witz, 1992). It is an approach, however that can be seen as a challenge to patriarchal assumptions and practices about traditional career paths.

I turn now to the ways the respondents feel they have been discriminated against as they have progressively moved to the positions they now hold, as well as the ways they see other female teachers being excluded from senior teaching and administrative appointments.

EXCLUSIONS.

The socialisation process is fundamental to the subordination of women and reaches into every facet of their lives (Fox, 1984). The subsequent effect of this process on the lives of the women Principals involved in this study has been experienced throughout their careers. It is these womens` perceptions of the overt and subtle ways that their career paths have been hindered that, I believe, are the most important findings to be

made in this Chapter. Their experiences parallel the discriminatory exclusionary practices recorded in the literature (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991; Cockburn, 1991; Ellis and Wheeler 1990; Neville, 1988; Pringle, 1990; Still, 1990). These are the critical instances and experiences of inequality and differential, gendered treatment that shut women out of senior positions and are directly responsible for women's under-representation as Principals of secondary schools. These are the sorts of experiences that the participants described with considerable depth of feeling and frustration. These are the instances that cause women either to seek alternative ways to job satisfaction in or out of teaching or stiffens their resolve to usurp the male dominance of the teaching profession. That there can be such differing reactions to discrimination at work demonstrates the sometimes contradictory consequences of exclusion.

As I talked with the study participants I heard repeated explanations of how they felt they had been discriminated against as women and how their promotion paths had been made more difficult. These hindrances and discriminations occurred in both informal day to day interactions and in ongoing and more formal structures and institutionalised social practices. But as in all human interaction these experiences do not occur as discrete and isolated instances but as part of the overlapping fabric of inter-personal and organisational functioning. Taken together, the daily interactions and the patriarchal structures of society maintain male dominance in secondary schools and exclude women from the senior positions of responsibility and decision making (Neville, 1988; Savage and Witz, 1992). They create an environment in which these women knew they had to cope with obstacles, handicaps and differential treatment that is gendered and discriminatory because they knew that their experience is not shared by their male colleagues. The constraints they experienced were the manifestation of the sexual division of labour by horizontal and vertical segregation (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990).

Differential gendered experience can derive from discriminatory attitudes held by people in gatekeeping positions. Behaviour that is exclusionary in its effect can start in

the assessment procedures for appointment or promotion. Some of the study participants were asked about their children or the possible career moves their husbands may make. Male applicants were, in their experience, not asked similar questions. Jan Coombe recalls how;

My husband was only asked questions relevant to the job at interviews, but I was asked things about my kids and what my husband was doing. It was a sort of guilt trip.

The deep seated expectation that only men should apply for Deputy or Principals jobs can result in incidents like the one recalled by Pat Davies ;

... the position of Deputy Principal became vacant . I went to the office for an application form and I'll never forget the reaction I got. The school secretary said "Oh but you're a woman" and I said "Yes I am and I'd still like that application form" . I subsequently got that job. That caused quite an interesting amount of change there because, up to that point it'd been fine for a woman to be Assistant Principal¹ but the next step up , you know , 'would I really be able to do all the things like , litter duty , perhaps , and when I asked them to specify some of the areas that I might have difficulty with they actually couldn't...

The expectation by the public (and sometimes by office staff) that the top jobs are held by men results in annoying and frustrating incidents. Pat Davies tells of receiving letters that ;

... can't really make up their minds what I am , like, to the Headmistress, Dear Sir, - they can't quite decide whether - - Headmaster was OK but Headmistress sounds sort of funny in a

¹ .The positions formerly known as Senior Master or Senior Mistress are now titled Assistant Principal.

co-ed school so they search for the word that they should be using.

or telephone callers who when put through to Sue Imrie say;

. . . 'I'm sorry I want to speak to the Principal' , after they have been put through to me.

Even the position of Deputy Principal is so attached to gender that the office staff when Pat Davies held that position;

. . . automatically put it through to the guy's phone.. . I had to keep going into the office to remind them that I was the Deputy Principal.

The assumption that the man is always the senior position holder is emphasised in a further incident recalled by Pat Davies ;

We would go to a number of DAPA things (Deputy/Assistant Principal Association). It was interesting in that always , he was introduced before me and always assumed to be the DP. To the point where he actually used to step in first and say this is the DP and I am the AP. It was important to make a fuss about those titles because in peoples` heads, particularly in schools, they are still working in hierarchies . My husband notices now when we go places or even sitting together in this room, people will make eye contact with him much more than with me and he has to say to them, 'this is the Principal'. - - I don't think men occasionally have to say 'I am the Principal' or find somebody else to say it for them like my husband.

Another area of frustration for the women was that, while it was accepted that in our daily social interactions we all have to modify our position to be able to work

effectively, there was general agreement among the Principals that women sometimes, because they are women, have to moderate the way they present things to avoid sabotaging the project. Some men, Lyn Aburn said;

feel threatened by those who are openly feminist. It's one way you can be rubbished. You can't try to be more like the men, but going to the other extreme and shouting your 'womanliness', then you've got an equal problem. The difficulty is finding the middle ground.

The women also found that they encountered problems if they tried to implement a project that involved some change to the status quo. Alice Lane explained the difficulty:

Women have a problem here that if we do obviously try to change something and to prove something, because you are a woman, we immediately lose the support that we need, - and we need to work together because I think it should be very balanced. Men are inclined to feel threatened when women begin to have roles of authority.

The Principals had experienced some quite supportive and cooperative male reaction to their initiatives, but there had also been situations where as Sue Imrie found;

any woman who speaks out on any issues is going to be seen as at best assertive and at worst aggressive.

These are instances of differential treatment that have been experienced by women who are already Principals. As they have moved through the school hierarchy these sorts of discriminations can be sufficiently frustrating to deter women from aspiring to more senior positions. Whatever position these women have held in a school, they

always felt on trial, having continually to prove themselves. Gail Fife, for example, says;

If the man comes in and says I can do the job, people will say 'OK, he can do it,' if a woman comes in , 'now you prove yourself and the first mistake you make we're ready to say that women can't do that job'.

That this impression is shared by many women is shown by this account from Helen Eade;

I went to a workshop on women's management . . . the women there . . . were sick of having to prove themselves , they felt that they just didn't want to take that next step into Principalship, that they were sick of the struggle, sick of the fight, that they would not apply, and I think that women don't feel that they could just go and be Principal and get on with the job, that they would go and be Principal and every day they would be judged, they don't want that hassle, they don't need it so why do it.

Having to prove that they are able to do the job well slows up many women's career progress compared to men. Pat Davies, who gained a Principals position fairly rapidly commented ;

Not in my personal experience, no. But probably the other women Principals of co-ed schools, - they have done it the long hard way, step by step by step, being in a position and being able to utterly convince that they can do the job before they are moved on to the next one.

And Sue Imrie observed;

"Women are more likely, far more likely than men to be promoted in environments where they are already known and have proven they can do things - - Women are more likely to get Principals jobs in schools where they are known where they have worked in the past or are working. In co-ed schools anyway. Whereas men don't appear to have to have prove themselves in quite the same way.

That men had what amounted to a promotional fast track (Cockburn, 1991) was commented on by several of the women. Lyn Aburn says ;

"I found going to Principals Conference that there were networks, that men had simple promotion paths, you know, HOD (*Head of Department*) at this school, then AP at that and then because there are more men than women get promotion, those networks build up and women are not as much a part of it. . . . I think the breaks tend to come a little more frequently for men. What I'm saying is, looking for example at AP & DP, a man can and is expected to be able to go from HOD to DP, a woman is expected to go from HOD to AP to DP, there's an extra rung in the ladder.

Sue Imrie adds ;

I think too that women have not traditionally been part of the same kind of networks as men. This doesn't mean they are not part of their own, and their own are very supportive, but not part of the traditional systems that recognise a young male teacher and said you apply for that PR2, you apply for that HOD's job, that sort of thing happens, it's not as prevalent in the experience of women as it has been in the men.

Pat Davies believes with Cockburn (1991) that;

... male networks are strong everywhere, male networks both in practice and in peoples expectations in all locations .

And they worked not only to advantage men promotionally, but generally to make women feel excluded. I found the following explanation by Lyn Aburn particularly telling;

I found disconcerting the superiority of men Principals of large secondary schools- -. (The) Principals Association, a fairly large group, who were quite unfriendly and superior especially in their relationship to other women Principals , some who had been there a long time. It was easy for me to see coming in new. The attitude of the men was 'Oh well they`re feminists or young or whatever.. . . (I) never felt there was acceptance between the men and the women Principals as there was between the men amongst themselves. If you are Principal of a school that`s different, small or rural for example and a woman you always feel excluded by these "mainstream" male secondary Principals. The women Principals got annoyed about talk of "half an hours fellowship," - - jolly good chaps together!

Several incidents were related to me that illustrate how women have had to be quite assertive to get some modification to men`s group behaviour so that women can take part in meetings in an effective and totally integrated way. Quite unconsciously, the respondents said, men`s traditional ways of interacting at formal occasions and informally, creates an environment from which women feel excluded and in some instances that they find offensive. That the women were aware of that atmosphere emphasises the amount of change that must occur in men`s individual consciousness

and in collective male behaviour before organisations can operate in an ungendered way (Crompton and Sanderson,1990: Savage and Witz,1992).

Women who are now in a position of some power, like the Principals participating in this study, can start that change process. Pat Davies explained that only because of the position of power she held was she able to influence how and where a meeting was held at which she had initially been only too conscious of the male atmosphere . She ends telling about the situation very assertively with:

"Now they have changed the location , reorganised the meeting.
I have not once ever made it explicit what it was that I didn't like
in those meetings . When they get it right I go , when they don't,
I don't !

Male networks , as Pat Davies noted, are strong everywhere, disadvantaging women by facilitating a faster promotional track for male teachers. The women Principals were aware not only of the networks but also of male enclaves. These are identified as areas or specific schools that are conservative and traditional in their educational philosophy. Gaining teaching positions and promotions in these kinds of schools is considered very difficult for female teachers. The research participants are not sure whether women are under represented in these schools as a result of discrimination and exclusion or because women prefer to apply for positions in other types of schools. Lyn Aburn says;

I'm never actually sure whether women are under-represented
(*in those schools*) because it's difficult or because women
don't actually try.

However some of the women were quite clear about why they would not apply for particular schools. Cath Jones was quite adamant;

There are some schools that I just wouldn't bother applying for because they just wouldn't even consider a female and it would just be a waste of my time. But then the other thing you have to ask yourself 'do I actually want to work with those people, do I actually want that sort of thing?'. It's the same sort of thing like there are some schools that I wouldn't apply for because they wouldn't want me, and basically I wouldn't want them. Their philosophy is so different from mine that it would be a hopeless situation..

Alice Lane adds;

There are some schools I would frankly not wish to teach in and there are people who may feel uncomfortable in our kind of school. I can't quite think why, but they might.

Further difficulties are made for women in the inequality of treatment that occurs simply because women's issues or projects are not supported by men. At seminars and meetings on women and girls in education and at sessions where keynote speakers were women, men were reported as being conspicuous by their absence. At routine administration and Board meetings the respondents found themselves having to focus on 'women's issues because you are the only woman there'. Women feel that they are not expected to know anything about buildings and finance or their opinions are not taken seriously on some matters. Lyn Aburn got the impression that;

You have to put up with a bit more rubbish, - - a bit more flak from people. They think they can be more rude to a woman. I think that they try to intimidate you.

I have emphasised in this last section the respondents' perceptions of the pervasive nature of patriarchal discriminatory and exclusionary practices. Equal opportunities

legislation introduced since 1977 was intended to eliminate this sort of direct and indirect discrimination (Hunt; 1992).

Equal Employment Legislation

The introduction of E.E.O. legislation should have ended discrimination against women on the basis of their sex when applying for jobs. The bias in favour of men, at least from a legal standpoint, should have been, if not eliminated, at least, considerably reduced. But selection and appointments committees can appear to follow the letter of the law without the spirit of that law being faithfully applied and token appointments² are still made (Parr, 1992; Julian, 1992; Korndorffer, 1992; Hunt, 1992). Lyn Aburn describes how legislation has had a positive effect but can still be avoided ;

Yes, if women want promotion they are well considered. One of the things that E.E.O. has done , if nothing else, - - it's most unusual for a selection committee not to include women on the short list , and that's not just tokenism. Recently I was on a selection committee as an advisor and we didn't have a woman applicant, - - that's unusual.

However she continues;

Parents are remarkably conservative, it takes more than one generation to change; they still want uniforms. - - And Boards of Trustees (*who are parents*) make appointments, and in spite of E.E.O. can discriminate. E.E.O. can be subverted, it can easily be done at the short list stage just by agreeing to exclude.

Through the Board of Trustees the community can have a major influence on the number of women appointed to senior positions; the Principals believed that tokenism

². Token, a nominal appointment to meet EEO legal requirements rather than as the best applicant.

is still all too common a practice. Pat Davies gave an instance where a woman was not appointed as Principal because;

there was already in that city one other woman Principal of a co-ed school.

This was seen to be an example of one woman being enough, token acknowledgment of EEO requirements. In another case Sue Imrie recalled;

I've heard it said things like 'this community is not ready for a woman and that sort of thing' - -, some Boards which were predominantly male clearly had in their heads the perception of the best person for a job, and it wasn't a woman because it tended to be someone like them.

Even with supportive legislation, women still have a lot of ground to make up because as Sue Imrie said;

To begin with there aren't as many women in senior positions in schools either, therefore they are not at the level that makes Boards see they have the appropriate experience to appoint them and they are not in those senior positions because men haven't appointed them for the most part.

Summary.

In this chapter I have outlined the major ways in which the research participants have experienced occupational closure and exclusion from senior positions in the secondary teaching service. In Chapter 4 we move from exclusion to inclusion., to the strategies and practices these women Principals believe have to be employed to overcome gender discrimination and to usurp patriarchal dominance of school staffing hierarchies.

CHAPTER FOUR.

MASTERING THE CHANGE?

THE TRANSITION TO INCLUSION.

I think you've got to have an enormous amount of determination and energy and the will to actually want to do things. For me I wanted to change things. . . I never really came into teaching thinking I wanted to go to the top. . . . But I think if you want to change something, - then I think you have to get yourself into a position where you can actually change it. . . If I hadn't had this all consuming desire to in fact change things, that I felt unjust, that I felt it was unjust the way things were, then maybe I wouldn't have done the extra things, that it would have been too much like hard work (Jan Coombe).

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INTRODUCTION.

The opening quote by Jan Coombe exemplifies the key attributes of determination, vision and personal integrity possessed by the women participants in this study as they have developed their careers and achieved their present positions as Principals of co-educational secondary schools.

When I had completed all the interviews I was very aware that I had been talking to twelve exceptional women.¹ Each one left a very clear impression that, as I later listened to and transcribed the tapes, I could easily recall. But this was far more than

¹. I am not suggesting that only "exceptional" or "very strong people" can succeed. What I am recording here is the perception these women had of their peers and how I perceived them.

recalling the details of our discussions. What really stood out for me with these women was their integrity. Coupled with a very strong sense of purpose, each in their own unique way had a sureness about themselves, a dedication to their schools and a firm belief in the appropriateness of their management and methods. This dedication was not in the sense of a crusade, although there was for some a very strong commitment to effecting real change for women and girls through the education system. This was a strength of conviction in the way the job of Principal should be done so that the best educational goals could be achieved for all, irrespective of sex, class or ethnicity. These are impressive women. As Fay Gorton said speaking about her peers;

I think that these days the women who make it to the top have to know themselves extremely well, have to be very strong people, well put together, no fragile egos. They are not the sort of people who will compromise. High standards and high ethics.

The previous chapter showed the obstacles that confronted these professional women; why they have had to be 'very strong people'. This chapter, more than anything else talks about the integrity of these Principals in achieving their ideals and goals, how their self knowledge, dedication and energy has worked for them as individuals and for their beliefs in better outcomes for education and for women. In doing so it focuses on the factors and experiences that have contributed to them eventually achieving the position of Principal in a co-educational secondary school. It is a record of a period of transition in their lives both personally and professionally. This is a period in which they see themselves, and are perceived by others, to move from reactive, subordinated female to proactive, assertive, woman. It is a move from being treated in a gendered, collective way to being responded to as a qualified, experienced individual (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Walby, 1990; Savage and Witz, 1992) .

The transitions that occur in these women's lives are what Mandelbaum (1973) calls turnings and Denzin (1989) calls epiphanies; interactional turning points for an individual that significantly alter that persons life involvement. They don't necessarily

happen suddenly, in fact for most of the participants the turnings are the result of an *accumulation* of experiences that culminate in meaningful change.

This chapter therefore illustrates how the Principals I talked with have overcome closure and exclusion, how they have broken the constraints of the normative, gendered role into which most women have been socialised. It will show what these women believe must be done to usurp the dominance of patriarchal structures and practices so that women can gain inclusion to senior positions in their chosen professions. What this means in human terms was conveyed to me with a considerable degree of intensity of feeling as the women related the reality of their lived experience. Each account saw the growing awareness of, and frustration with, the limitations imposed on them by the sexual division of labour. For each, there came a time when deliberate decisions were made of considerable consequence to their careers.

These important decisions were reactions to the gendered discriminations they had experienced, reactions against the limitations of their domestic role and against their inability to effect their educational philosophy. But they were reactions and frustrations that arose out of their growing consciousness of their own self worth and strongly held personal beliefs and ideals. These initial reactions motivated the Principals to make decisions that led to those personal and educational goals being achieved.

TOWARDS INCLUSION

Initial Reactions, Personal Decisions..

Frustration is a key word in describing the initial phases of these women's turnings or transitions. It was a word that was used several times, but used in two ways. First there is the negative sense of frustration arising from all that held them back; frustration with domestic 'obligations' with forever having to 'pack and follow', with the constraints of a subordinated gender role and the limitations imposed by an androcentric society. For Lyn Aburn staying at home was boring;

I couldn't bear staying at home, it was so tedious, it didn't take a full day. I needed that stimulus, - and the money.

And for Cath Jones frustration grew;

I became more and more dissatisfied, - I was bored to tears basically.

But Lyn Aburn found being a woman teacher was limiting too;

There were no senior women on the staff, in fact very few women at all, - all the power was held by the men. The Principal had problems relating to women. Because I was one of the few permanent women on staff I had assumed all sorts of responsibilities, but there was no recognition for these stereotypically women's jobs, tea, textbooks, presents, hostess. Tutor groups, house leaders, heads, were all men. This was in the late 70's.

While for Jan Coombe the lack of autonomy was frustrating;

It was just too depressing, to never, ever feel you're ever achieving anything or getting somewhere. . . I was frustrated in that I was just part of someone else's department.

But there was frustration of a more positive kind. This frustration was expressed by the Principals in several ways. They felt unable to constructively and creatively use their energy and their talents. They were unable to take up challenges or put into practice firmly held educational philosophies. There was a strong sense of wanting a challenging, stimulating working life. But there was also that strong commitment by some of the women to ideological beliefs. For some it was to feminism, for others it was a commitment to changes they believed were needed in the secondary teaching system, they wanted the opportunity to promote their educational philosophy.

Emma Harkin had a deep commitment to the feminist cause and believed it was important to have women Principals as role models for teachers and for young women generally. The traditional education system Jan Coombe believed wasted too many people. It was necessary, she felt to get into a position where she could effect changes. Similarly Sue Imrie had grown up with a firm commitment to the feminist cause allied to a specific educational philosophy;

. . . I wanted to stay in this school because I had a commitment to the philosophy of this school, I wanted to continue with what was happening here and I saw that becoming Principal was a way of trying to help that process.

These reactions were powerful motivating forces that resulted in conscious and deliberate decisions about the direction their lives and careers would take; they became clear about what was important to them as women , what beliefs were worth working for and where they were most likely to achieve those goals. Self awareness for Beth Kerr was growing;

Well I thought -, it was lingering in my mind that I had a right to be something for myself, that I had to fight for that .

Lyn Aburn decided to make teaching a career when after a separation and a move to another town she realised she was looking for a more challenging, professional life. Educational philosophy was more important for Sue Imrie than the position she held;

I realised by the time I came back to New Zealand that I had actually, both in my experience here and overseas, made a decision that it was probably the more liberal strand of education in which I was going to find my future. But that was a much clearer decision than a decision about being a Principal. I was quite clear about the decision to be a Principal when I made it,

but it was for here, this school and its philosophy, not for the job.

Personal integrity and wellbeing were the important considerations for Alice Lane in making career decisions;

I made a very conscious decision that I was an Auckland person and it wasn't sufficiently important to go out of Auckland just to be something. I think you have to be happy in your job. That's very significant to me and being happy in the job means being . . . where you are a person in your own right, not just a figurehead who is moving from place to place just to be someone.

A growing awareness of their ability to teach and administrate as effectively as their male colleagues was accompanied in the respondents by greater self confidence. They began to make quite deliberate decisions about career paths. Lyn Aburn says;

I had been five years in that job and I was getting close to forty years old. I started thinking about the future. I had enjoyed the independence of running a Department and had got a taste for administration. I had just done a stimulating paper, Organisational Management, - they were really challenging women lecturers. It opened up possibilities for me.

Confidence grew for Emma Harkin because, she said, she was like other women, who;

. . . knew jolly well, often, that they were more capable and that they were propping up people. And then when women said 'to heck with this' , you know, equal pay and women actually moving into positions of responsibility, there was a feeling of legitimacy about it all.

These are very clear indications that the respondents were making decisions about their teaching careers not just as a job. Their decisions were based on a firm commitment to their educational and personal philosophy and to retaining their integrity in those beliefs. Their decisions were positive reactions to the constraints they perceived in the system and the limitations they felt were imposed by the patriarchal society in which they lived and worked.

Some of the other career decisions the Principals have made have been influenced by people, mostly men, who have played a significant part in their lives.

Mentors and Partners.

I recorded in Chapter Three that men have played a critical but negative and restrictive role in the professional development of the women in this study. Furthermore, in a significant number of cases an unsatisfactory marriage has been terminated before important career decisions were possible and before more accelerated promotion occurred.

The importance of supportive, primary, intimate relationships for women in senior management positions is born out by the statistics. Of the twelve women in the study, two are single and four are in their second marriage, one has not remarried and only five have stayed in their first marriage. It would appear that conflict within their marriages over the priority to be accorded the woman's career aggravated other disagreements and differences in the relationship. Tough though the decisions were, the break was made and a more satisfactory phase of their life both personally and professionally ensued. For these women it was a truly transitional phase, moving forward to situations where they felt that they fully took charge of their lives and particularly their careers.

The incidence I have noted of marriage break-up emphasises the difficulties that are created by trying to balance the dual role demands of caregiver and paid professional full time worker, particularly where there is not equality of priority and opportunity given to both partners' careers. To be successful professionally does not necessarily

mean rejection of the dual female role. The women wanted to gain inclusion in their profession without sacrificing completely their domestic role and their primary relationships but they wanted the domestic inputs and responsibilities shared. Some of the Principals did reject the domestic 'mother' role but others combined it with work quite successfully. I believe that establishing satisfactory relationships, or staying single has been one of the critical factors in the ability of the study participants to develop their careers and their ability to achieve a better balance between their public and private lives. A typical comment that supports this view was made by Pat Davies;

. . look at the large numbers of women who have achieved in their careers, who have left their first marriages, look at all the women writers. How many have got successful first time marriages, I can't think of one. A lot have successful second marriages, they're not necessarily mutually exclusive but possibly the attitudes of women in their twenties are different than the ones you have when you're forty.

A somewhat more sceptical opinion about permanent, primary relationships was made by Cath Jones;

It's not uncommon now. There are so many relationships that break up. I think the world has changed so much that a relationship that has lasted longer than seven years is probably doing very well.

The literature emphasises the long history of patriarchal hindrance to women's personal and professional lives (Cockburn,1985,1988,1991, Moore,1986, Savage and Witz,1992). The data however suggests that some men have been very supportive, motivating and encouraging.²

². A lot of discussion can be generated about patriarchy and tokenism occurring as paternalism and the extent to which there has been a male attitudinal change to gender roles - sensitive new age guys, house fathers and so on. This is also an area of debate beyond the scope of this study.

I have already noted how critical primary intimate relationships have been for some of the Principals. Second husbands have been significant motivators and supporters. Pat Davies comments;

Another thing of enormous benefit to me in terms of promotion, my being able to concentrate on the job as well as other things, was that I divorced my first husband, . . . subsequently I have remarried and had a very supportive husband who is prepared to relocate himself and has done so . . . for changes in my career.

The ground rules for a second relationship were spelled out very clearly by Cath Jones;

My second husband, - I was in full flight with my career at that stage. I was DP and already knew that I wanted to go further at that stage. I said that my career will always come first, I've just come through a very bad relationship, so you can tag along if you want. It's come a long way since then, the relationship.

But many men, first husbands included, have been important motivators and supporters. Katherine Bissell recognises this;

I'm lucky , I've had a supportive husband and children . . . and I may be the exception because I've received nothing except encouragement and support from the men in that school . . from the Principal down.

Support from men has come in a range of ways for Cath Jones;

"The mentors have always been men, wonderful men, men that I will remember with great fondness. . . [He] gave me confidence and I learned a lot and he had a lot to do with my career for a long time. Another , although I was a fairly feisty sort of person but he wasn't scared of that as many males can be. Another who

encouraged me, said "why don't you have a go at this, I think you can do this ?" or would encourage ideas I had, he pushed me but if I made mistakes he'd bail me out. Another was a man of strong ethics, strong values, a highly principled man, with a very rigid philosophy of education from whom I learned a lot.

Other women had been supportive too, but it was recognised that there were more men with greater experience holding a larger proportion of influential positions. Men therefore were far more likely to be in a position to give effective advice and support. Gail Fife acknowledges the support she has received from both men and women;

. . . each step of the way I've had a man in a position of authority that has said "give this person a chance." - Women are giving women encouragement to progress, - but in my case my support has come from men, although I have here two women who are very supportive.

Sue Imrie notes the critical position that men hold;

Another point is that while I have had really strong support from networks which have women as well as men in them, . . . I have had some really strong and helpful male mentors and in terms of getting where I am, they [men] have been more significant perhaps than women have simply because, I suppose, of the positions they were in.

All these comments emphasise what an important role men in influential positions are perceived to have played in the development of the Principals professional careers. These remarks are not just about marriage partners and work relationships, but about the pervasive nature of the patriarchal value system within which the Principals are operating. Whether men are supportive or restrictive, they are seen to be, by the respondents, critical to their personal and professional lives. Continuing male influence

on women teachers careers could suggest new forms of paternalism and adaptive patriarchy. However a more positive view, I believe, is that the support the Principals have received is indicative of some attitudinal change in some men.

A further set of factors introduced by the Principals that they considered important in successfully gaining appointments is getting all the ingredients right, -being the right person in the right place at the right time as well as being lucky or fortunate. These are not important considerations in the literature because they are not gender specific. Men or women aspiring to promotion must be in a position to recognise and take opportunities as they arise. Never the less, these were factors that were remarked on by the Principals.

Maximising Opportunities; The Right Person, Place and Time.

The research participants all felt that it was important to have everything going for them when they sought promotion because men seemed to have so much control in school staffing hierarchies.

Several remarks were made to the effect that it was important for women to be the right person in the right place with the right support at the right time. And they needed a bit of luck. Cath Jones recalls;

In my first promotions I happened to be in the right place at the right time, and I was bloody good. So it would have been very difficult to have promoted someone over the top of me. I was lucky in that respect. . . . My next step was a real leap of faith by the Principal of the school I went to, appointing a woman DP. It was just the right time. . . . He had been looking for a good strong woman DP and I just happened to be there at the right time with good mentors behind me. I was half sold before I walked into the interview room.

But others preferred to use the word fortunate rather than luck,³ and that they were able to take advantage of opportune situations. Gail Fife said ;

No, I'd still use fortunate because I know I've had to prove myself, had to work for it, being in the right place being known, having someone prepared to negotiate.

Helen Eade speculated about the degree of personal readiness for a career move;

I've always been lucky in that when I've needed a change or needed a challenge they've been readily available. But how much of that is luck and how much is that you were ready for that change anyway and you were able to pick it up and are able to exploit the chances that are there. I think that women work hard and when those breaks come we go for it.

What I have summarised so far in this chapter have been the experiences and responses of the research respondents as they have moved through the secondary school staff hierarchy, the upper echelons of which have been dominated by men. This background has included the women's positive responses to the exclusionary and discriminatory conditions they have experienced and the support and motivation they have received from significant people in their lives particularly male colleagues and partners. I now turn to those conditions and behaviours that the women believe are critical for female teachers to be able to usurp male dominance of school hierarchies. This is their recipe for inclusion.

THE INGREDIENTS OF INCLUSION

The work career of each of the women I talked with in this study has been unique. Some have been motivated by mentors or partners, but many women, as Fay Gorton says

³. Its a fine distinction. The important point being made is that the women are not arrogant about their success but see an element of luck or good fortune as contributing factors.

"come through without role models . . . and without being given a 'push'. Some of the respondent women have been self-motivated, have worked their way through difficult class or locational backgrounds responding to their own challenges. Cath Jones says, she reacted out of "sheer bloody mindedness" to those who tried to dissuade her or who were negative role models.

However, what has been common to all of them throughout their careers has been a strong sense of integrity and a dedication to firmly held philosophies. It may be that this is the identifying feature of women who have had the strength to develop professional careers to a level traditionally held by men and in so doing have become role models in their own right.

Because of their commitment to particular educational and equalitarian philosophies the respondents looked for appointments in the "right" school, a school in which they stood a good chance of implementing those ideals and beliefs. The first essential ingredient for breaking the glass ceiling was choosing your ground.

Choosing Your Ground: The Right School.

A very interesting debate can be developed from what is meant by the 'right school.' We saw in the previous chapter that women tend to choose the schools in which they want to hold senior positions, particularly Principalships, based on that school's educational and social philosophy. Choosing schools that have a more liberal perspective in which they will therefore feel more comfortable, is consistent with the view the Principals have expressed that professional women want a 'balanced' life; they want balance between home and work, between public commitment and private relationships and they want a work environment that is in tune with their personal and professional philosophies. Thus they would not apply for some more conservative schools because they know, as women, they stand less chance of gaining the appointment but also because they do not want to work in what they would consider is an alienating predominantly male cultural environment.

Emma Harkin maintains that ;

only enlightened people go to difficult areas. . where you get
the women Principals are in the areas of difficulty or in
opportunity school. . .

Harkin argues that because women are socialised to be powerless, they are more sensitive to the inequalities that the establishment has the power to maintain. Many women teachers therefore may be attracted to schools considered to be having difficulties or problems or to 'opportunity' schools; those whose Boards of Trustees and teaching staff share a more enlightened and liberal educational philosophy.

But this can be expressed from the point of view that it is not so much free choice as forced choice - women who want to become Principals of secondary schools *have* to apply for 'opportunity schools', ones that are considered problem schools, that need enlightened solutions. They are also seen as schools that need the special skills and management style that women are believed to have. A feminine management style, (Shakeshaft,1986), which is empowering for both subordinates and those in leadership positions, is seen as most appropriate for situations where more traditional systems are not working satisfactorily, as well as being adopted widely in a rapidly changing world where as Kanter (1986) argues, consensus and team work are deemed essential.

By choosing some schools over others, there is therefore, both self-exclusion in not wanting to gain promotion in some types of schools as well as a perceived, potential exclusion in that men would be more likely to gain appointment in those schools. It could be argued that this is no more than the latest manifestation of patriarchal closure strategies but it appears to me that there is a considerable measure of deliberate choice by women. Moreover these women are committed to ideals of equality and have taken senior positions because those are the positions from which they feel change can more readily be initiated. Emma Harkin believes that;

Social change does not occur within the establishment. The establishment is very comfortable the way it is. Where you get the social change and where you get the women Principals are in the areas of difficulty and of course, the great force for social change is always the intellectual left. So where you get the women Principals is schools where change is occurring, but right at the heart, where the money and the power is you only get men and you only find women being Principals of single sex girl's schools.

I would argue that choosing to work and lead in problem schools is one of the modern inclusionary strategies that women are using. Rather than take on the establishment on its own secure and closed off ground, women are choosing their own battlefield to usurp patriarchal value systems by offering viable alternatives that are attractive to some school communities. However there is a measure of contradiction here in that such choices are a form of separatism or self enforced segregation in the struggle for inclusion. It is the kind of ambiguity that exists in the feminists sameness/difference dichotomy ; arguing for equality but also emphasising the positive aspects of female haecceity. Inclusionary counter strategies it would appear, incorporate anti- exclusion practices as well as the promotion of valued feminine qualities.

Integrity

In considering the advice they would give to career minded women, the respondents felt that knowing yourself, maintaining one's integrity and a sense of vision are all important factors. It was essential for Sue Imrie that when looking for promotion you know yourself and know what you want out of life;

The best advice I can give I think, and I give it to any one, is that it's really important to know who you are and to maintain your own integrity. Everyone, every day of their lives makes small

compromises about things that don't really matter. I think it's really important if you are a woman and you want to be in a position where your influence perhaps becomes more widespread, you have to be really clear about any price that you perhaps might have to pay to get there and what's more important than anything else, that my own integrity remains intact, . . . and I give the same advice because I don't think you can be successful in what you do if you aren't really clear about that. I think that it is important because, perhaps the demands made on women sometimes are for them to be something which they are not.

Helen Eade considered that a sense of vision is most important for anyone seeking a senior position;

I guess for me its vision , they've got to have vision. And they've got to be able to articulate that vision and they've got to know what they mean by the word vision. They've got to broaden their outlook to whatever they're going for, . . . to look at not just the next step ahead which is what a lot of people do. Unless they look at what their vision is in life or job or whatever,- that is going to be the biggest hurdle. And they've got to do their research in it too, you can't just say "I think", it's got to be backed by facts.

With such clearly identified convictions it is not surprising that the women Principals were not prepared to compromise their integrity to achieve their goals. The following responses are indicative of why I found them such impressive individuals and why they have been such effective leaders and agents of change. Pat Davies was quite emphatic;

To go back to the compromise one. I think I was able to give you a very clear answer because that was something I made my

mind up about, about five years ago, that in order to win promotion and find myself in a school and an environment that I was comfortable in, I wasn't going to compromise anything. So if and when I found a fit it would be a good fit, and that's something that people round here aren't surprised at. And I keep to that. If I believe something to be right for the right reasons I don't budge, not for anything. I might budge in detail. If I have made up my mind, and I often do, that it's the right thing for the right reasons, that's it.

Again as with choosing schools, very deliberate and considered decisions have been made about when and where they would stand firm. Helen Eade recalls;

I can almost remember the day I decided . (Laughs) . . . It was very much to heck with everybody else, this is what I want to do , this is who I am, this is where I'm heading, these are my goals . I'm not meaning to heck with everybody else that you totally discard them, I'm meaning in their viewpoints. I was not prepared to compromise myself any further.

Fay Gorton makes a clear distinction between compromise to achieve agreed goals and compromising one's personal integrity;

Compromise? No. not in my case. I had such a bad school if I had compromised it wouldn't have made the progress it has made. From the historical point , the right person at the right time. I suspect that my way - I've always been a cooperative kind of person, a pacifist by principle and practice and I've had the right instinct for that particular school that I was going for. I've had to compromise, obviously if you're working with a big

staff and you're working on the right way to get to an agreed end, but I'd call that collaboration not compromise.

This uncompromising stance about their beliefs is an expression of the confidence the speakers have in themselves, their educational philosophy and what they bring to the job as women. This non-apologetic and more assertive attitude is demonstrated when the respondents talked about men who had difficulty with women in senior positions. Sue Imrie remembers ;

... after I was first appointed, after a year or eighteen months, there were some male HODs who had been here for some time who I think would have been happier if a man had been appointed. I went out of my way and worried a lot about making them feel better. And then suddenly it came to me that actually it was their problem not mine, and I was wasting my energy.

Alice Lane shows the confidence she has in the qualities that women can bring to the position of Principal;

But the very nature of your personality, your womaness, means that you approach things in a particular way and that it can make a difference. It means that if men can't see it that way they have a problem. You don't, but they do. There has to be some professional growth in men if they are going to follow the kind of culture which a women is creating in a school ... we need to be working on men's attitudes towards women's attitudes if we are going to have a proper gender balance.

These remarks constitute essential attitudinal aspects of the Principal's inclusionary strategies. What more practical advice do they give to career minded young teachers in the 1990's?

Inclusionary Practices and Tactics

There have been significant social changes since these women started their professional careers. Women now have a far higher profile due to their greater labour force participation rates and their invasion of a much greater range of positions and professions. Because of the quite marked social changes over the period of their career development, I asked them what advice they would *now* give upwardly mobile, career minded, young women. This question was designed to benefit from hindsight but also to allow for the changed social and work environment in which young professional women are now working. It was anticipated that the question would elicit responses that described the practices and tactics that women are using to break the glass ceiling of male closure in today's world. I was not disappointed.

The advice given to young teachers aspiring to top positions in their profession ranged from the very general to the quite specific. (I have already noted the importance of integrity, vision and self knowledge) It was emphasised by the respondents that, as Principals, one of their roles was the professional development of all staff irrespective of age, sex or experience. Therefore the advice and encouragement given to young career minded women was not substantially different from that given to their male peers. They would all be encouraged to present themselves as very marketable and valuable commodities.

There was of course all the usual advice about having well prepared C.V.s, being interview wise etc. But what is relevant to this study is what these successful women considered were the gender specific aspects of applying for and getting appointments; what was necessary to counter women's low self concept and lack of assertiveness in the market place; how to overcome the effects of socialisation into a subordinate gender role that located women in specific jobs and positions in the work place hierarchy; what was needed to counter any overt or covert patriarchal practices that close off employment opportunities for women and segregates them both horizontally and vertically in the market place. But I must stress that the way the women Principals gave

this advice and encouragement was not done in a negative way that focused on the difficulties that young women may face. Rather the emphasis was on what had to be done to present themselves as competent and efficient teachers and administrators. The first comment by Gail Fife, focusing on confidence and determination is a good example;

Get stuck in and do it. Ignore the differences. If they don't put themselves forward then no one else is going to, there may be someone giving them a bit of a push but they've got to put that application in, make that move and once they've put that application in they've got to go out and sell themselves, have confidence.

Beth Kerr encourages women not to take time off to have a family but to combine the two;

One of the things that I spend a lot of time encouraging young women about is to have children, to combine having children with a career because it can be done and despite all the difficulties . . . I think the two things can be combined and that is what I would be talking to them about.

Pat Davies advocates emphasising that you are a woman ;

Well in most situations the interview is but a part of job selection and it goes in along with experience and track record etcetera . When as a woman you've got a set of decisions makers in the room, - women have got to *utterly convince* that they are confident, that they can lead , got leadership skills , that they've got all of the bases covered in terms of answers and that basically they can convince everyone in that room they *are* a Principal. You've got to do it in terms of clothes. The mistake

too many women make is going in wearing outfits that are male clones . I would never for example wear this (navy blue suit) to an interview, but I would wear this sort of outfit when I want to convince parents or whatever that I`m doing a thoroughly respectable job . To an interview I would wear bright yellow or pink, *absolutely* underlining the fact that I am female and you`ve got something different here, somebody who`s different is actually an advantage.

What all these recommendations amount to is that for women to gain senior appointments and break the glass ceiling, they have got to be at least as good as men in every aspect but they also stress that their difference is worth having, that the school needs those extra qualities that this particular woman is bringing to the job. It may seem ironic that in the drive for inclusion professionally on equal terms , emphasising sexual difference, is one of the tactics that some women employ.

However this is an emphasis on the positive aspect of their femaleness and their individuality, their haecceity. It is an assertive expression of their difference and an announcement that they are contesting the position on what they have to offer *as an individual*. And I believe it is saying, "don`t judge me on the stereotyped, gendered, criteria that subordinated women, but assess my suitability for the position of Principal as an individual *and* as a woman who has these unique qualities". That women are prepared to argue both sameness and difference as criteria for inclusion is indicative of their more positive and confident stance and is just one of the changes that have occurred in these women`s lifetimes.

Summary

There have been several instances of transitions that the repondents have made during the course of their careers that I have highlighted in this chapter. In each case they have made decisions or changed their attitude in a way that has significantly altered their

careers. There have been decisions about primary relationships, the course and direction their careers will take, the types of schools they will teach in and the adoption of an uncompromising attitude to their beliefs and ideals particularly in respect of their educational philosophies and gender equality. Each of these transitions has a strong gender component that is contributing to the changing structure of gender relations.

The participating Principals careers have developed during a time of change in employment legislation and in social structures and practices affecting gender relations and gender roles. Sedgwick (1988) proposes that life histories have three crucial elements, a personal biography that develops in specific social structures and social environments set in a particular period of history. This thesis is about the transitions that have taken place in the careers of professional women in the social environment of changing gender roles and relations in the secondary school setting in a period of New Zealand's history in which there were significant social movements towards greater equality for all. The exclusionary practices by which women were closed out of professions that were prevalent earlier this century are not now possible. The altered social climate and associated legislation has enabled some women teachers to usurp patriarchal privilege. In the next chapter I will assess the respondents perceptions of the reality of changing gender equality for women in the secondary teaching service.

CHAPTER FIVE.

CHANGING THE MASTER;

THE GENERATION OF CHANGE

It's not a better world for women if it's only better for women
like me (Imrie).

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INTRODUCTION.

In less than one working life time, as a result of the social movements of the sixties, typified by second wave feminism, and the subsequent E.E.O. legislation, there have been changes to the status of women working in the secondary education system in New Zealand (Neville, 1988; Grainger, 1992; Slyfield, 1993). The Principals involved in this study have seen those changes occur. Indeed what they have achieved during their teaching careers has marked those changes ; they have, in the assessment of their colleagues, been among the agents of change. As Rosa Luxembourg said, "It is in the tiny struggles of individual people that the great movements of history are revealed."¹ In the greater movement towards equity for women, the efforts of these individuals may indeed be tiny. Yet, though their assessment may show that equity is still a long way off, I believe that their careers have contributed to a positive shift in the attitude of New Zealand society to women holding important senior management positions.

In the last two chapters I have recorded the difficulties that the respondents have encountered in their careers and the factors that have contributed to them overcoming those difficulties to become Principals of co-educational secondary schools. In this final data analysis chapter I will review and comment on what the research participants think

¹. Quoted by Alison May, 1990;3

have been the major changes affecting women's work status that have occurred during their lifetimes.

The chapter will fall into two main parts. The first part reviews the respondents' perceptions of what has changed for individuals as well as the ways in which societal attitudes and behaviours have altered. In the previous chapter I described the transitions that had occurred in the lives of the Principals that I talked with. In the first part of this chapter I shall record their perceptions of the transitions that have taken place for individuals and in the wider society.

The second part will discuss the concerns that some of the respondents have. They raise important questions about the quality of the inroads that women have made into senior management positions, where has inclusion been gained and for whom, whether real progress has been achieved towards equity for women in the workplace or whether patriarchal structures are just as adaptive as they have been in the past to social change. These concerns have also been expressed by Moore (1986) in *Not As Far As You Think* and Kedgely, and Varnham (1993) in *Going Nowhere In A Navy Blue Suit*.

INCLUSION; INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETAL CHANGE.

Quantitative Change.

The representation of women in a number of male dominated² professional occupations has increased considerably over the past 20 years (Dept. of Statistics, 1993;94). In 1971 9.3% of all school Principals in New Zealand (primary to tertiary) were women. By 1991 this proportion had increased to 31.7%, a figure that is approaching the level of women's representation in the labour force.

² Professions in which males represented 85% or more of employed persons in 1971. (Dept. of Statistics, 1993;94)

A comprehensive statistical review of the changing participation rates of women in senior staff positions in secondary schools in New Zealand is presented by Slyfield (1993). Comparisons are made between 1987 and 1992. The proportion of secondary teaching staff who are women has remained at 51% for the surveyed period but the percentage of Principals who are women has risen from 16% to 19%. While the total number of women Principals is increasing (from 53 in 1991 to 59 in 1992), the proportion of Principals who are women is still lower than would be expected on the basis of the proportion of women in secondary teaching. Three times as many men as women hold Principal's positions and nearly twice as many hold Deputy and Assistant Principal positions. The under-representation of women in senior positions is clearly demonstrated in their distribution between types of schools. In 1992, women were Principals of only 15 out of the 220 state and integrated coeducational secondary schools (7%), and none of the 44 boys' schools. Men held 6 of the 49 Principals' positions at girls' schools (12%).

A measure of the progress that women are making can be gauged from the increase in the number of women Principals of coeducational schools. Neville (1988) records that there were only 5 in the whole country in 1986. Slyfield (1993) records 15 in 1992. In 1993 I talked with 11 of the 17 women Principals of coeducational schools in the North Island alone; a substantial rise in six years. Furthermore, women made 43% of the applications for senior secondary positions and were 56% of the appointees. Their success rate therefore is higher than men for positions at each level (30% compared with 18% in 1992). However the proportion of applications made by women is still lower than their proportion in the secondary service (51%), and the proportion of applicants and appointments who were women decreased as the level of the position increased.

These figures, I believe, indicate the transitional nature of women's status in the secondary system. There are more women holding senior positions in types of schools in which they have been (and still are) seriously under represented.

Change in Individuals.

The Principals involved in this study felt that the presence of more women in key positions helped women in a variety of ways; in not having to focus solely on women's issues, in setting precedents to which others can aspire and in generally raising awareness of what can be achieved by and for women. Sue Imrie and Helen Eade felt that because there were more Principals of secondary schools they were less on their own in promoting and raising consciousness about gender inequality. They said that being aware of more role models encouraged more women to apply for senior positions and to feel more confident about their ability to do those jobs. A greater confidence is indicated by Slyfield's, (1992:3) findings that there are proportionately more women than men holding Positions of Responsibility and that when women apply for senior positions they have a better success rate than men. Fay Gorton suggests that women's networks being much stronger now have contributed to the increase in the number of women Principals. Also, she adds, that since second wave feminism is only just over two decades old, women have only recently started to become conscious that they can succeed.

More role models, and the higher profile and media exposure of equity issues, has meant that young women have more self confidence and see themselves as career people. Emma Harkin thinks that some attitudinal change came about quite rapidly;

Yes, definitely. I really notice that, really in ten years, I'm 50 now, but I notice that the men and women coming in, in my generation it was very much, very traditional. Then the 60's came and changed it all. People 10 years younger had significantly different attitudes and people 20 years younger changed again. All of those movements that went on in the sixties made a huge difference. . . . And then when people said to heck with this, you know equal pay and people actually moving into positions of responsibility, there was a feeling of legitimacy

about it all. It's something that women picked up quickly because teaching is a traditional field for women.

Several of the Principals are now in marriages where their careers have equal priority with their partners. They feel there is more negotiation now about careers and marriage. Getting married and having a family is now more often fitted round a career rather than the reverse. Sue Lane says she senses a more shared approach by young professional people. Young men she says, understand that if they want to get somewhere and do something it takes two people doing two highly paid jobs and they've got to give and take in a partnership.

Sue Imrie thinks that there is a younger generation of men and women who see the need for balance in the broader sense, not just with their own families and children, but in their own personal lives.

The long term effect on women's lives was considered by Emma Harkin;

What I would say is that women no longer have a role in life determined by their gender. That has been the huge change that has occurred in my generation Fundamentally through reliable birth control, women now can make choices about what's going to happen in their lives. Now these choices are very difficult. Back in the days when women had a purely domestic role it was limited and if they were lucky enough to marry a good provider and that sort of thing, their responsibilities were restricted and their old age was secure but they were entirely dependent upon the person they were married to. Now the whole thing is a lot more open and women have to operate as free, autonomous, negotiating individuals. So you've got all these difficult things of what work you will do, how you will work out your relationship with your family and how you will provide for yourself in old

age . Thats all individual now, no longer role dominated. But it is still infiniteley better because the freedom to choose is there. That is the major change that has happened in my lifetime.

Not all the Principals agreed that there is greater gender equality and negotiation about careers by young professional couples. Pat Davies maintained that nothing brings out stereotypical or conservative behaviour quite so much as entering marriage where all of the values and norms come out. Whereas negotiating relationships is done a lot before marriage, marriage has a way of reinforcing conservatism.

Beth Kerr was not at all convinced that career women were any better off or that there had been significant change for young women

It is not only individual women who face difficulties and have to re-assess their social position. As Pat Davies says;

"Men and women , while they may be supportive when they think about it to people in positions such as this, their attitudes to the man who might be second or third in the hierarchy may not be. You know, how do they think about them with a woman in charge. So the cost in gender terms doesn't just hit the person in charge , it hits the other people too. You have to pay attention to that as well. While it might not be easy for a woman Principal, if there's a man DP, what he's going through isn't easy either . It's a really important point, because that in the end makes or breaks, whether or not people are going to readily accept women in these positions.

These comments suggest that while there is some significant change in the consciousness of some individual men and women, it is at the conscious , deliberate level. It would appear in the experience of the respondents that prior socialisation and internalisation of traditional norms and values has an appreciable effect on people's

behaviour in gendered situations. Alice Lane maintains that "there are residues of older ways of thinking reflected in people`s attitudes about gender roles." And Pat Davies says, it is the "intangibles, the things people don`t examine about themselves" that result in behaviour that continues to create difficulties for women gaining and holding senior positions.

Despite these reservations the Principals in this study feel that they, and their colleagues, are role models in their wider communities, they are examples of what other women can aspire to.

Agents of change

Each of the respondents recognised in other female Principals the role that they played as an agent of change, in their respective schools and school communities . Their presence alone was a tangible expression of what women were achieving. They were role models for other women holding senior positions in the school system and to young career minded teachers, showing them that the traditional gender stereotypes could be discounted, that male predominance could be usurped. But they noted particularly the effect on young people and on women in the community. It is vital, Emma Harkin believes ;

. . . for kids to come into a secondary school and see women as strong and active leaders . It is work of immeasurable social importance in my view.

Helen Eade was surprised at how much it meant to some of the women in her community when she was appointed Principal;

I felt I had earned the position that I had and that I had done that on my own merit, but in talking with our local community it was the gender thing that was really, really important to them . . people would come up and congratulate me and say "it`s great

for women". It was a really big thing for them and I hadn't fully appreciated how much it meant to our local community.

Societal Change.

As noted in Chapter 1, and in the statistics quoted above, there are more women in the work force and they are gaining senior appointments. Their increased presence, greater visibility and heightened profile has led to some changes in societal perceptions of women's role at work (James and Saville-Smith, 1992;90-91) An increasing literature by women about women's work status also adds to the influence on societal attitudes (cf. Ellis and Wheeler, 1991, Olsson, 1992, Kedgley and Varnham, 1993)

The respondents are examples of individual women in New Zealand believing in the fundamental principles of gender equality in the work place who have influenced the thinking of those around them. They believe that a consequence of this is that there has been a change in societal attitudes, at least, to professional women. Stereotypical gender roles and traditional gender relationships at work are being questioned and challenged. Empowered by E.E.O. legislation women have gained positions and jobs previously held, in the main, by men. In the face of this new reality societal acceptance of what are appropriate, professional, work roles for women is altering. This is an example of the cyclic process of social change; the logical extension of Thomas' dictum is that the consequences become the reality. Women's belief in their ability to take advantage of equal employment opportunities leads to their achieving higher professional appointments. The reality of more women as Principals is deemed by some of the respondents to have played a part in changing societal attitudes and expectations of appropriate work roles and positions for women. Emma Harkin felt that;

Yes, society's attitudes are changing about gender roles and relationships, no question about it. Women Principals are no longer a curiosity, they are seen to be competent.

Sue Imrie added;

...I think too that women are applying for a much wider range of Principal's jobs than they did perhaps when I applied for this one. They see it as no longer quite so unusual to be Principal of a co-ed school and I'm sure the community's conception has changed. It would appear to have changed anyway because there are more of us.

Furthermore there is a feeling that some of the underlying patriarchal and sexist practices and structures have at least been confronted if not partially eroded. As Pat Davies explains;

... there are a few more role models now, there are a few more boys and girls in this school that can see, that in order for a school to improve and to be effective, you don't necessarily need to have a man as Principal. I think that there is an environment that's more aware of explicit sexism. That's not to say that we've addressed implicit sexism yet, but explicit sexism not being tolerated is a major step in attitudinal change. That is a factor that allows the women to succeed and to have expectations of success.

Management style.

An indication of societal change in the work place is reflected in the discussion in the literature of changing management styles. I noted earlier the acknowledgement by Kanter, Colwill, Morrison et al, Moore, and Shakeshaft of the need for a different management style more suited to the changing contemporary organisational climate. It was noted that effective managers need many of the skills that women are believed typically to possess (Kanter, 1986).

I initiated a discussion with the respondents about management style. I asked, 'Is there a feminine management style or is it the management style that is being increasingly adopted in the 90's?' What I wanted to know was, "is this one of the ways that women contest the traditional, male, autocratic and hierarchical organisational structure; is this a usurpationary, inclusion tactic, not necessarily employed deliberately, to emphasise the different but valuable qualities that women bring to management or is it a newer management style which suits women's inter-personal style and therefore works to their advantage?"

There was general agreement that organisations were adopting a different management style that is seen as very suitable for the goals and aims of secondary schools. Cath Jones felt that women couldn't claim it as their own because organisations generally were moving towards more consensus management³. Never the less it was recognised that women did bring a feminine perspective to their work, a predisposition to work collaboratively with a more people-centered approach. Emma Harkin suggested that this way of interacting may have developed out of women's early socialisation;

... I realised that the way in which women have to lead their lives, sort of inclusively juggling things is actually the nature of managerial work. That's the first thing. The second thing is that women's socialisation fundamentally leads them to cooperative team work. This isn't true of all women of course. Some women have sort of bought into the competitive hierarchical way of doing things. But most women like me were socialised to be powerless and therefore you learn that the only way you manage things was by helping each other in teams.

But this style of management is also a very practical and productive way to run a large complex organisation like a secondary school. Beth Kerr thinks that;

³. Consensus management draws on consultation, co-operation, negotiation and communication. It is possible in 'flatter', less hierarchical and autocratic organisational structures. (Neville, 1988, Still, 1988, Pavalko, 1988, Gatenby and Humphries, 1992)

. . . the 90`s have recognised some of the wisdom of it in some management structures. You`re talking about things like networking , people centered and collaboration and so on?I know a lot of women who don`t use it and some men who do. I think it is a very sound style and I think it`s being honest because it`s profitable, actually profitable and pays dividends . . .

And Cath Jones believes that it makes people feel that they have contributed to the decision making processes;

. . . I think that women do feel more comfortable with it and my experience is that most men feel more comfortable about it too because they feel included especially if they are not part of the immediate hierarchy, - its an empowering thing.

Male Attitudes.

One manifestation of the way attitudes and associated behaviours are changing was introduced by the respondents. In their experience there were many men who are changing their approach to gender relations and who work very hard for gender equality. These men typically eschew an autocratic or patriarchal attitude. Alice Lane comments ;

I think there is a major shift happening in group men thinking rather than in individual men thinking . . . I think there are a significant number of men who have tried very hard and do try very hard to be fair and equal and balanced. And I know many men who do their utmost to be balanced and reasonable about women and give women a fair go. And I think that`s great. But there`s still, - they have to make themselves do it because I don`t

think they've been trained up quite as they might have been still. They say this is the right thing to do, this is the logical thing, it's only fair they think and they make themselves do it . But it's a conscious thing. We will only have progress when it becomes a natural thing. .

The continued predominance of male values is demonstrated by Alice Lane's concern that men must internalise gender equality values . Men must not only think positive change for women, they must also want change and work actively to promote equalitarian conditions. Sue Imrie is quite clear about this;

The solution is not just in my hands, there will be no effective change until men as well want there to be change.

Alice Lane explains in some detail what she thinks must happen;

There has to be some professional growth in men if they are going to follow the kind of culture which a woman is creating in a school, - which may well be to do with a caring, sensitive environment. There are many men who are sensitive, caring, liberated in their thinking, balanced people. And there are probably women who are not, but we need to be working with men's attitudes, moving them towards women's attitudes if we are going to have a proper gender balance I think.

One interesting observation made by Sue Imrie was that a few women in top positions was perceived by the school community to be a feminine takeover;

I read an article that said, once you got over about a quarter of women in positions of authority, people assumed that there were more than half and they had total control anyway, which I enjoy. I really love the idea that it only takes twenty-five percent of us

and then we've taken over the world. Certainly in this school since I became Principal, both within the school and outside, there is the perception that this place is run by women. Now that actually isn't so, it's run by a group of people some of whom are women.

Summary.

I shall make a summary of the responses recorded so far in this chapter because they have been diverse, the messages somewhat mixed. On the one hand the Principals have made positive responses, they have an enthusiasm for the progress that women have made. Women's work status has changed. The boundaries of the sexual division of labour have not proved to be impregnable and some male exclusionary strategies have not been as effective as they have in the past. Greater self confidence by women, male support and encouragement for gender equality and the effect of gender equal legislation have all facilitated women securing more senior positions at the top of secondary school staffing hierarchies. Individual men and women have changed their expectations of what women can do and how well they operate at the top level. School communities acknowledge and value women as Principals and the qualities that women bring to their professional tasks.

However, underneath the respondents energy, vision and enthusiasm for the positive changes they see occurring for women, there were notes of caution, a degree of qualification. It is to the more explicit references made about these reservations that I now turn. I believe that the reservations that the respondents have expressed are a measure of the transitional phase through which gender relationships are now passing, part of the changing definition of gender roles. The data is registering social change in process, the fluid nature of the structure of gender relations in the teaching profession in New Zealand in the 1990's. (Neville, 1988, Slyfield, 1993, Dept. of Statistics, 1993).

ONGOING EXCLUSION; CONCERNS AND RESERVATIONS.

Just as the individual women experienced significant turnings or transitions during their working careers they also see New Zealand society going through a period of considerable social change. The process is far from complete. There has been some readjustment of individual and group thinking, but what this will mean in real terms for women is not yet resolved. Implicit in the Principal's concerns and reservations are some very important questions. They are asking will this readjustment, this redefinition of the reality of women in senior management positions, materially alter the status of all women, or just some? Are these changes no more than a realignment of the boundaries of the sexual division of labour, allowing some professional women into some positions of influence but leaving the real power in the hands of men?

These are questions raised by the research participants. They became for me the unexpected but most provocative part of the study. The women I talked to are uncertain of the answers. They are unsure whether what they have experienced is the beginning of real progress for women or whether when this transitional stage is worked through the patriarchal power balance will be maintained. That we are in the process of change and that there is some uncertainty about how it will end is evident in the following comment by Sue Imrie;

I dont know whether the position will be better, that is what I am saying. Maybe the development hasn't moved into the next phase yet. I ought to be able to make a clearer comment either, a yes or a no in ten years, maybe it's not quite soon enough. The experience of girls in secondary education is that they are as successful in it as their male counterparts. That is so now in terms of external measures. It hasn't yet moved to the next phase of their lives in ways that have been statistically stated in terms

of the money they earn and the jobs they have. But it may be that that is happening.

And Pat Davies;

I'm not sure though that even the generation of secondary schools of the moment is the one that's going to make the great leap forward if there's going to be one. There are lots of factors working against the expectations of women, . . .

The factors working against the expectations of women and the concerns the respondents had about the progress professional women were making can be put under two broad headings; patriarchal control, and the extent that class and ethnicity compounds exclusion. Their comments on these related issues referred to the types of schools in which women have been able to secure Principalships, the potential for the 'feminization' of secondary education and the differential equality gained by professional women compared to working class and non-white women.

These areas of concern bring us back to the central focus of this study; the patriarchal control of the middle class profession of secondary school teaching that results in women being under represented in senior positions in the staffing hierarchy. What the respondents are suggesting is that even in the face of perceived societal, attitudinal change, men are able to maintain a form and degree of occupational closure in the teaching profession. The respondents have already observed that changes to gender relations are still in process and their eventual form is not yet resolved. The reservations I shall now address indicate that some of the study participants question whether it is real progress for professional women and whether there has been any change at all for most women.

Patriarchal Control.

I have already noted, the comments that women are more likely to gain Principalships in 'problem' or 'opportunity' schools or in those school communities which have a more liberal educational philosophy. It is suggested that women can only gain Principalships in some types of schools. They are still excluded from 'malestream', establishment schools. Emma Harkin believes that;

Basically women still don't hold power in society, they have a fairer representation but when you look at where the power lies, there are still very few women there.

This view is shared by Sue Imrie;

... we still live in a very patriarchal society... the people who make the most significant and powerful decisions in our society are men whose consciousness in themselves may not have changed much.

The socio-economic influence is noted by Emma Harkin;

... Auckland like all large cities is very much stratified into social class areas and there are not too many women in the upper class areas. And basically whenever a minority group is gaining acceptance they don't give them the easiest jobs.

There are two important points being made here. Firstly the reference to social class areas shows the perceived association between patriarchal, social control and middle and upper class (and Pakeha) males. Discrimination against women, the respondents are saying, is compounded with the addition of socio-economic status and location and ethnic background. Gender inequality does not occur in isolation. Secondly the question has to be asked "is gaining Principalships in 'difficult' schools the thin edge of

the wedge or is it just the latest patriarchal exclusionary adaptation ?" What the respondents are drawing attention to is the complexities for women teachers developing their career in a society hierarchised on gender, class and ethnic dimensions.

The Feminization of Education⁴

A further concern expressed by some of the women Principals is that although women are gaining access to senior positions in some schools, the long term effect may be the feminization and subsequent devaluation of the secondary teaching profession. Sue Imrie raises this issue;

... there must have been some progress. It's been slow but that actually raises another point. There appears from what I've read that there seems to be a feminization of education in this country. I don't know if that, in the end, would be good for education. I think that it always ought to be a profession in which men and women are equally involved. I think it is of the utmost significance to the life of our society. But if the perception of the community is that it is a job for women I don't think education will benefit. If more and more women become Principals it would not be good if men chose not to play that game.

The future status of the teaching profession is also of concern to Cath Jones;

... there are 17 of us now. When I was appointed there were 8 or 9, so its doubled in 5 years, in co-ed schools and there are more women moving in. Of course the difficulty is that the men are moving out, and we are getting closer to primary, (interviewer;*the feminization of secondary teaching?*) Yes. And then it becomes second class employment and the wages won't

⁴The concept of the feminization of an occupation is discussed in Ch.I.

drop, they just won't go ahead. . . I suspect that what is happening is that the rules will change and the expectations will change so that women will appear to be going ahead but what will happen is it will blow out somewhere else.

If this prediction proves to be correct it will be an example of the way that horizontal gender segregation and occupational devaluation can occur in a profession. But not all the respondents felt that more women in senior positions would result in secondary teaching becoming second class employment. Beth Kerr said;

Lowered status? Well first of all I don't see huge increases in the numbers of women in education. I would have thought it would be like the management structures which are cashing in on feminine techniques far from lowering status, the presence of women in these jobs and the effectiveness of these women would increase the status.

Socio-Economic and Ethnic Factors.

A final concern by some of the Principals was a strong belief that while some professional women had achieved a measure of equality of status and rewards at work, not a great deal had been gained by the vast majority of women. There were socio-economic and ethnic discriminations operating that also made the women suspicious of the apparent gains that professional, middle class, Pakeha women had made. Pat Davies;

There are lots of factors working against the expectations of women, not the least of which being at the moment the very depressing and negative messages that we keep getting from the economic system and for some reason they tend to be reinforced much more strictly with girls, that their likelihood of getting long term satisfying career structures are less than their male counterparts.

Cath Jones did not think that having more women high fliers made a great deal of difference, they did not represent what was happening to the mass of women.

Sue Imrie spells out her concerns for women disadvantaged by their class and ethnic location;

"At the moment, whether we've thought about it or not, we are accepting a strata in our society who have started with very little, who get very little out of the system or the structure, who end up with very little and it would seem that we are prepared as a society to accept for the sake of economic change that that's OK. Now I don't. Women particularly suffer within that, but it's ethnic as well as socioeconomic. . . . The women down in the trenches may be the main breadwinners. That's not progress because they're earning less than their men would be if they weren't unemployed.

There are clearly considerable reservations about the future prospects for women. Fay Gorton argues that the gendered culture we live in enables other forms of inequality to persist. We need to understand, she maintains;

. . . why there are massive inequalities for men, for example, and why you can have layers of inequality that operate in different domains. The classic example that's always used in New Zealand is the Maori girl, but you and I know very well, I hear it in the school all the time that one of the most vulnerable species in New Zealand at the moment is the young Maori boy. And nobody is talking loudly enough yet about the effect of class, . . . we have not in New Zealand looked enough at class and for women in the secondary system, class is as important as our sex.

CONCLUSION.

At the beginning of these three chapters of data summary and analysis there was acknowledgement that women found it difficult to achieve senior positions in the secondary system. During the course of their teaching careers, the research participants have seen women gaining Principalships in co-educational schools in numbers far greater than they would have thought possible a generation earlier. In their lifetime the status of women appeared to improve, gains had been made. At the end of the discussions however this sense of achievement and optimism at the changes that had occurred was tempered by a considerable note of caution. Were these in fact only limited gains for a privileged, educated elite (Olsson,1992:15), token concessions that create the impression of progress towards equality ?

The responses therefore had come full circle. A range of exclusionary practices against women teachers had in the past horizontally and vertically segregated them in the teaching profession. Although the respondents in various ways had personally been able to overcome obstacles to promotion and gain inclusion, they nevertheless identify some of the structural, patriarchal adaptations that may continue the sexual division of labour in the teaching profession. I cannot summarise these reservations better than by repeating the comment by Sue Imrie with which I opened this chapter;

Well it's certainly changed or changing in schools and it's changing for young men too and it's had to change for them if it's ever to change for young women. But I haven't yet really seen anything to show that it's different for the vast majority of women in the next part of their lives. It is socio-economic to some extent. It's not a better world for women if it's only a better world for women like me.

CHAPTER SIX.

CONCLUSION.

It is not manning the barricades that I now have as a priority, but womaning the networks. That's the source of wealth and power in the twenty-first century. And it can be used for fair or unjust purposes. For hundreds of years feminists have focused on the political moves that men have made, and have altered their agendas to meet the challenge of such change. The last twenty are no exception. But now we confront a shift in the goalposts again. Perhaps this time we should enter the field- and remove the goalposts from the game. (Dale Spender, 1993)

INTRODUCTION.

The research question with which I started the interviews asked "why are women under represented as Principals of secondary schools?" The title of the thesis, framed as a question, anticipates that the status of women teachers aspiring to senior positions is changing. The title asks, are women mastering the social, political and economic changes in our society and thereby gaining access to the position of Principal more readily ? Or are women 'changing the masters', that is , are they usurping a male domain, are they bringing a new dimension to gender relations in the hierarchy of the secondary school system ?

From the field work data that was generated in response to this line of inquiry I draw three conclusions; that women are still under represented as Principals because closure processes still exclude them; that despite this degree of occupational closure women are

gaining access to a wider range of Principals positions ; and that changes in social and personal attitudes and belief systems bring new dimensions to the way women contest gender relations. I shall elaborate on each of these conclusions under the headings that have provided the framework throughout this thesis, namely exclusion, inclusion and change. However these are not discrete distinctions as there are inter-relationships between them, one being contingent on and affecting the others. Furthermore the data on which these conclusions are based is hedged about with ambiguities and some contradictions. There is therefore an over-arching conclusion that recognises the transitional and ambivalent state of contemporary gender relations and the sexual division of labour as perceived by the women Principals involved in this study.

EXCLUSION.

The research respondents were very aware that male exclusionary practices still maintained a dis-proportionate number of men in senior positions in secondary teaching. Despite the increases in the number and proportion of women Principals, and their own career achievements, the respondents knew that male discriminatory structures and practices continue to vertically and horizontally segregate women in secondary teaching. Although they had achieved senior positions, sometimes quite rapidly they were aware of the factors that made career progress difficult for women. The women in the study had both experienced and observed the exclusionary effects of socialisation into gender roles, differential gendered treatment and a pervasive, adaptable patriarchy that maintained male advantage in the workplace. Equity legislation and more equalitarian social attitudes did not eliminate patriarchal discrimination. The Principals noted that E.E.O. requirements could be subverted, that informal "old boy" networks were just as effective in debarring women from promotion to some positions as the more formal strategies recorded by Witz at the turn of the century. During the course of their professional work careers, the research participants have seen old barriers removed, old attitudes modified. But some traditional patriarchal discriminatory practices have been augmented by new forms (Alban- Metcalfe and

West, 1991;155) . Women are under-represented as Principals because an adaptive patriarchal system of occupational closure that maintains a profession dominated by men effectively excludes women from a wider range of senior appointments.

INCLUSION.

The second conclusion that I draw from the data refers to the significant new inclusionary practices being employed by some women. Before I discuss this I want to describe the research participants and to background the era through which they have developed their careers. I believe inclusion of this socio-psychological focus is necessary for a full understanding of the individual and social changes recorded in the data. The generalised profile of the research participants exemplifies the characteristics of many women gaining inclusion to senior appointments and is consistent with the descriptions given by (Mitchell,1984, Still,1988,1990, Neville,1988, Ellis and Wheeler, 1990, Court,1993).

The women who participated in this study were twelve very impressive individuals. Coming from working class and middle class, rural and urban backgrounds they have experienced quite varied careers. But all of them possess some important characteristics and qualities in common. They have developed their careers during a period of considerable socio-political transition, a period of social movements for equal rights generally, but particularly for equality of opportunity and outcome for women in the workforce. Within this climate of change there have been societal and individual transitions . It has been a period of major changes in legislation and attitudes to gender relationships particularly in the work place and consequently to practices of exclusion and inclusion. To all of these changes the women have made personal adaptations as they developed their careers.They have altered their concept of themselves,their aspirations and behaviours. Like many other women they have, consciously or not, moved out of a traditional, apologetic, subservient female role that tended to keep them in a subordinate position. They have identified their unique qualities,valued their difference and become more professionally and socially assertive. These women have

recognised their haecceity and the contribution they feel it can make to the society in which they live and work.

My pen portrait of the research participants would describe them as women who have taken charge of their lives. They were all intelligent and articulate, very committed to the best outcomes for their schools and for education generally as well to their firmly held political beliefs. They all pursue their jobs- and their lives- with considerable energy. This description could fit any dedicated, senior manager, male or female. What also distinguishes these women is that they strive to maintain a balance between their public and private involvements and most importantly they bring to that holistic life view a firm belief in a different way of relating to others and of getting things done which they perceive as being distinctively female.¹

These are all the qualities referred to in Chapter 1 where I reviewed the literature concerning women's developing positive self concept and assertiveness, their rejection of a stereotypical female role, their clear sense of vision and challenge in their job and their tendency towards a balanced and holistic lifeview. These were seen as characteristics of women usurping the domination of their lives by the patriarchal value system of their social and work environment.

It was this bundle of qualities that I perceived in the respondents and that they also saw in each other, that constitutes their haecceity. It is an expression of a more positive and assertive perception that women have of themselves² and is integral to their drive for a bigger share of the senior management market. Women are prepared to compete on the same terms as men, but they are also confident in what they bring to the work situation that is different and better, and that can alter the structure of an organisation for the benefit of all. It is a departure from competing with men on patriarchal terms. Emphasising that they possess qualities the same as men, *as well as* emphasising their

¹There are of course many assertive and successful women who do not promote their belief in the positive aspects of their femaleness, their haecceity.

²A good example of this positive orientation is the attitude of two of the respondents to men who have difficulty working for a female boss. Whereas in the past this caused them concern, feeling that it was some inadequacy on their part as a woman, they now believe that it is the men who have the problem.

difference, their haecceity, women are saying, 'we as women are better, *on our criteria* because we can do the job and we bring an added dimension to management'.

This more positive and proactive stance, by the respondents, I feel suggests that they would agree with Moore (1986,1) that the challenge for women in the 90's "is not getting in, it's getting on." They would also agree with Cockburn (1991;234) that for women to make real progress towards equality it must be "a question not only of 'women into power' but of 'what kind of power' ; not only of 'women up the ladder' but 'how might women restructure the ladder?'.

I believe therefore, that this perception that women have of themselves, this firm belief in women's ability and the qualities that they bring to the work environment is the most important feature of the argument based on difference and has been a key factor in many women achieving senior appointments. It is I feel, a very strong inclusionary tactic and a contemporary development in the armoury of women combating occupational closure.

CHANGE.

What then are the changes that have occurred over the years of the respondents paid work careers? It would appear from the foregoing that although there have been adaptations to both the tactics and practices of exclusion and inclusion, women are still striving to gain equality, and a patriarchal dominance still remains. *Plus ça change, plus ça même chose.*

There have been considerable changes in the past twenty years (Spender, 1993;6). It is in these changes that the inter-relationship between inclusionary reaction to exclusionary processes and the resultant changes are most evident. The exclusionary and inclusionary adaptations came about in response to, but also added to, societal and individual change. The social movements of the 1960's, feminism in particular, resulted in EEO legislation and more equitable outcomes in the workplace for women. The concurrent increase in women's participation in the workforce and the greater publicity

given to gender and equity issues were all factors that contributed to changing social attitudes to the role of women. The inter-relationship of factors is also reflected in the sense of haecceity and its social consequences discussed above.

In Chapter 5 I recorded the changes the respondents believed had taken place in New Zealand over their life times. Let me summarise their thoughts here. The respondents talked about the progress they believed women were making and the impact they were having in secondary schools and in society generally. They spoke of there being more women Principals, they felt that women were less on their own in promoting and raising consciousness about gender inequality and that there were more role models and stronger women's networks. In women's personal lives the research respondents felt that there was greater negotiation in permanent relationships, especially about the relative importance of each person's career. Women's role was much less determined by gender. They had noticed changes in individual men's thinking, encapsulated in the term Snag³.

The women also talked about the management style of the 90's that incorporates women's more cooperative interactive approach, their less autocratic, less hierarchical leadership orientation. Finally they noted that women and gender issues have claimed a much higher profile in the mass media, adding to the cumulative effect of changing attitudes.

From these observations, I conclude that significant changes are occurring in school communities and these changes reflect the attitudinal change in the wider society. The progress that the respondents feel women have made and the extent of attitudinal change demonstrates a real shift in expectations of equality for women. It is "a real erosion" (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1990:9-10) of the assumption that women will continue in their traditional, subordinate, gender role.

³. Snag, sensitive new age guy.

TRANSITIONAL AMBIVALENCE.

This optimistic scenario notwithstanding, the data also contains the reservations and concerns held by the research participants. While they acknowledge the progress that some professional women have made, they also recognise that gender relations are still in a state of flux or transition. They are ambivalent about the quality of some the changes for women and they are not sure of some of the eventual outcomes. Again let me summarise the issues raised in Chapter 5. The respondents were concerned at the cost of progress, the negative reaction and sense of alienation from some female teachers and staff. They also comment on the possible polarisation between successful, middle class, Pakeha women and other ethnic and class groups. There is some ambivalence about who has gained from the campaigns for gender equity. Progress has been made, but for whom? There are more women working and there is some improvement in the numbers of women reaching senior positions. But the Principals with whom I talked had considerable reservations about whether there had been any real improvement in the status and work conditions for a large proportion of the female workforce.

Neither are the participants sure whether the apparent gains in Principalships and other senior appointments are into positions of real power. Though there are more women Principals they recognise that those appointments are very often to what they termed 'opportunity' or 'problem' schools. Male enclaves in mainstream, establishment areas, they believe, maintain the overall balance of power in the secondary teaching system in favour of men.

Furthermore the women Principals suggested that an increase in the number of women gaining senior appointments in secondary schools could lead to the societal perception that it had become "women`s work", resulting in the feminisation and devaluation of the secondary service. Alternatively I wonder if the appointment of women as Principals to some types of schools could be a new form of external, horizontal segregation in that

access for women to Principals positions is confined to these 'problem' or 'opportunity' schools and closed off to mainstream, establishment, male controlled schools.

The concerns expressed by the research participants echo the conclusion drawn by Savage and Witz (1992;58) that there is little evidence that women have gained access to positions of real power. Their concerns also agree with the summary statement made by McGregor et al (1993;6) that while there are some improvements for professional women these are "ad hoc, marginal and do not constitute the wave of change needed". Women's changed situation at work hardly constitutes a revolution and certainly does not suggest that gender equality at work has been achieved.

The strongest indication I have that equality for women still has a long way to go is contained in the perception of women leaders as role models of what can be achieved by women. The research participants and writers reviewed earlier, (Alban-Metcalf and West, 1991;169, Cockburn 1991;71, Neville, 1988;150) talk of women seeing themselves as agents of change, of there being a strong voice among women, speaking of a different way of doing things, of being at the cutting edge and having a vision of helping society move towards more equitable outcomes especially for women. These are inclusionary and usurpationary statements. Such perceptions suggest an acute awareness that women are still under-represented at the top of organisational hierarchies and more importantly in positions of real power.

It is clear from these reservations and the degree of ambiguity that the respondents have about the progress that women have made that, although women have become a much greater proportion of the labour force and, more importantly, have gained access to *some* senior management positions, they are still, occupationally, both horizontally and vertically restricted within professions and across occupations. The processes of occupational closure are still effectively excluding most women from employment equality and continue to limit access to important decision making positions and power. Adaptive patriarchy is able to maintain the balance of power in favour of men. There are layers of exploitation and subtleties of discrimination in the work place and

across ethnic and class boundaries that make progress hard won, the quality of improvement uncertain. My overall conclusion therefore must be that gender relations for women are in a transitional stage and even for those women who have achieved a degree of success there is considerable ambiguity as to whether this constitutes real progress for professional, career women, let alone for all women.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS.

This research has drawn on the perceptions of the research respondents, developed during a period of considerable socio-historical and personal change. These important transitions are far from complete. The research reflects this in the degree of ambiguity in my conclusions. That this study suggests rather more questions than it provides clear, unequivocal answers, indicates the transitional nature of gender relations.

Neither the respondents data nor the literature tells whether women have cracked the glass ceiling of occupational closure in the secondary teaching profession (or in any other) or whether the more insidious and informal practices of exclusion will create new barriers, new forms of horizontal and vertical segregation.

I have found this to be a fascinating study which I believe suggests several fruitful areas for further research. Some of the questions that arise are; will the recognition of the haecceity that women can bring to any job be incorporated into the organisation's management style? ~~is~~ female haecceity only a function of their historical subordination? Will it progressively disappear if and when they gain more equal representation in the power structure of the organisations in which they work?

The two areas that I would mark out as the most interesting would be a detailed study of women's haecceity and the types of schools, organisations or departments in which women choose to work. I would want to explore how women's perception of, and confidence in, their haecceity contributes to sexual equality at work, how it is accepted within the wider community and what form of 'backlash' (Faludi, 1991), if any that it attracts. It would also be informative to know what sorts of positions women hold in

what sorts of organisations. Are women gaining access to 'soft option' or problem area management positions as a function of adaptive patriarchal exclusion practices. Or is it a deliberate choice by women of a work environment in which they can better achieve their ideals and create a better platform from which to promote more universal occupational inclusion for women. For all our children and grandchildren I can only hope for, and work towards, such a goal.

APPENDIX A

**MASSEY
UNIVERSITY**Private Bag
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Telephone 0-6-350 191
Facsimile 0-6-350 561**FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES**DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY

Our Reference: RB:HMH

11 May 1993

1~

Dear 2~

I am currently gathering information for a thesis on women and work. Can you help me with this research which is focused on the work careers of senior women in secondary education. If you are prepared to be involved I would ask you to talk with me for less than an hour about your work experiences particularly as they relate to you achieving your present position. I hope to involve all sixteen women principals of co-educational secondary schools in the North Island - some of whom have already agreed to participate.

My academic interest in women and work has developed over a forty year working life - including ten years as HOD PR2 at Queen Elizabeth College and two years at Div. C College of Education, Palmerston North.

The research project is under the direct supervision of Dr Mary Murray. We are all bound by the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research.

The content of your interview will be strictly confidential and together we can work out how best to keep you and your school anonymous.

I hope you will agree to join me in this project which has, I believe, relevance in this, the Centennial Year of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand. I will contact you soon to try and arrange a convenient interview time.

Yours sincerely

Rob Bedford

**GENDER INEQUALITY AT WORK
FOR WOMEN MANAGERS**

CONSENT FORM

I,, consent to participate in the research project "Gender Inequality at Work for Women Managers".

I understand and accept the reassurances given in the letter inviting my involvement regarding:

- ♦ the protection of my confidentiality
- ♦ my ability to withdraw from participating in the research
- ♦ access to a typed copy of my interview and its analysis

I give my permission for Rob Bedford to use the information gained during the research for his MA thesis, and any other published and unpublished papers.

Signed: (Participant)

..... (Date)

Signed: (Researcher)

..... (Date)

APPENDIX C.

INTERVIEW QUESTION SCHEDULE AND INTERVIEW GUIDE

This Appendix is in two parts. Part 1 is the Interview Question Schedule, a complete set of explicit questions, all of which were asked, that formed the basis of the interviews and to which I sought an answer from each respondent. Part 2 on the other hand is the Interview Guide. This is the piece of paper that I actually had in front of me at the interviews. It is my "working document. In each interview question I was asked exactly as expressed in this appendix. This question was responded to very fully and in most cases introduced or mentioned most of the points to which I sought responses. Therefore the follow up questions were not asked in the form they are stated in the schedule. They were asked to clarify or build on what had already been referred to by the respondents and the way I phrased the question (as explained in Chapter 2) varied depending on how that prior comment had been made. However, whatever the phrasing of the questions, they were designed to elicit responses to the basic questions listed in part 1 of this appendix, the Interview Question Schedule.

PART 1. INTERVIEW QUESTION SCHEDULE.

1. Fifty per cent of secondary teachers are women but only twenty per cent of Principals are women. Why ? What stops more women from becoming Principals?
2. What are your perceptions of the limitations to your/women`s careers from socialisation and internalisation of gender roles?
3. What difficulties or conflicts have you experienced/seen with a dual role of primary caregiver and career person for women ?
4. What has been the effect, negative or positive of initial or later changes in self concept and self confidence on women`s careers?

5. Do men and women have similar career promotion paths? Is there a male fast track based on perceived potential as distinct from a slower female track based on proven ability?
6. How important are such factors as being the right person in the right place at the right time with the right mentors and supporters for women's promotion prospects?
7. Is New Zealand a patriarchal society, with male enclaves? Does this limit women's careers?
8. What have been your perceptions of negative reactions to female succeeders or high fliers, by men, and/or by other women?
9. Is there a female management style, a style of the 1990's or is a new style developing which is a combination of both these two styles?
10. Do women, to succeed professionally, have to compromise their ideals, beliefs or values?
11. Have there been important decisions or turning points in your career progress?
12. What has been the effect of EEO legislation on your, and women's, career opportunities?
13. Have there been any individual or societal changes in attitudes and practices towards women gaining senior positions?
14. Is the feminisation of secondary teaching occurring or is it a possibility?
15. What advice do you give to career minded, ambitious, young women?
16. How would you summarise your perceptions of (a) what has kept women from gaining promotion (b) how women have succeeded in their careers (c) what has changed for women's employment and promotion prospects in your lifetime?

APPENDIX C.

PART 2. INTERVIEW GUIDE.

1. Opening statement/question. "Fifty per cent of secondary teachers are women but only twenty per cent of Principals are women. Why? What stops more women from becoming Principals ?".

Follow up questions;

2. Perceptions of career limitations from socialisation- internalisation of **gender roles.**
3. Difficulties experienced with dual role, conflicts between primary caregiver and career..
4. Effect of positive/negative, initial and later changes in self concept, self confidence.
5. Perception of male, fast track promotion on potential, female slower on proven ability.
6. Importance of being right person, at right time/place, right mentors/supporters.
7. Evidence of closure from male networks, enclaves, patriarchal society.
8. Perceptions of discriminations, male/female opposition to high fliers.
9. Management style, feminine or 1990`s or combination.
10. Compromise, to ideals, beliefs, values?
11. Important decisions,turnings, vital to career progress?
12. Effect of EEO?

13. Changes, individual, societal?
14. Feminisation of secondary teaching, is it happening, is it possible?
15. Advice to career mobile young women.
16. Summary of discussion, what has kept women out, how have they gained promotion, what has changed?

17 November 1993

**MASSEY
UNIVERSITY**

APPENDIX D

Private Bag
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**FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

1~

Dear

It has taken me rather longer than I anticipated to get back to you with a first draft of our interviews. I see this thesis as very much a collaborative project so it is important to me that I capture accurately what you said in the interviews and that I fill in some gaps. I would therefore appreciate your response to some specific questions.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY

I know this is a busy time of year for you and the enclosed data write-ups look huge. However, the text is a "quick read" and I have listed the items I would like you to respond to in order of priority. If you are pressed for time please do items 1 and 2 and carry on down the list as time permits. I have enclosed a blank tape if you prefer this method of responding.

1. Check that your direct quote retains your anonymity. Your pseudonym is
2. (i) What have you done to overcome obstacles and discrimination to achieve your position as Principal?
(ii) What have you seen other women do to achieve their positions as Principals?
(iii) To what extent have you or others set out to usurp male dominance in secondary schools?
3. What are the significant changes for women teachers in your lifetime. Do you have any reservations about the extent or quality of those changes?
4. Any addition or comment you would like to make after reading the text of the data write-ups, particularly of a summarising nature?

Thank you for your involvement and contribution to this project. I look forward to any further comments you wish to make.

Sincerely

Rob Bedford

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