A STRUGGLE TOWARDS A THEORY OF PROFESSIONALISM

FOR

MĀORI WOMEN EDUCATORS

by

Makao Teresa Bowkett

A thesis submitted to Massey University
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Massey University
1996

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"Identity at any meaningful level cannot be manufactured or manipulated; it is as much genetic imprint as formative experience. No matter what destructive processes we have gone through and are going through, eventually the taniwha stirs in all of us and we can only be who we are."

Merata Mita 1992:54

This thesis is a gathering of personal stories contributed by wahine Māori teachers working within the secondary school system, amidst the struggle for a Māori women's professionalism. Without their support and willingness to open up and share significant aspects of their personal and career experiences - the dreams, hopes and visions - the research on wahine Māori, would remain invisible. The fate of their uniquely and distinctly Māori experience, would otherwise be assimilated without voice into the bulk of research on women from the dominant culture. Ki nga wahine Māori, thank you for caring, for undertaking the responsibility to empower others, for being brave enough to be identified and for trusting. When you put something before the public, it is risky as it is exciting. For Māori who have had their spirituality continuously attacked, sharing the dreams and visions of one another is an experience beyond the self. This represents power.

ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this thesis focused upon the life stories and experiences of wahine Māori in order to identify, define and describe the factors that contribute to the success of wahine Māori in leadership positions at secondary school level, and the ensuing struggle in the evolvement of a Māori women's professionalism. Data was collected through a questionnaire, interviews and literature reviews. This study draws on the contributions of a sample of ten wahine Māori currently working in education, discussing aspects of their early schooling, whānau, teaching careers, coping with pressures in teaching, future aspirations in education and commenting on the status, and issues related to the struggles confronting wahine Māori in secondary schools. Whilst the sample for this study is relatively small, it is nevertheless representative of a diverse range of ages, backgrounds and experience. The research is a starting point which could work to inspire, guide and support other wahine Māori venturing into secondary school teaching careers as newcomers.

SUMMARY STATEMENTS

(i) The findings presented in this study draw on the contributions of ten Māori women interviewed on their experiences teaching in the secondary sector of education in Aotearoa.

(ii) The participants are affiliated to a number of iwi and hapu from throughout Aotearoa. The women were aged from thirty years to sixty five years.

(iii) The positions held by the women ranged from beginning teacher to senior management levels and reflected the years of teaching experience which was from two years to thirty five years.

(iv) The participants reported a strong sense of whānau and whānau values. From this base, the women established a firm determination to succeed in their educational careers.

(v) In seeking promotion, the women were motivated by the following factors: the need to gain recognition, promoting change, natural progression and developing education initiatives.

(vi) The women expressed frustration over the inadequate provision of professional development. They identified barriers to Māori women working in secondary education as: lack of self confidence, negative

perceptions to overcome, no self-promotion, lack of opportunity to prepare and the dominance of an established Pakeha male hierarchy.

(vii) From the evidence, it appears that in fulfilling the role of a Māori woman professional, the participants assume a responsibility to encourage and support the goals and aspirations of Māori and Māori in education. Incumbent on those holding this position is the assurance that the needs and goals of Māori be defined by Māori, according to Māori values. The role in developing Māori in education therefore extends well beyond the school boundaries. This places extra workload demands above their regular teaching duties. The style of leadership adopted by the women is defined in terms of whānau and iwi, and is based on collectivism, community and caring. Affirmation of the rights of Māori to access education and to participate fully on their terms encapsulates the long term goal of the women interviewed - one of Māori autonomy.

A STRUGGLE TOWARDS A THEORY OF PROFESSIONALISM FOR MĀORI WOMEN EDUCATORS

Introduction

Recent findings by John and Hilary Mitchell (1993:71) reveal the huge workload carried by Māori teachers. Anecdotal accounts indicate that wahine Māori teachers are burdened with the responsibility of resolving problem situations that arise for Māori students and their whānau. For the most part their work efforts are "invisible". The extra duties shouldered by Māori in schools, and wahine Māori in particular, often involve: providing positive role models for Māori students, in particular, Māori girls; dealing with discipline matters related to Māori students; administering guidance and pastoral care often in the form of counselling to Māori students, Māori parents and caregivers, and to other teaching colleagues; liaising with Māori whānau, and wider iwi groups, and organising sporting and cultural activities. The extra responsibilities undertaken by wahine Māori are above and beyond the expectation of their responsibilities as classroom teachers. It reflects the unique commitment of being a Māori woman professional which is more than the role of teaching curriculum or imparting knowledge.

The extent to which the extra load is carried out by wahine Māori teachers, shows in terms of personal health, personal whānau responsibilities, personal relationships, professional relationships with teaching colleagues, personal time and energy for personal professional development and career promotion prospects.

The implications of this compel the researcher to consider the status of wahine Māori teachers in terms of the positions that they hold within schools, and to study the factors influencing their current status.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the position and status of wahine Māori in secondary schools through exploring the experiences and critical issues impacting on a group of Māori women. It focuses on the accounts of ten Māori women who held positions ranging from the basic scale level to Head of Department and Assistant Principal in secondary schools. It was hypothesised that the collated data would provide a broad overview of the women's skills, knowledge, attitudes and values. Thus, from the aggregated data the essence of what it is to be a Māori woman professional would emerge. An aim therefore was to generate the emergence of: A Theory of Māori Women's Professionalism.

A specific focus is factors that contribute to the success of wahine Māori in leadership positions. There is much for others to gain from their experiences and their struggles, especially for those aspiring to follow similar paths.

This thesis explores therefore both the personal and professional lives of wahine Māori, and by doing so aims to provide a glimpse into their insights. It also provides the vehicle for their story to be told, in the hope that other wahine Māori might identify and gain some benefit.

Underpinning this investigation is my strong personal commitment to contribute to the research arena on wahine Māori. The women contributing have also acknowledged the special role that wahine Māori have in both the promotion of Māori in education and Māori society as a whole.

The process of study has been an inspiring and humbling experience instilling a sense of responsibility and privilege. Culturally, wahine Māori are loath to promote themselves in such a public way. It was very difficult to overcome such barriers, and it was after considerable networking that I was able to find a group willing to come forward. Fifty wahine Māori were invited to participate in the study, from which twenty responded, and ten made up the final sample. In doing so, the prime motivation was that they might be able to offer young Māori teachers some form of support and reaffirmation of what it is to be Māori in a predominantly non-Māori environment. To reassure them that they are not alone in the struggle of being Māori and fitting into non-Māori structures.

The wahine Māori recognise the many forms of racism that exist in any institution. The institutional structures can disguise the presence of racist actions and behaviours. Thus the task of exposing racism becomes a difficult and onerous one. Appointments of Māori in various institutions have served the institution better than they serve the Māori (Mita, 1992:50). Like other Māori appointees entering the work place, the Māori women interviewed find themselves subject to intense professional scrutiny from colleagues and senior management. For many, the need to prove one's ability and professional credibility seems greater than for non-Māori. Thus, while outwardly fulfilling their obligations as an equal employment opportunity employer, the culture of the institutions show little response to the needs and goals of Māori.

The basis of the Pakeha institution is legal, and its structure is bureaucratic and inflexible. This immediately leads to confrontation as Māori desire more

flexibility to retain other values with a priority as high as or sometimes higher than Pakeha legality (Mita, 1992:50).

This thesis is both an exercise in completing the academic requirements of a Masterate of Education, thus fulfilling part of my long term vision to achieve Pakeha educational and professional qualifications, and it is part of my contribution in giving back a little of my skills and myself to iwi Māori. This is only possible because of the help and contributions of others.

The thesis is presented in seven chapters; the first is a literature review on minorities and women in educational administration and leadership, drawn primarily from a pool of limited mainstream American sources. This reflects a dearth of research studies specifically on women from ethnic minorities on an international level, and within Aotearoa totally negligible recognition attributed to wahine Māori in leadership positions in secondary schools. The latter part attempts to establish the theoretical constructs that reflect the unique context within which wahine Māori are placed.

The second chapter describes the methodology utilised for the study, including background into the research process involving personal and life issues with further focus on relating and locating these strategies within a Māori cultural context. The chapter offers the rationale to justify the methodology of the study, specifically the grounded theory of a qualitative approach.

The third is an introduction to the participants, which leads directly into the women's stories in chapter four. Chapter five provides an analysis of the women's experiences and the links between these and the literature on

professionalism. This chapter then explores the themes emerging in relation to their struggle towards Māori women's professionalism. In chapter six the Māori women's view of what it is to be a professional is crystallised. The conclusions in the final chapter seven, outline the potential implications of this type of research. Recommendations based on the findings are presented for those presently engaged in secondary teaching and for those contemplating beginning.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction - Part One

The literature review, in its first part, will discuss research on minorities and women in educational administration. It will indicate the lack of research literature on ethnic minority groups, and that data on Native American and Asian/Pacific Islanders is practically non-existent. This conclusion is reached after conducting extensive library searches of both international and national data bases. As well, minorities and women still hold lower paying and lower prestige positions when compared to their white male counterparts (Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison, 1986:111,127).

Socialisation Processes

The socialisation, mentoring and role theory process is explored as a possible explanation for the career patterns of ethnic minorities in school administration. The importance of socialisation processes for aspiring administrators is considered, and it is argued that when ethnic minorities fail to access these processes they are clearly disadvantaged.

The theory of homosocial reproduction as discussed by Kanter (1977) is weighed against the employment opportunities of women and minorities seeking positions in administrative jobs. The effects of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) are touched upon briefly.

The literature on traditional male dominated management models is compared with management models that focus on community, sharing,

caring and nurturing. It is argued that there is a need to re-think the whole concept and meaning of leadership within education, to include the unique role and contribution that women are currently bringing to change the whole face of educational leadership.

American Research on Minorities and Women

Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison (1986:110) have reviewed research on minorities and women in educational administration within America. Over the past decade, interest in the study of race/ethnic minorities and women in public school administration has increased. Initial research studies highlighted the situation of under-representation of minorities and women in school administration. More recent investigations focus on why there is such under-representation and offer reasons for their exclusion. The bulk of research covers women in administration with lesser attention pertaining to race/ethnic minorities in school administration.

For members of race/ethnic minorities the impact of discrimination has further complicated their situation. The assumption that these groups experience the same kinds of discrimination and can therefore be collectively analysed is flawed (Yeakey et al., 1986:111). Members of race/ethnic minority groups must be enabled to determine their unique experiences. Furthermore the experiences of women from such groups may have nothing to do with the experiences of white women (ibid.). Other notable exclusions in the research literature on all race/ethnic minority groups in school administration are the case of Native American and Asian/Pacific Islanders. Their experiences are seldom documented and remain virtually invisible (ibid.).

Studies of organisations have been remiss in acknowledging racial and sexual stratification which "have persisted historically in the United States" (ibid.).

Eleanor Holmes Norton (cited in Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison, 1986:119), former chief of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), reported statistical data on racial minorities and women in public schools:

> Minorities and women still are employed in greater proportions in lower paying, lower prestige occupations than their white and male counterparts, and most importantly, relatively small numbers of minorities and women have reached the policy-making levels, as administrators or principals, where hiring decisions are made (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977:iii).

The 1984 United States data on EEO "confirmed the predominance of race over sex as a discriminating variable in the workplace" (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:126). In 1982, Jones and Montenegro (ibid.) reported trends, based on national data, that indicated a decrease in the number of white males holding positions of administration. They noted a corresponding increase in white women holding positions of administrative responsibility (ibid.). Their figures indicated that the "least movement" was among minority women (ibid.).

Reporting changes in the status of minority women has become difficult as EEO reports are no longer published in the United States (Yeakey et al., 1986:138). They state: "Unfortunately, the status of racial minorities in

school administration is largely ignored, not because the subject does not demand attention, but because most writers tacitly assume by their omissions, that it is not worth consideration" (ibid.).

Ortiz (1981:100) has explored both socialisation and role theory as possible explanations for the career patterns of race/ethnic minorities in public school administration. Analysis was made of data collected from a sample of three hundred and fifty individuals, holding California State administrative credentials. Ortiz (cited in Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison, 1986), extended the study by Young (1973:1107), and identified factors that reinforced ethnic and racially inferior group status:

1. the visibility of members
2. the attributed competitive threat
3. the extra situational (pp120,121)

These factors create a situation that limits the numbers who participate and their level of participation for example, the participation rates of Mexican American teachers in Southwest. Ortiz (1981:100) reported more than half of the Mexican American teachers there taught in predominantly Mexican American schools. Although under-represented in all professional teaching positions, they were placed in schools with 75 percent or more Mexican American students. In the case of Mexican American women principals, Ortiz (1981:105) noted that they gained positions in schools described to be in a state of deterioration with respect to their physical structure and organisational climate.

Ortiz (1981:100), extended upon research by Inkles (1973:618) on the socialisation process. Ortiz drew the following conclusions (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986):

1. minorities placed in special projects did not interface with the school organisation to the degree that white administrators did
2. socialising agents for most minorities were confined to minorities themselves
3. minorities were socialised to limit their interactions to their respective race/ethnic communities
4. confinement to special project tasks inhibited their mobility within the larger organisation (p121)

For Ortiz (1981:100) the socialisation process for race/ethnic minorities occurs in the initial preparation for the principalship. While aspirants are involved in teaching, their progress is dependent upon principals and other key administrators "who provide the latitude for prospective candidates to progress" (Yeakey et al., 1986:121). In the 1974 study of succession socialisation to the principalship, Valverde (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:121) concluded that minorities failed to attract sponsorship and were excluded from administrative positions.

According to Ortiz, (1980:105,118) minorities in minority settings and confined to special projects, seldom receive the necessary opportunities to gain access to administration. Furthermore, minorities holding principalships in minority schools were perceived as being less competent when compared to other principals because minority schools were deemed to be lower class (ibid.). Poorly maintained schools, having hard to teach students were

staffed in the main by minority teachers, beginning teachers and teachers unable to move to better schools. Therefore when minority principals were appointed to such schools their capabilities were undermined (Ortiz, 1981:105,118).

Ortiz's book, Career Patterns in Education (1981), showed that white males, women and racial minorities acquired various roles resulting in differing socialisation processes and careers. The structures within public school administration illustrate this more clearly with white males occupying line positions, women occupying staff positions and minorities occupying special projects positions. The assumption drawn is that white males manage and administer adults, women instruct children and minorities direct and contain other minorities (ibid.:118).

In an earlier study in 1973, Moody (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:124) conducted a review of the experiences of black superintendents from twenty one major school systems. The outcome revealed that black school administrators were appointed to school systems where the majority of students were black. In addition, blacks were appointed to districts that lacked the resources to develop relevant educational programmes (ibid.).

Similarly, Scott's (1980) case studies (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:124) indicated that when white superintendents are reluctant to work in lower socio-economic urban districts populated by racial minorities, black superintendents are appointed in their place. It appears that black superintendents have acquired their jobs by default (ibid.).

Factors inhibiting or increasing women's and ethnic minorities' entry into organisations have been of major interest in research. The differential allocation of women can account for differences in earnings of men and women with similar human capital endowments (Halaby, 1979:79-104).

Strober (1984:144-56) attributed the pay level of the job as the most important factor affecting change in the gender assignment of positions. According to her findings when education and other job requirements are controlled for, white men seek women's jobs when the salaries are more lucrative than other jobs available in the labour market and exit the jobs once the salaries are lower. Strober also noted that minorities are in more poorly compensated occupations than are whites. It is evident from more recent research by Strober and Catanzarite (1988) that black men and black women move into occupations that white men and white women declined.

Researchers (Acker and Van Houten, 1974; Fennel et al., 1978) have suggested (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:134) that organisational structures and processes of recruitment and control have created barriers to women seeking leadership and administrative positions. Kanter's 1977 study (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986) identified how "The structure of power, the structure of opportunity, and the social composition of peer groups have molded the behavior of both men and women in hierarchical organizations" (p134). Kanter observed that "The scarcity of women in administrative positions in education has been linked with the pervasiveness of a masculine ethic" (cited in Martin, 1993:124). She suggested that within organisations the homogeneity of the management group would promote male mobility up the hierarchy and disadvantage women (cited in Yeakey et al., 1986:134).

Kanter (1977) states that the hiring of women is affected by levels of uncertainty that exist within an organisation (cited in Konrad and Pfeffer, 1991:145). Kanter's (1977) study suggests that the level of uncertainty about job activities and the relationships among jobs also impacts on the hiring of women and minorities. Where uncertainty exists organisational success is dependent on fast and accurate communication among workers (ibid.). It is often assumed that demographic similarity may enhance the speed and quality of communication, the result being a demographically homogeneous group is hired for uncertain jobs (Nieva and Gutek, 1980:267-76; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978:246-55). In such situations the hiring of women and minorities for administrative jobs is improved only after the uncertainty is reduced (Konrad and Pfeffer, 1991:145). Uncertainty about an applicant's abilities and whether an applicant will fit the organisation are reduced when the new appointment is internal rather than from outside the organisation (ibid.). However, reducing the level of uncertainty may mean having to restrict women and minorities "to a limited set of organizational roles involving little discretion, visibility, and interaction with the environment and with powerful organizational members" (Yeakey et al., 1986:135).

Governmental pressure is an important factor in shifting attitudes and organisations towards integration (Salancik, 1979:375-94; DiPrete, 1987:119-40). Public institutions' reliance on governmental funding makes them more accountable to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) enforcements. Given that situation it is probable that women or minorities will be hired in public institutions rather than in private ones (Pomer, 1986:650-59; Kaufman, 1986:310-23).

Where women or minorities are in administrative positions they have more influence over hiring decisions. Thus, given the preference of individuals for similar over dissimilar others (Antill, 1983:145-55; Kandel, 1978:306-312), women are more likely to prefer women and equally so minorities are likely to choose minorities for administrative positions.

In a similar vein, Konrad and Pfeffer (1991:153) recognise that positions previously held by a female incumbent are most likely to be filled subsequently by women, and those positions held by a minority incumbent will in time be filled by minorities. Konrad and Pfeffer (1991) state that "positions in specific organizations develop gender and ethnic typifications as a result of their local histories of incumbents in the jobs" (ibid.). In view of EEO policies women or minorities face greater obstacles when striving for positions from which they have been excluded in the past but, once the initial breakthrough is made, the way for subsequent women and minority persons is eased.

Traditional Management Literature

Management literature has traditionally been written by men for men incorporating values of individualism and competition that define success in a masculine way (Brown, 1979; Terborg, 1977; Kanter, 1975; Strober and Tyack, 1980, Sergiovanni, 1992). Within New Zealand this point is made by researchers reporting on the status of women in educational management (Malcolm, 1978; Neville, 1988; Court, 1992). As a group women tend to define success and achievement in a different way. Malcolm (1978:7) noted from international research "that women are more often motivated by affiliation, ie., social or group, needs than men". Drawing on the foundation

work begun by Gilligan (1982), Sergiovanni (cited in Brandt, 1992:47) notes that "they are more concerned with community and sharing". Schools must be recognised as special places for nurturing the teaching and learning process of the people within them. For these reasons applying traditional organisational principles to schools may not assist the process. The male model of achievement that focused on criteria for excellence and individual success is flawed when there is inadequate attention for caring and nurturing relationships (ibid.). It is evident that a different set of organisational principles is required for schools to operate in a more inclusive and responsive manner.

Women in Educational Leadership

On the point of women in educational leadership McGrath (1992:62) has much to report on the matter. She notes that along with skills in leadership, management and communication women are developing knowledge about career paths and advancement. She insists that promotion can be achieved within education without having to move out (ibid.). This would indicate that a major change is brewing, mainly in the form of assertive, motivated women wanting to make a difference (ibid.). McGrath cites, in evidence, the current situation whereby more than half of all doctoral students in administration are now women (ibid.). Clearly, if the doctorate is an opening for leadership positions, then a larger number of women will be aspiring for top administrative positions in the next decade. Arguably, the women may consider the need to have greater qualifications to support their bids for promotion. One could speculate that without the appropriate documentation women may be edged out by men seeking promotion.

For McGrath (1992:62), sex discrimination is one reason for women failing to gain administrative positions. Traditionally women have not been considered for leadership positions because they lacked qualifications and a track record of experience in more responsible administrative positions. There is an obvious advantage to women who know which career paths lead upward as opposed to those which are a dead-end.

McGrath (1992:62) states that the majority of American women administrators are employed as specialists, supervisors, or as elementary school principals. The typical woman in administration remains in one of those positions until retirement. In contrast, the women who are successful in achieving top-level positions in educational administration have career paths similar to those of males: teacher, high school principal, eventually an appointment as assistant superintendent, and finally superintendent (Shakeshaft, 1987:73).

In a survey conducted by Gotwalt and Towns in 1986 (cited in McGrath, 1992:13-29), similar characteristics were exhibited by women leaders:

1. originating from rural areas and small towns that have enabled them to build up a power base and to overcome stereotypes
2. often were first born or only children
3. married with children
4. older than men in similar positions
5. usually have more classroom experience

By developing their organisational and networking skills and asking the right questions the women have learnt what they need to know about career

advancement paths and leadership. They have identified successful leaders, carefully studied their strategies and observed the career paths they followed. Goals were set by the women determined to access both the same opportunities and the same types of experiences. Many have gained access to membership in networks of influential men. A significant number of men have supported women just as other men have impeded them. Relationships proved critical to advancement, gaining recognition as a member of the club was equally as important as hard work and competence (McGrath, 1992:63).

According to Gardenswartz and Rowe (cited in McGrath, 1992:64) successful women leaders exhibit high levels of skill in communication, problem solving, organisational savvy, team building, instruction and curriculum. As well, women leaders are self confident and unfazed by experiences of sex discrimination.

Biographical characteristics, which include birth order, socio-economic status and mother's employment status, of women in management provide further insight. Birth order has been identified with gender role orientation (Vroegh, 1971:407-411) and later career success, as first borns are considered to be hard working and achievement oriented, while only children are considered rather independent minded (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971:16-30). Socio-economic class has an important role in women's career choice. Indications are that women from the middle and upper classes are more likely to attend college, to strive for careers (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971:16-30), to develop both feminine and masculine skills (Burns and Homel, 1989:113-125), and to reject traditional gender role stereotypes (Hartley, 1964:3-16). Employment status of one's mother may also affect women's career choices

in that daughters with working mothers outside of the home perceive this as a normal, acceptable choice (King and King, 1985:787-792; Riley, Johnson, and Babcock, 1963:33-37). Reviewing women in management, Terborg (1977:647-664) found, in general, women who seek non-traditional employment had mothers who worked outside the home. Studies undertaken by Edison in 1981 (cited in Shakeshaft, 1989:92) found that women aspired to achieve management positions if provided with realistic opportunities. Similarly, Picker's 1980 findings (cited in Shakeshaft, 1989:147) indicated that "women showed greater desire to advance more than one step up the organizational ladder".

In a similar vein, personal variables specifically gender role orientation, attitudes towards women's roles, perceived closeness to parents, and parental support for career choice have been examined. Findings make interesting contributions to the work of women management researchers. Daughters who are closer to their fathers tend to develop interests in traditionally male careers (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Mast and Herron, 1986:27-56). Most women in Hennig and Jardim's study (1977) although close to both parents, shared a special bond with their fathers. As adult women they were more aggressive, outgoing and achievement oriented than most women. Etaugh and Gerson's study (1974:701-702) found that women who were closer to their fathers rather than mothers held more traditional gender role attitudes. Whilst on the point of parental support, studies revealed how parental support was strongly influential in predicting career choice (Farmer, 1985:363-390; Houser and Garvey, 1985:105-117). Kelly and Worrell (1976:843-851), expand on this point, noting that women with non-traditional gender roles reported more parental encouragement for intellectual achievement than did those with traditional gender roles.

Teaching consists of a bureaucratic structure ie. attainment of one promotional step provides the necessary qualification for entry to the next and subsequent steps (Hughes, 1958). According to Ball's 1987 definition (cited in Grant, 1989) the career ambitious teacher is one who has:

1. a career goal and seeks to realise it
2. high career aspirations
3. a clear understanding of the system and the political acumen to capitalise on it (p114)

For teachers, the task is to recognise their career stages and timetable terms, to diagnose the necessary conditions that ensure progress and promotion, to recognise their current ability and the attributes they need in order to move to the next or subsequent career stage, and then to begin preparations to market themselves as suitable candidates (Lyons, 1981:64). An example of this could be to complete studies towards gaining higher qualifications.

So called top post individuals have:

> clear strongly held career maps and a determination to acquire the experience necessary to progress through career compartments to an ultimate post (Lyons and McCleary, 1980:105).

It is likely that such characteristics are based on male behaviours and experiences as they hold most senior posts in schools (DES, 1987).

Women's Access to Leadership

In 1979 the Center for Women in Educational Leadership was set up at the University of North Carolina, to address women's access to leadership roles. While women account for 53 percent of the total United States population and 40 percent of its work force, they are distinctly under-represented at higher levels of every profession (Woo, 1985:286). The problems of advancement for women in the field of education are heightened by the fact that education is viewed as a female profession (ibid.).

The Center staff surveyed four hundred and fifty top women administrators (ibid.) and identified women who were interested in moving into administrative positions in education and who exhibited leadership potential. The North Carolina study built on the work of social scientists who had examined the social and historical factors contributing to the neglect of women's talent, experience and leadership.

The results of the study proved to be informative as the women revealed aspects of their professional progress. The participants said that affirmative action and flexible working hours had no effect on their career progress (ibid.). Similarly assertiveness training and special career guidance had limited impact on their professional advancement (ibid.). Mentors failed to play a significant role in their career progress (ibid.). They also challenged two ideas that have received wide attention in the literature on sex roles: the notion that women fear success and the idea of a Cinderella syndrome. The women displayed no fear of success and they were strongly focused on professional goals (ibid.). They felt comfortable with their achievements and did not contemplate withdrawing from the workplace to become full time

homemakers (ibid.). These women were determined to develop their professional careers to the full (ibid.).

Maintaining the dual roles of career woman and mother had not affected their professional progress (Woo, 1985:287). Their household responsibilities of child care, meal preparation and housekeeping did not hinder career advancement. They managed to overcome mechanical and logistical challenges. Furthermore they had not required special courses or programmes to develop necessary coping skills. However, they did admit that a conflict existed between their dual roles and that this conflict proved troublesome (ibid.).

They attributed their success to their sheer determination to have careers and to their reliance solely on their personal strengths, and sometimes to the encouragement and support from their families (ibid.). A large majority said that their husbands' support was a crucial factor in their careers, and without that support they would have put marriage commitments ahead of work (ibid.).

Describing themselves as highly motivated, the women considered that they exhibited leadership and problem solving skills in addition to having the emotional toughness to be successful (ibid.). Thus, they did not need additional social or political skills to gain career advancement (ibid.).

The scarcity of opportunities for promotion had been the major obstacle in their professional paths (ibid.). They did not consider negatively organisational factors such as resistance from male or female colleagues, rigid hours, extensive overtime, extensive travel, the need to relocate, lack of

training and development opportunities, or problems in gaining access to the informal social networks within their school systems (ibid.). Neither did they consider that lack of support from their managers exerted a significant negative influence on their careers (ibid.). Their own emotional toughness insulated them from such factors as the lack of recognition for good work, lack of coaching for improving their performance, lack of support for innovative ideas and new projects, and even a lack of mentors to provide career counselling (ibid.).

The motivation to pursue careers in the first place was to develop new skills and to have an impact on the organisation (ibid.). Greater responsibility, more money, and security were secondary factors. Power was considered to be the least important element. The most important factor for professional success lay in the strong motivation that each woman had to move ahead (ibid.). However, for these women the commitment to professional success has resulted in less time available for leisure activities and for building personal relationships (Woo, 1985:288).

In 1987 thirty eight white women deputies employed in comprehensive schools within the London Education Authority (LEA) were interviewed and spoke extensively on their career histories (Grant, 1989:113). During interviews each was asked if she had set out with a career plan in mind. The common response was that the women entered teaching without a career plan in mind (Grant, 1989:115).

For many of the women they developed an early commitment to becoming teachers (Grant, 1989:119). Teaching had been an aspiration since childhood for at least half the women. Some had an ambition influenced by

the limited range of women's employment opportunities which meant a choice between teaching, nursing or secretarial work. For others it was a case of drifting into teaching. A point of concern is that not one interviewee had been in receipt of career planning advice from the beginning of her career. A number of women admitted that their initial understanding of how the promotional system operated had been minimal. This had not necessarily been clarified as their years of service increased.

Evidence in the survey showed that sponsorship had been influential in developing many of these women's careers (Grant, 1989:120). The notion of career advancement had been nurtured and encouraged. Positive recommendations and references had provided support for applicants seeking promotion. Several deputies agreed that an initial career plan would have been beneficial. It was felt that head teachers and advisers should have offered leadership in helping teachers to establish career plans (ibid.).

Early work on gender identified the different ways by which women and men formed attitudes, values and behaviours. In 1982 Gilligan, (cited in Grant, 1989:120) used this theoretical position to argue that women perceived the world differently from men. According to Gilligan, they make different moral judgements about it and hold different notions of what is value in life (ibid.). Historical tradition, namely patriarchy, has elevated one set of values over the other allowing the male way of thinking to dominate (ibid.).

Career success exhibited in male terms has been accepted as the norm (ibid.). Ambition has been accepted as a positive characteristic, with competition and desire for self-aggrandisement as justifiable (ibid.). Gilligan asserts that women view ambition as both negative and incompatible with

the more important person-centred values of sensitivity and compassion (ibid.). She argues that for women there is conflict between their perception of power and the value they attribute to the caring role (ibid.). A number of surveys have reported contact with children as a major source of job satisfaction (Grant, 1983; ILEA, 1984) and, correspondingly, administrative work does not rate as significantly.

Of the women deputies interviewed few said they applied for promotions as a means of gaining more power in schools (Grant, 1989:121). If it was a factor, the democratic use of power was favoured over the authoritarian approach. They intended to improve things through using power as a liberating force to empower others. They planned to remove obstacles, set up consultation mechanisms and facilitate staff development. Many stressed the importance of how the quality of their school experience was the stronger motivating factor in seeking promotion (ibid.). Although promotion was important in their careers, it was not to be gained at any cost (ibid.).

Developing Coping Strategies

"There is qualitative evidence that women who deviate from cultural and organisational norms by entering school administration, recognise an identity problem and consciously attempt to cope with it" (Martin, 1993:123).

Social behaviour is constructed through social interaction, and influenced by a range of environmental factors. The gender schema theory (Bem, 1974; Rosen and Jerdee, 1974; Rimmer and Davies, 1985; Schmitt and Millard, 1988; Sneider, Sneider-Duker and Becker-Beck, 1989) explained how individuals internalised cultural norms and expectations established for their

behaviour, and were consequently motivated to behave in a culturally correct manner. Culturally correct gender-related behaviour for women suppresses behaviour considered culturally correct for men and vice versa (Martin, 1993:124).

Women becoming administrators face a dilemma, they are expected to conform to "two typically exclusive set of norms" (Martin, 1993:124). As women they must conform to feminine norms; as administrators they must adapt to masculine norms associated with organisational and professional matters (ibid.). In 1985 Marshall (cited in Martin, 1993:124) reported that: many women facing this cultural dilemma opt for non-leadership positions. However, some women consciously and purposefully seek leadership positions, and therefore recognise the dilemma and work to develop coping strategies (Martin, 1993:124).

"Women in administrative positions are deemed 'stigmatised' because normatively, women are not school administrators. Administration and management are male-dominated professions" (Martin, 1993:124). Individuals who bear a stigma develop adaptive or coping strategies to reduce the tensions caused by their differentness (ibid.).

Mainstream Feminist Critiques of Leadership

Mainstream feminism aims to reconstruct the way in which leadership has been defined so that concepts of individualism, hierarchical relationships, bureaucratic rationality and abstract moral principles are de-emphasised (Blackmore, 1989:94). When reconstructed in feminist terms, leadership is based on power that is multi-dimensional and multi-directional (ibid.).

Blackmore argues that leadership can therefore take many forms according to different contexts by different people. It is not confined to formal roles. The aim of leadership is empowerment rather than to have power over others. The move away from individualism allows for communitarian and collective activities to be nurtured. In her view, the leadership process becomes educative and democratic thus more consistent with education.
It is further argued that gender equity is not achieved by merely increasing the numbers of women in educational administration (Blackmore, 1989:95). It is necessary to:

> "question the very concept of leadership itself, how it is portrayed in the literature and how it is perceived by women and the community in education. It is the continuing association of masculinity with a particular view of leadership, especially in education where women constitute over half the occupation, which is problematic" (Blackmore, 1989:96).

Shakeshaft (1989) states that the "cause of all barriers to women in school administration that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony" (p83). She adds, that:

> "By accepting as fact that inequities toward women occur because of some lack of ability or action by women, we are not forced to look elsewhere for explanations, neither are we pushed to question the concepts and frameworks that conclude that the victim is at fault" (p84).

Shakeshaft states that challenging such concepts and definitions "points out alternative ways of seeing women's condition - ways that find reasons other than the woman herself as the cause" (ibid.).

Shakeshaft uses as an example the 1976 data by Schmuck on women's lack of confidence and low self-image. When moving in public sphere activities women have been shown to have lower self-confidence than men. She points out that the weakness of studies related to self-confidence is how they are confined to just that - public sphere activities, arguing that instead of viewing the matter through the eyes of women the studies measure women by male defined standards of self-confidence. Thus it is not clear whether women have less self-confidence or if they only have less self-confidence in areas from which they are traditionally excluded.

Like self-confidence, aspiration and motivation have only been defined through the male experience (Shakeshaft, 1989:86). Aspiration has been defined as moving up the hierarchy (ibid.). For instance, in a study of aspiration, Reynolds and Elliot use an operational definition of aspiration that conforms to traditional male descriptions:

> "We defined most of the independent variables for this study in terms of dichotomous categories...for career aspiration level, aspiring for a principalship or higher and not aspiring for a principalship or higher." (1980:7, quoted in Shakeshaft, 1989:86).

Having career aspiration, then, means wanting to become a principal, not wishing to remain a teacher (Shakeshaft, 1989:86). These definitions failed to include the female experience and thus may not be accurate for describing

women's participation in the work force. These definitions are also public sphere definitions and, like conceptualisations of self-confidence, they suffer by examining women's lives only within a public sphere defined by male experience (Shakeshaft, 1989:86,87).

Many women see teaching and administration as distinct and very different careers. This is reaffirmed by the work of Baughman in 1977 (cited in Shakeshaft, 1989:88) who found that women perceived many administrative positions as involving too much paperwork and limited educational content and, therefore, these jobs were less attractive to them. These same women did not value administrators, and neither were they interested in a position that separated them from students. To translate this into lack of motivation or aspiration is to undermine the reasons many women enter teaching, in Shakeshaft's view.

Shakeshaft notes that "women aspire to and wish to achieve in the career they chose...teaching. Thus not wanting to be a principal means just that, rather than serving as an indication of low aspiration" (ibid.). However, she adds that status has been defined by males and is organised hierarchically so that administration is viewed as being more important than teaching (ibid.). Mickey (1984:5 cited in Shakeshaft, 1989:89) reiterates that women who have decided to teach, rather than administer, are judged from this framework. "Stepping down"; "going back to the classroom" and "just teaching" are phrases which convey messages of lower value (ibid.). The choice to follow this direction is perceived as a form of inadequacy. Such perceptions are based on the notion that administration is higher than teaching, and that all successful teachers strive to move up the hierarchy and remain there.

Equally, a lack of aspiration or motivation in women may be a realistic assessment and reflection of home and family responsibilities and job opportunities (Shakeshaft, 1989:89). "If this is the case, it is not internal barriers that keep women from aspiring but rather the reality of a world that expects that if a woman works outside the home she will continue to do the major portion of work inside the home as well" (ibid.). In contrast, most men concentrate solely on "work responsibility-bringing home the pay cheque" (ibid.).

Shakeshaft (1989:94) maintains that male domination is the cause of inequality in education. It is "deeply imbedded" in "both social institutions and individuals" (ibid.). Furthermore, "In an androcentric world, a hierarchy of status exists. Men and women must do different things; women and what women do are less valued than are men and what men do" (ibid.). She concludes, "If having a woman's place is not only acceptable but desirable, as it is in an androcentric world, then having two sets of rules, one for women and one for men, is also acceptable and desirable. Hence, discrimination on the basis of sex is necessary for the existence of an androcentric (male-defined) world to exist" (ibid.).

The literature review thus far has focused on educational administration, which in the main, emphasises the more traditional male dominated model of management. However, there are alternative management models based on community, sharing, caring and nurturing. These concepts of leadership within education warrant further discussion in the following section. The status of women within the teaching profession and the model of professionalism based on human caring are included.

Mainstream Feminist Critiques of the White Male Views of Professionalism

Currently within mainstream thinking there is a debate over the nature of teaching as a profession and teachers as professionals. Whilst a profession is not defined precisely it consists of certain elements. Thus, a professional can be described as possessing:

> "a broad theoretical knowledge base and related technical-intellectual expertise; a service or altruistic motivation; a long period of formal preparation; and control over one's work and work situation" (Tabakin and Densmore, 1986:258).

In the conventional sense professionals are attributed high status. In return for professional service society offers social and economic rewards. The defining of a professional is significantly related to the relationships between one's professional role and the bureaucratic organisation one serves. Bureaucratic institutions that exert autonomy over members can effectively compromise their professional status and credibility. Schools are not outside these influences. Therefore a teacher as a professional is constantly under scrutiny and analysis by others in the debate to define a professional and professionalism.

The risk of de-professionalisation is greater as conditions allow for more routine and standardised practices to emerge in schools (Tabakin and Densmore, 1986:260,261). Lack of individual judgement and independence, along with organisational sub-ordination work to speed up this process

(ibid.). The impact of this would be to trivialise the work and contributions of women in the profession thereby thwarting the professional goals and professional leadership of those who make up a significant proportion of teachers.

Gender analysis of professionalism is a recognition of the experience of women and the institutional structures that are imposed upon them. Within a more traditional framework the teacher as a professional is considered to be lower in status than a lawyer or a doctor, and thus considered to be "semi-professional" (Tabakin and Densmore, 1986:269). However, scant consideration is given to the recognition of the women's situation, that while women are in the majority they are confined to the lower status positions in teaching (ibid.).

Feminist perspectives counter the patriarchal conceptualisation of the teaching profession. The exclusion of gender theory and analysis is evident in the sociology of the professions. Status professions are built upon masculine ideals of specialised knowledge and skills that result in social and economic rewards (Larson, 1977:xvii). Although the autonomy of professionals in the current social and economic environment is debatable, the masculine concepts of status, exclusivity, individualism and power persevere. Its origin lay in the rational/empirical claim that scientific knowledge and the scientific method form "the bedrock on which professional activity and influence are based" (Glazer and Slater, 1987:235).

Adherence to this concept infers that the professional ideal is based on the male experience and values associated with masculinity. Accordingly, sub-ordination of women, sexual division of labour and tokenism is perceived as

equal opportunity (Blackmore, 1989:94 cited in Glazer, 1991:324). In terms of professionalism, Larson (1977) doubted the likelihood of reform when "knowledge is acquired and produced within educational and occupational hierarchies which are, by their structure, inegalitarian, antidemocratic and alienating" (1977:243).

Numerous studies reported the strong commitment of women teachers to their work with students (Biklen, 1987; Boston Women's Teachers' Group, 1983; Edson, 1988; Gilligan, 1982). They regarded their work as homemakers and teachers to be compatible (cited in Noddings, 1990:415). They accepted responsibility for the growth of others and gained deep satisfaction from their nurturing roles (ibid.).

It is obvious that women teachers want to be professionals - competent and committed (Biklen, 1987, quoted in Noddings, 1990:415) - however they are not willing to relinquish their key role as caregivers. For them, the model of professionalism is problematic when teachers who move farther from actual contact with children are regarded and rewarded as "more professional" than those who work directly with children (ibid.).

Thus, within teaching two conflicting models of professionalism have arisen (Noddings, 1990:416). The model of human caring - of commitment to children is prominent with many school teachers (ibid.), thus the "professional" is a good caring teacher (ibid.). However, the alternative model has cast doubt upon this by urging teachers to become "true professionals" (ibid.). In contrast, the commitment requires more hours on the job site, more years of study, a visible drive to advance in a hierarchy and some detachment from direct contact with students (ibid.).

SUMMARY

The literature has explained the barriers to women in education as deriving from male dominance. It purports that all barriers to women can be traced back to male hegemony. Patriarchy being the educational paradigm ensures that educational theory and practice is therefore a product of male experience and male control. Thus, the need to engage in a feminist reconstruction of the concept of leadership whereby power is multi-dimensional and multi-directional.

However, the literature is limited in contextualising and articulating the unique experiences, struggles and barriers that confront wahine Māori. It can only go part of the way towards unravelling snapshots of their realities. The gaps can only be filled by the wahine Māori in their way and in their time.

The research review undertaken by Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison (1986:110) is confined to American minorities and women in educational administration. Any analysis of the research findings are therefore prone to the ability of the researcher to be sufficiently skilled and informed to interpret the unique experiences of the research participants. Thus, the experiences of black American or Mexican American teachers will have some differences from those of the Māori women in this study. Furthermore, the assumption that ethnic minorities have the "same" experiences (ibid.) is worthy of caution when researching Māori women. It cannot be assumed that the Māori women in this study will all share the same experiences or outlook.

The general trends for minority women in areas of job status, salary levels, administration positions held and placement or settings will require closer comparison with the Māori women interviewed. Valverde's (1974) findings regarding their limited access to sponsorship, and exclusion from administrative positions will be worthy of further investigation. The way in which Māori women respond to similar situations will be significant in terms of identifying coping strategies. The organisational structures and processes of recruitment and control will require scrutiny to determine what other potential barriers may work to deter women from seeking leadership positions (Acker and Van Houten, 1974; Kanter, 1977; Fennel, 1978).

Part Two - Within the Wahine Māori Context

Wahine Māori State of Invisibility

The framework within which to review the study derives from the research conducted in overseas countries (United States of America, and including a study from the United Kingdom). Thus, given the origins of the work presented in the literature review it is critical that the theoretical constructs reflect also on the unique context within which wahine Māori find themselves placed.

Within Aotearoa research has been undertaken by mainstream Pakeha women working to empower women and advance their move towards professional leadership in educational management.

According to Malcolm, there is documented evidence that indicates the prevalence of sex role stereotypes in New Zealand education (1978:115). She states:

> "Men assume roles that require initiative, independence, objectivity, leadership and ability; women fill roles requiring following directions, passivity, nurturance and maintaining favourable relationships" (ibid.).

She maintains that such ingrained attitudes within New Zealand society contribute to a major factor in preventing women from aspiring to leadership positions (1978:115). She adds that: "Women who aspire to fill a leadership role traditionally held by men face evident role conflicts; they stand between one set of inter-personal expectations for how they should behave as women

and a contrasting set of expectations for how they should behave as administrators" (ibid.).

Malcolm cited (1978:116), Webster's 1975 research findings that showed 76 percent of the participants accessing free secondary in-service courses were men. The number of women selected to attend amounted to a low 24 percent. Statistical evidence showed that discrimination on the grounds of sex operated conclusively against women (ibid.).

Mollie Neville's study of the careers of successful women in New Zealand educational administration provided some insights into the "outstanding quality of their characters" (1988:147). The emerging patterns were used to form "a profile of the successful woman administrator" (ibid.).

Neville warns that her findings highlight a scenario whereby only a select minority of women will reach top positions in administration (1988:151). She states: "The implications from this research are, therefore, not encouraging for the majority of women. It suggests that women have to remain single, childless, re-enter the work force after child-bearing, or have very supportive husbands. These men have to have the self-confidence to break out of their stereotyped role and give considerable support to their wives, move towns risking their careers, and be prepared to earn less than their wives." (ibid.).

Research undertaken by Marian Court (1989:151), evaluated a management training strategy which involved 30 Pakeha women participants. Court noted that "these women reported disadvantages based in socially ascribed responsibilities. Structural and ideological factors which support the

'naturalness' of women's involvement with young children and ideas that women are 'unsuited' for management are described and analysed." (ibid.).

Further disadvantages to women are highlighted in Judith Manchester's 1984 study (cited in Court, 1989:152), on the different roles assigned to men and women in secondary school management. Findings showed "few female SMs having responsibility for the traditional areas of school administration such as timetables, buildings, grounds and staff relief. Their jobs were more oriented to welfare, guidance and relationships than those of the mainly male DPs" (ibid.).

- According to Strachan, "In New Zealand, as elsewhere in the world, women are under-represented in positions of educational leadership at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels." (1992:1). Using an adapted intervention programme Strachan's design catered for the "expressed training needs" that involved "ten women in one, co-educational, urban secondary school" (ibid.). The five major components of the programme involved skill building, investigation of career options, establishing support networks, career sponsorship and consciousness raising that highlighted women's issues (1992: 1, 2, 3).

Strachan (1992:10) reported successful strategies that assisted women to identify barriers which rendered them invisible and interventions that supported affirmative action. The results showed development of self-confidence levels, increased visibility and informed challenging of socialisation concepts that "women aren't ambitious or assertive, men lead/women support" (1992:5). The commitment to make positive change

came from the women, but the "structure of the school remained, on the whole, untouched" (1992:10).

In reviewing the range of research data and findings on women in New Zealand, striving for administrative leadership, Pakeha researchers have appropriately refrained from investigating the experiences of wahine Māori. Strachan's intervention programme made no reference to the way in which Māori women may be included and catered for. Court (1989) concluded that feminist theory offered a sound framework for analysing the position of women in educational administration, but again has followed through with mainstream experiences that may or may not be relevant to the experiences of Māori women. Court acknowledged that the issues pertaining to wahine Māori were in need of attention (1989:151). Mollie Neville's (1986) study of the careers of successful women in educational administration inspired and empowered many, but provided the experiences of only one Māori woman. The struggle of Māori women towards their unique form of professionalism remains.

The work and deeds of wahine Māori have impacted significantly on Māori culture and society, yet wahine Māori still endure a state of invisibility within mainstream Pakeha culture, and like their stories suffer the effects of oppression which over a period of time has kept them off the records (Irwin, 1992:1). It is crucial for wahine Māori herstories to be told in order to make sense of the reality of wahine Māori lives. (ibid.). Otherwise they are limited to understanding themselves only through the eyes of others.

Providing for the needs of wahine Māori becomes more complex once it is obvious that wahine Māori are not a homogenous group. They possess

diverse and unique traits which influence their development. Irwin (1992:2,3), identifies

> "...tribal affiliation, social class, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Māori tikanga, knowledge of the Māori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainments..."

Wahine Māori as `Other'

The theory expounded by wahine Māori educationist, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, maintains that: "Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms..." (1992:33). She states, that Māori women, have been defined by their differences to Māori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women. Adding that: "The socioeconomic class in which most Māori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problematic" (1992:33).

The historical structure of 'Other' has prevented the opportunity for Māori women to define for themselves the differences and relate to them accordingly. Colonisers brought with them a brand of superiority with regard to the native inhabitants, emphasising constructed dualisms of "savage and civilised, heathen and Christian, immoral and moral" (ibid.).

The forms of schooling introduced by the coloniser were provided for the primary purpose of assimilating the Māori (the colonised) and their culture (ibid.). Such schools consistently reproduced forms of knowledge and

history more aligned to the colonisers' version of reality (Smith, 1992:34). Such was the hegemonic role that these schools fulfilled Smith states that survival in such institutions, for Māori, meant an acceptance of the reconstructed knowledge of their own society (ibid.). Sadly, for many Māori, they have been alienated from their own society, yet denied full entry to the other, thus remaining on the fringes of Pakeha society (ibid.).

In a similar vein to Irwin, Tuhiwai Smith (1992:35) reiterates the diverse range of forces that have worked to shape Māori women's development. Socialisation apart from the whānau, adoption into non-Māori families, the reality of dysfunctional whānau (and the problems that come to bear on it's members), the intervention of the state institutionalised 'care', and the conscious decision to reside in impoverished urban outlets are all contributing factors (ibid.). It is not surprising that wahine Māori will also hold differing views regarding priorities and goals for their future directions.

Mana Wahine Discourse

Tuhiwai Smith (1992), offers as a theoretical base four strands of the mana wahine discourse. The strands identify both the work and the struggles presently undertaken by wahine Māori.

The whānau discourse is broadly based. In developing a critical awareness of their identity and situation they require knowledge which is "whānau, hapu and iwi specific" (Smith, 1992:39). Within the whānau environs, for example, the marae, wahine Māori are striving to find their rightful place. At a more domestic level, as in the home, forms of oppression, patterns of hegemony in

domestic relationships and practices form a major site of struggle (Smith, 1992:42).

Attempts to eliminate distinct Māori identity, have been recorded in the assimilation and integration policies of our schools. Māori have been actively encouraged to dispense with their beliefs and value systems, language, and other cultural forms of behaviour in former times. At another level, we are reminded of the mythological spiritual struggles, for example, the separation of Papatuanuku from Ranginui (Smith, 1992:43). The states of tapu and noa, have provided perceptions of wahine Māori as having a passive role in such affairs. Within this spiritual discourse wahine Māori are working to connect past teachings with the present realities of life. The struggle relates to a world view, to Māori knowledge, to history, and other spheres of human existence.

The state discourse concerns the struggles of wahine Māori, subjected to the political and Pakeha dominated structures (Smith, 1992:44). In terms of material status wahine Māori suffer the negative effects of colonisation, as well as those manifested by the state (ibid.). Wahine Māori continually experience the oppressions of a group that is socially and economically disadvantaged (ibid.).

The indigenous women's discourse works to place the struggles of wahine Māori inside the international framework (Smith, 1992:46). A wider global perspective is valuable in highlighting our issues and in contributing to international debate and forums (ibid.). Economically, New Zealand relies to a great extent on the international markets. This dependence influences and shapes government policy and reforms. Thus, our struggles cannot

realistically be confined to whānau and iwi (ibid.). There is much that we share in common with other indigenous peoples (ibid.).

The four strands as identified by Tuhiwai-Smith (1992), reinforce the earlier findings of the Royal Commission's Social Policy (April 1988, Volume II, Future Directions) report on the status of wahine Māori. Their uniqueness of life experiences must be allowed to emerge in both research data and research analysis.

The findings of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (April 1988, Volume II, Future Directions) made direct reference to the status of wahine Māori, "In recognition of their tangata whenua status and in terms of the partnership inherent in the Treaty, it is essential that the perspective of Māori women be heard and the implications of that perspective for policy development be fully understood" (1988:156). Furthermore it recognised that "Māori women have diverse interests and perspectives which may vary according to among other things their tribe, their knowledge of tikanga Māori, their geographical location, whether they are heterosexual or lesbian, able-bodied or have a disability" (ibid.). The Commission accepted that "policies cannot succeed if they do not take account of the diversity of women's lives and the impact of culture, ethnicity, age and class." (ibid.).

Experiences of a Wahine Māori Academic

The following experiences of one wahine Māori academic provides an insight into the unique context in which she finds herself. There are parallels with findings from other Māori research literature.

Working in the tertiary domain proved to be an introduction to 'academic ruthlessness' for wahine Māori academic, Rose Parker-Taunoa (Interview in Jones:1988). Conflicts became a way of life and one learnt to cope with situations as they arose (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:44).

Differing perspectives of the concept of biculturalism gave rise to immediate conflict between her as a Māori and her Pakeha colleagues (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:45). Being Māori and therefore reacting as a Māori to Pakeha situations thus became a continual source of conflict (ibid.). 'Other' assertions followed so that colleagues perceived her as being of lower status (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:46). The Pakeha dominated structures of institutions assume a hegemonic role (Smith, 1992:34,44) that prevents Māori women from constructing their unique sense of what it is to be Māori.

Rose remarked, that struggling within a system that renders you and the work that you do as invalid creates a huge disadvantage (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:46). Similarly, Smith (1992:33) refers to the way in which white patriarchies have constructed and defined Māori women by their differences to other groups. There are obstacles to Māori in education, and Māori have to be mindful of these obstacles (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:46). They are very real. Unfortunately no one wants to admit that Māori are disadvantaged because to do so would demand accountability (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:47). No one wants to be accountable, nor admit to maintaining a racist system (ibid.). The common sense of experienced oppression and invisibility of Māori women in mainstream Pakeha culture, is also identified by Irwin (1992:1).

The university system is alien in context and hostile and potentially volatile (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:47). Smith (1992:43,44) also noted how the negative effects of colonisation have encouraged Māori women to dispense with their beliefs and cultural values. To retain one's sense of dignity as a Māori requires strength and support. Drawing on whānau and whakapapa provides that ihi to survive, without compromise and fully intact as a Māori. "What it means is that you are constantly in a state of being misunderstood and misinterpreted; of being rubbished and seen as valueless..." (Parker-Taunoa, 1988:47).

SUMMARY

According to the Wahine Māori discourse contained within the writings of Māori educationalist Linda Tuhiwai Smith, wahine Māori belong to the group of women in the world who have been constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. As women and Māori they have been defined by their differences to Māori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women.

The historical structure of 'Other' has deprived wahine Māori from defining the differences as they experience them. Reproductions of knowledge and history are more aligned to the colonisers' version of reality. Survival for Māori in the institutions provided by the colonisers meant an acceptance of the reconstructed knowledge of Māori society. Consequently Māori have been alienated from Māori society, and still remain on the fringes of Pakeha society.

Wahine Māori have made significant contributions to Māori culture and society yet still remain "invisible". To overcome this wahine Māori must undertake a process of reclaiming and articulating their herstories. As a group wahine Māori have been shaped by a range of forces and therefore hold diverse views regarding priorities and goals. Meeting their differing needs will pose a complex challenge.

The theoretical base that Linda Smith draws from comprises four separate strands: the wahine, spiritual, state and indigenous discourse which together form the overall 'Mana Wahine' discourse. The strands identify the work and

struggles presently undertaken by wahine Māori. Some of the major issues are outlined and follow.

Wahine Māori must define their own realities in order to develop their sense of self-identity. Spirituality plays a significant role in this process.

Within the education system, schools have instigated policies of assimilation and integration which have devalued Māori identity, beliefs, value systems and language.

The struggles of wahine Māori are subjected to the political and Pakeha dominated structures that operate. State institutions have perpetuated their struggles as is apparent in the colonial education policy that provided a curriculum for wahine Māori which destined them for a role of domestication. Whilst academic education was reserved for the elite few, from which Māori were excluded.

Within the international arena, wahine Māori share in the common struggles with other indigenous peoples. Involving aspects pertaining to: relationships with land; sharing a history of colonisation and the long term impact, subtle internalising of hegemonic processes, enduring minority status in terms of population numbers, and the threat of extinction to language and with it culture.

Although the literature moves closer towards a possible explanation for establishing a Māori framework, the gaps still remain. The wahine Māori in this study are not located in a low socio-economic grouping. In terms of educational experience they could be classified as very successful both in

Māori and in Pakeha terms. Their foundations have made them sufficiently strong to defy the misconceptions, by those from the dominant culture, of Māori as deemed to be both 'invisible' and of the 'Other' category. Their Māoriness has been their strength rather than their burden. That is not to deny the ensuing struggles, the barriers and the racism that has dogged each one at some time and in some form.

As stated in the introduction the purpose of this research is to investigate the position and status of wahine Māori in secondary schools through exploring the experiences and critical issues impacting on a group of Māori women. The collated data would be used to provide a broad overview of the women's skills, knowledge, attitudes and values. From the aggregated data would emerge a Māori Women's Professionalism. There must be a focus on factors that contribute to the success of wahine Māori in leadership positions. For those aspiring to similar heights, the women's experiences and struggles will offer support and guidance. Hence, the need for this type of research to be undertaken and for further discussion of questions that have emerged from the literature review.

The factors that contribute to the location of minorities and women in the lower paying and lower status positions of the mainstream education system require attention. With regard to the Māori women interviewed what is different and what are the possible reasons.

Strober, Catanzarite, Ortiz and Valverde referred to minorities being excluded from administrative positions because of a lack of access to appropriate sponsorship and socialisation processes. The circumstances as

they relate to the Māori women interviewed will assist in identifying the pressure and the coping strategies that they adopted.

The relevance of discussions by Kanter, Nieva and Gutek; Salancik and Pfeffer on homosocial reproduction and the hiring of demographically homogenous groups should be weighed against the Māori women's experiences.

The Māori women's perspective on the alternative models of leadership that focused on community and sharing rather than on the traditional male values of individualism and competition (Sergiovanni, Gilligan and McGrath) may reveal particular patterns.

The literature referred to by Farmer, Houser and Garvey, indicated that women were influenced to enter teaching either by their parents or other family members. The significance of family influences on the Māori women entering the teaching profession should be considered.

Finally, the issues of invisibility, the effects of oppression and colonisation as identified by Smith and Irwin will provide the social and political context in which the women interviewed are positioned. Their unique experiences, successes and struggles will provide the broad overview of what it is to be a Māori woman professional.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Qualitative Approach

The methodology most appropriate for this research can be found in the qualitative approach. Basically, there are three major components of qualitative research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:20). First of all, while the data is gathered from various sources it is most commonly gained through interviews and observations. The second component of qualitative research concerns the different analytic or interpretative procedures that are used to arrive at findings or theories. These procedures include the techniques for conceptualising data. Other procedures are also part of the analytic process, including nonstatistical sampling and the writing of memos. Written and verbal reports make up the third component of qualitative research. The final reports may be presented either as an overview of the entire findings or an in-depth discussion of one part of the study.

One of the major controversies and questions concerning qualitative research is the question of approach, particularly the extent to which data should be interpreted (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:21). Some researchers insist that data should not be analysed, and consider the researcher's task is to gather the data and present them in such a manner that "the informants speak for themselves" (ibid.). While the informant's views of reality may not reflect the "truth", nevertheless the subjects' views are reported in the spontaneous and meaningful ways that they were actually expressed. The principle underlying this approach is that the researcher's biases and presence will not intrude upon the data.

Other qualitative researchers are concerned with accurate description when doing their analysis and presenting their findings (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:22). The principle here is to present an accurate description of what is being studied, though not necessarily all of the data that have been studied. Reducing and ordering materials of course represents selection and interpretation. These researchers intersperse their own interpretative comments in and around long descriptive passages and the quotations from interview fieldnotes. The illustrative materials are used to give a sense of what the observed world is really like; while the researcher's interpretations endeavour to represent a more detached conceptualisation of that reality. The interpretations made of the descriptive material vary in their level of abstraction, as presented by different researchers. Not all the interpretative commentary is, strictly speaking, theoretical in nature but some researchers have this as part of their aim.

Some investigators are concerned with building theory. They believe that the development of theoretically informed interpretations is the most powerful way to bring reality to light (Blumer, 1969; Glaser 1978). Building theory, by its very nature, implies interpreting data, for the data must be conceptualised and the concepts related to form a theoretical rendition of reality. The theoretical formulation that results can be used to explain that reality thus providing a framework for action. Researchers concerned with building theory also believe that theories represent the most systematic way of building, synthesising and integrating scientific knowledge. Hence, the rationale for using the grounded theory approach of qualitative research within this study.

Grounded Theory Approach

Strauss and Corbin (1990:23) argue that a grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge.

The methodological thrust of the grounded theory approach to qualitative data is toward the development of theory, without any particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interests (Strauss, 1987:5). It is not a specific method or technique (ibid.). It is more a style of doing qualitative analysis that includes numerous features, such as sampling, and certain methodological guidelines, such as the making of constant comparisons and the use of a coding paradigm, to ensure conceptual development and density (ibid.). Similar data are grouped and given conceptual labels. This means placing interpretations on the data. The concepts are related by means of statements of their relationships. The data may be organised according to themes.

Life Stories

It is the hypothesis of this study that a range of factors will contribute to the success of wahine Māori in leadership positions at secondary school level, in their struggle towards a Māori women's professionalism. A starting point is in the recording of the herstories of wahine Māori which provide personal insights into their experienced realities and struggles, and how those impact on their status, role, and professionalism within the secondary school system.

As women, we pass on our history, our experiences, our viewpoints, insights and learning, from one generation to the next in the telling and re-telling of our stories. Women have always told stories, their own and others', but mainly they were, and still are, unrecorded; or those that were written, often got 'lost' for centuries. The telling of stories and sharing of experiences has been women's way of keeping alive their various cultures and traditions, the oldest of all being oral tradition. This not only keeps alive the culture, but is a way of learning about the reality of each others' lives. Consciousness raising and initiating the first steps in overcoming oppression was, and still is, about telling life stories, listening to and swapping experiences, discovering the reality of each others' lives (Farrell, 1992).

Life stories are central to the developmental process and the process of story telling itself is developmental. It helps us uncover and recall forgotten memories, clarify our thinking in the telling of the story, and develop insights into our lives and liberation. As an equality strategy, it is an awareness raising process, where the personal can be seen to be political, but in the

telling of experiences, equality issues can be more clearly seen within the mainstream of our organisational lives (Farrell, 1992).

The first step in overcoming the effects of any oppression is to recognise, to 'know' and feel its effects in our own lives, and as members of the oppressed group, see its effects on others of our group. One of the main characteristics of all oppression is its relative invisibility in society, and often denial of the oppression both by the majority groups in society, as well as in its internalised form, by members of the oppressed groups. This is particularly true of women's oppression (Farrell, 1992).

Discovery - The Aim of Grounded Theory

Discovery is the aim of grounded theory, therefore the data collection and the associated theoretical sampling for this study was structured to allow for this. The method of data collection needed to match, and capture the kind of information sought. For the purposes of this study, personal interviews seemed the most appropriate process for enabling wahine Māori to share their knowledge of the world, and through their perspectives as Māori. However, in this study at the request of some who were struggling to maintain pressing work and time commitments, an extensive questionnaire was preferred over an interview. The constraints of distance and locality were also factors in this choice.

Participants

The selection of interviewees is referred to as open sampling and is quite indiscriminate. It is this openness, rather than specificity, that guides sampling choices. The wahine Māori were self selected as they were willing participants who were unconcerned about being identified. The possible contributions towards assisting other wahine Māori motivated them to speak out. They were keen to participate and to share their views and experiences. They were reassured that the final research document would be released only when they were comfortable with its final form. Interestingly enough the final sample of ten, while small (because the participants were voluntarily self selected) represented a diverse range of wahine in terms of age, teaching experience, iwi affiliations, whānau backgrounds, knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori, and professional positions held within teaching and education.

Interviewing

The approach to the interview situation needed to allow me to absorb and uncover potentially relevant data, hence the need to ensure that the interview structure was not too tight. I wanted to allow sufficient space for other potentially relevant concepts to emerge, while also thinking about conceptual areas that I had already brought to the investigation or uncovered during the research.

Open sampling required considerable interviewing and observational skills, so that the researcher was comfortable while waiting for something to happen or someone to say something interesting. This required the researcher to know how to probe without putting participants on the defensive or influencing their responses. While actually interviewing, the researcher adjusted the process and thus making decisions immediately on the focus, on what to ask, and where to look. Some questions or foci became redundant and less relevant according to the individual participant's responses. This analytical sensitivity is tantamount to theoretical sampling on site. It could be described as the 'Guided Interview Method' where the participants were guided and probed for in-depth responses without dominating or intimidating them.

The venue for the interviews was left over to the individual wahine, and in this way the interaction and communication flowed more naturally as they were in a familiar and comfortable 'space'. The availability of time to share and to reflect was also a key factor in their being at ease and therefore willing to speak freely and frankly.

It was important and essential that the researcher operated comfortably in both cultures, but could also stand back and put both sets of cultural values (and the real and potential conflicts) and perspectives, in order to delve deeper into the issues.

Kaitiakitanga

It cannot be assumed that one can move into a Māori framework and find interesting information which is then reorganised and published for the edification of the researcher and the world at large. There are other dimensions to the value of knowledge. The Māori attitude to knowledge is a holistic one. The past is part of the present and there is a continuing theme of guardianship of knowledge - 'kaitiakitanga'. The role of the researcher is just that, one of 'kaitiakitanga' and that what is shared is the intellectual property of the wahine Māori concerned. In this respect, the onus is on the researcher to gain their final approval for publication of any material collected. To this end a hui will be held at Tarimano marae (kainga tuturu of the researcher) before the end of this academic year to gain verification from the wahine Māori for their approval, their protection and for the integrity of the kaupapa.

In summarising, the grounded theory approach enabled the wahine Māori to initiate the area of study through their data and from this the relevant phenomena was allowed to emerge.

The features of grounded theory that assisted the wahine Māori in their discoveries included: open sampling to any wishing to participate; making

comparisons; identifying similar data and grouping findings and organising data according to developing themes.

Of equally significant relevance was the use of guided interviews, whereby the researcher prompted interview starters to enable the women to have a starting point for discussion. Once started it was left to them to steer the course of the interview. An aid to the wahine Māori opening up was the total assurance that their stories and their struggles remained their property, with the researcher having the role of kaitiakitanga or guardianship. The result of this is that only after viewing the final data in written form would their theory be released publicly.

CHAPTER THREE: INTRODUCTION TO PARTICIPANTS

Interviewee One

B.A. (English) (Victoria), Dip. Tchg. Assistant Teacher of English. She has eight years teaching experience. She spent two years travelling overseas. She considers it an achievement that she is still teaching. She is thirty-one years old.

Interviewee Two

B.A. (Massey), Dip. Tchg., Counselling Cert. Assistant Teacher of English. She has two years teaching experience. She was responsible for establishing a community house for crisis counselling. She persevered for over sixteen years to complete her degree. She is married to an Australian and has three children. She is thirty eight years old.

Interviewee Three

Dip. Tchg. Head of Māori Department. She has eighteen years teaching experience. She spent two years travelling overseas. She is actively involved in Māori community and Marae affairs. As well as enjoying some participation in the Operatic Society and Alliance Francaise, she is married with two children and is thirty nine years old.

Interviewee Four

Dip. Tchg., Adv. Dip. Commerce, (Waiariki). Transition Tutor. She has twenty eight years teaching experience. She was Head of Commerce and held the position of Transition Co-ordinator. Having resigned for family reasons, she is actively involved in her Community and the Anglican Church. She has three children and is fifty-eight years of age.

Interviewee Five

Teaching Cert. Assistant Principal. She has thirty years teaching experience. She has specialised in Mathematics and Science. She is a member of SPANZ. Part of her strategy for relaxing is to put herself on a Pacific Island where she enjoys snorkelling, diving and reading. She is married with three children and is fifty-three years of age.

Interviewee Six

Kindergarten Teaching Dip, (Auckland). Early Childhood Education Co-ordinator. She has twenty five years teaching experience. She is a former Lecturer in Education and also served in the Education Review Office. She has held both Regional and National Executive positions with the Public Service Association and the Early Childhood Union. Her sporting achievements include selection as a New Zealand Netball Trialist. Currently much of her spare time is spent writing modules in Early Childhood Care and Education. She has four children and is forty seven years old.

Interviewee Seven

B.Sc. (Chemistry) (Otago), Māori Studies Cert. (Waikato), M. Ed. (To complete 1994), Dip. Tchg., Christchurch Teachers College Dip. (Distinction). Senior Lecturer Bilingual/Bicultural Science Education/Centre for Science and Mathematics Education Research. She has sixteen years teaching experience. Prior to taking up a senior lectureship she held the position of PR 4 Head of Department Science and Administration, assuming also the role of Assistant Principal for one term. She has an outstanding record in the field of sports with particular achievements in Netball and Swimming at representative level, including gaining her New Zealand Netball Umpire's Theory Badge. She is a member of the newly formed National Association of Māori Mathematicians, Scientists and Technologists. Her special abilities in this field resulted in secondment by the former Department of Education to review secondary school Bilingual Science Programmes. At thirty eight years of age she will further develop her career in the Centre for Science and Mathematics Education Research.

Interviewee Eight

Teaching Cert., Tohu Matauranga. Principal. She has thirty years teaching experience. She has taught at all levels of primary school teaching specialising in Art and Social Studies. She held the positions of Assistant Principal, Deputy Principal and Itinerant Teacher of Māori before gaining her secondary school Principalship. Active in her community and Anglican Church, she is married with four children. She is fifty four years of age.

Interviewee Nine

Dip. Tchg., Teaching Cert. Assistant Teacher of Te Reo Māori. She has eighteen years teaching experience. She is heavily involved with the Runanga-a-Iwi, Te Runanga o Te Reo of Te Taitokerau and is an affiliate to the New Zealand Māori Council. She is also a Eucharistic Celebrant and member of the Roman Catholic faith. Among her many leadership roles in education she holds the position of Whaea within the New Zealand Post Primary Teachers Association. Married with four children (tokorua kua mate) she is sixty four years of age.

Interviewee Ten

B.A. (Auckland), Dip. Tchg. Education Manager, Te Kura Māori, Humanities. She has over thirty five years teaching experience. She spent two years teaching in Hong Kong and one term in employment with the Vancouver Education Board. Within New Zealand she has considerable experience in both primary and secondary areas. She has held the positions as Head of Department Languages and Assistant Principal. She is married with three children and she is fifty-five years of age.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE WOMEN'S STORIES

Interviewee One

I lived on the North Shore in Auckland until I was thirteen years old. I went to Sandspit Primary and Christian College in Auckland. Our parents moved south so I went to an Agricultural High School.

I studied English, Science, Mathematics, Biology, Art, French, History, Art History and Māori. I was taught Māori by one of the priests from a nearby boys' school.

I am second in the family. I've got an older sister, a brother, another sister and for about fifteen years I had another brother who was my foster brother.

In the back of my head I think that probably I'd always thought about being a teacher. Mainly because of the subjects that I chose to take. There's not much you can do with an English degree.

At university you have no idea about classroom teaching. I didn't until I got into training college and that first section. Big panic! That's when I started worrying about what kind of teacher I would be.

Although I haven't sought after promotion I have started to think about it. I spent two years teaching in one school and then I had a break. When I got back in 1991 it was a matter of finding a job. Everything had changed and finding a job was difficult. I got long term relieving.

What made me think about gaining promotion was the situation of not being able to influence things. Seeing some people who were not incompetent but just not up with it and not being able to change that. Also finding out that you do something without getting the credit for it.

I've never seen myself as a terribly ambitious person. I like classroom teaching that's what I really like doing. I don't want to be in an office. But I've come to the realisation that if you want to make a change and if you want to get the credit for it you have got to move up.

I can honestly say that I don't feel prepared for taking on a position of responsibility. I don't get the opportunity to learn more about what I think I need to know to do the job properly. I have been appointed to the Curriculum Development Committee. I'm working with senior staff from other departments. It's good for curriculum development in the school.

From my department as far as my subject area is concerned professional development is non-existent. It's really frustrating because we are just not told about things. You're not encouraged to look outside and find out what's going on.

Early in my career I did cope but I got to the point where I had to get away. I knew that I was going to be a nervous wreck if I didn't. Teaching was all consuming. I was living and breathing it twenty-four hours. School was my entire life. I got very tired but nobody told me I was. When I got away I found, wow there's a world out here. I really did feel like I'd been in a little cocoon.

The general well-being and support is very much up to the individual. There is no overall support network.

After two years of "O.E." I came back. I made a conscious decision not to let that happen again. I'm not going to let teaching rule my life. I'm trying to be a bit more organised. Before I used to just roll along with the flow. But now I find I can't do that. I want to keep my sanity and hopefully still do a good job. For my support networks I rely on the people I know, individual staff members and friends who hold similar attitudes to myself.

I like classroom teaching that's what I like, being a teacher. In the next couple of years I'd like to get a P.R. in the department. I'm going to start making it known. I'd really like to be a Head of Department. Anything higher than that, no forget it. From what I can see I don't like it. The higher up you go the further away from the classroom you get.

I want to be in control of what I'm doing. There is a lot to be done for Māori that isn't being done. I'm feeling brassed off, really there's a lot more that I could be doing. But I feel I'm doing enough for what they're giving me. I'm not going to knock myself out any more for no return.

There are promotional barriers to Māori women in schools. In particular, male networks. I think it's predominantly the male thing. The white, Pakeha male.

I think to a certain extent Māori women are so committed to all sorts of things. To their work, homes, extra-curricular and cultural activities.

Sometimes I think that maybe they're not confident enough about themselves. Women don't want to raise themselves above their men. That disturbs me as things have moved on. Maybe that's just individual. But it would worry me if Māori women took that attitude to our Māori men and that our Māori men would feel threatened. It concerns me that maybe that attitude is still quite prevalent. Māori men should not assume a leadership role automatically, and over Māori women.

Māori women should be really confident in themselves, and in their own ability and believe in their ability. They must look at their achievements.

Māori women need to be aware of the structures in schools. The hierarchy and identify who is in it.

When I taught at Paranui College I was the only Māori on the staff. I taught there for three years but at this school I've taught with more Māori teachers than I have at any other school. It's great. The proportion of Māori students is also higher.

I think that Māori women are definitely going up. I think we're overtaking Māori men. Māori girls are advancing ahead of Māori boys. Being culturally aware, supportive of each other, real achievers who are not going to give up no matter what. That's how I feel about Māori women. It worries me that so many of our Māori men are aimless and unmotivated. There are lots of reasons why they are like that. To me Māori women are stronger. I think education is a great place for them because Māori women are natural educators.

Interviewee Two

I went to Western Primary and Moana Intermediate. Then my secondary school years from forms three to seven I spent at Rimu High School. I was in the Science stream which was an academic stream.

I studied French, Mathematics, Science, Biology, Chemistry, Art History, Geography and English. I didn't have to do much work at school and I seemed to breeze through exams.

I had neat teachers for Science, Biology and Chemistry. I had these wonderful teachers. They were really dramatic. They would stand up in front of the class and they would drift off into something. They would be passionate about their subject.

One of the difficult things for me being educated in those schools was that we were just about the only Māori family at those schools. There was a lot of responsibility on me. It was almost certain that I would be chosen to be a prefect and a leader of the school because I was one of a few Māori.

I came from a big family. Mum and dad had thirteen children. Two of my brothers were adopted out and brought up by members of mum's whānau. There were a lot of financial problems with raising such a big family.

My dad was doing a Bachelor of Commerce at a University. He was sent there by Ratana. His family moved to Ratana after the Napier earthquake. My grandmother got sick and dad came back to look after her. Mum helped

him nurse her. She eventually died. He never went back and he gave up that opportunity. They settled down and started their family. He ended up in the freezing works and worked his way up to a supervisor's position. He was a man of great intellect. He also had a heart. That's what I remember most of him, his wairua and his heart.

In our family mum looked after whakapapa and lands. She was brought up by a nanny and her nanny had no children. She inherited a lot of shares in Māori land. Mum was in the airforce when she met my father. She left the airforce and I think she regretted that. I think for me that's been a struggle. That kind of atmosphere and upbringing and that kind of sadness. The regret was there. They said they didn't regret having children and settling down but I sensed it and the hardship with money.

I was sixth in the family. I tried very, very hard at school and I did very well. I have a favourite story about when I got my School Certificate results. I can tell this story now, without the bitterness that I used to tell it with. I remember my mum sitting at the kitchen table. My older sister was there as well. My top mark was 84 per cent for English. My bottom mark was 66 per cent for Mathematics. I was so proud, so pleased and relieved. I remember taking my results and showing my mother. She said, "Oh yes." So there was always this feeling of what do I have to do to prove myself? I am beginning to understand that perhaps there was always an expectation that I would do well anyway.

When I was twelve or thirteen I had this secret desire to be a teacher. When I was at Moana Intermediate it was just something about these people that was sparkly, friendly and kind.

Then my brother blew it for me. He went to teachers' college. I thought blow it, I don't want to be a teacher. I think it was part of this wanting to prove myself and to be different from anybody else in my family.

In my twenties my friends used to say to me finish off your degree. Go to teachers' college because you'd be a really neat teacher. I didn't believe that I could be but then in my thirties I thought about it again. I'd done counselling and gone back to work after my son Rawiri was four or five. I finished my degree. Teaching seemed the logical next step so I did it. I think it was just such a shame that I didn't have the confidence to pursue a Bachelor of Science. It just seemed that we all went off into the Social Sciences or Humanities stream. I have thought about that just as a personal challenge.

This is my second year of teaching. I envisage that in five years time that I'll be looking for promotion to a P.R. or a Head of Department position in English. I can't see myself as an assistant teacher forever when I see incompetence around me. I really believe that I can do as good a job, if not better, than my Head of Department at this school.

I would really love to be out of the kind of school that we have to teach in. If there was a middle school for Māori, run by Māori according to Māori values I would opt for it. In our present school system there isn't the scope for whānau support and support for our young people in the way that they need to be supported. I feel slowly that I'm being stifled.

I'm prepared to move away to seek promotion. I have the full support of my husband. I've told him that this is my life's work. I know that he's been very supportive of that. When I was at teachers' college I told a few people that I had this dream about being the Assistant Principal at Wanganui High School.

I know that there are certain professional development courses that I'd have to take. That's no problem, I'd make sure that I had. I have had opportunities this year. I've focused my work on my subject area strengthening skills in video production and drama. When the opportunity comes for specifically managerial type professional development seminars then I'll go for that.

I don't feel that I have access to appropriate role models at school. Not for women. I am also aware that there are games being played. I will not have a part to those games. I have learnt to be straight to certain people on staff and say I will not put up with that.

I look to a few selected colleagues from the English department but mainly the Māori staff for support. My major support outside of school is my husband and my children. My children put up with me when I'm overtired and crabby.

From an English teacher's point of view there are informal networks operating. Things like our P.E.L.A. an association for English teachers. For Māori language teachers there is a stronger network there. I have further networking through my contacts with people that I went through teachers' college with. I have also made a few contacts through courses for year one teachers and Hui Rumaki which is a Māori language course.

I think it would be amazing if Māori women in this area could get together and hui. It would be wonderful to be able to get some direction and then the role modelling would be there for us. Next year for the year of Te Reo Māori. There's an idea for starters.

I have not coped (with the pressures in teaching) particularly well. Not well at all. But I have resolved to make some changes for this term and for the rest of my career. I need to set boundaries for myself. I haven't. I have got too carried away with my work. At the moment I feel as if my work has become unmanageable. I have got so much marking and a backlog of work to do that I'm in that uncomfortable state.

My family have really been taking the brunt of my sleepless nights. Not so much sleepless but my late nights. I sleep very well once my head goes on the pillow. My daughter in particular has copped the grumpy mood between now and half past eight in the morning.

The stress that I've had to deal with in the last month has been to raise the standard of my students' work. I just get so frustrated at the level at which they're pitching their presentation of work. It takes time and energy. I just want to give up and say well if that's what you want to do fine leave it at that. But they need to be taught.

I've put myself under some unnecessary stress for this production of the front page of a newspaper. I decided everything had to be typed out to look professional. It meant hours of typing on the computer. I found out that there's a budget in the English department for computers. A bit late to find

out. We need hard disks and we need paper. There is frustration. What are we teaching the kids to do and be when we don't have the tools.

For me (future aspirations are), P.R., Head of Department or an Assistant Principal. Also I would love to start my masters degree. I would love to do that and to be a bit more serious about my own education. To be taking more responsibility for my own education. I would like to do something for myself and at the same time gain a masters degree through it. Something for myself that I am interested in. Something that just doesn't require me passing unnecessary exams in order to get a bit of paper. I want for my children to have aspirations and they do fortunately. I want them to be educated in the rounded sense.

On the other side there's whakapapa and I have found this new fascination with who I am and who we are as a family. The time is right and now to learn these kinds of things.

From my own point of view a barrier facing me would be one, my total lack of confidence. Perhaps a lack of knowledge about how to go about playing the system because we're very, very accepting. Māori are very, very accepting. Perhaps that's our downfall. We have to think of number one first because physically and emotionally if you're not strong you can't do the best. When I get overworked neglect sets in which causes the self-esteem to drop and the lack of confidence to be there.

The other would be this idea that perhaps I'm not qualified enough. How do I measure the talents that I bring to teaching. How do I quantify experiences as somebody who worked and set up a playcentre and educational

programmes? When I don't have a certificate to say that I did do that and I worked all those hours. That's what we do as Māori women we do so much extra and so many hours extra. But we don't go for these glossy certificates that say we are qualified and experienced. It wasn't paid employment, it was all voluntary and that makes a difference. I wasn't paid to do that so it doesn't count. I think that for me, for my personal experience that's the downfall. That's the lack of confidence that comes in as well as the overwork.

I wonder too about the perception from other people, tauiwi, about our ability to do the job well. Unless we act in a particular way. Unless we speak in a particular way. It's all about how we are perceived.

I know in the end that as an assistant teacher I'm not going to have much impact. In terms of where I believe the impact is necessary. Especially when the power is held by such a few. I can't be here for too long because it's too frustrating.

Māori women should seek professional advancement and by all means go for it. It's absolutely necessary to have Māori women in positions of responsibility. By all means Māori women should be open to professional development opportunities in schools. To further their education in the wider sense by completing a degree, an M.A. or other qualifications. That is the tohu that is the thing at the end of it. That's the piece of paper that you have to present in your curriculum vitae. Something that a lot of us lack. Those bits of paper that say we are qualified. We must look at ourselves and we must strive to get in positions of responsibility.

Part of me just wants to slide in and be incognito but I can't because there's too much work to be done. There's too much uplifting needed.

When I look at my own family and I see the women that are there part of me is very grieved by the missed opportunities of my mother's generation. They are still there and they have so much knowledge that they can give to my generation. But. And the but is alcohol. We deal with frustrations in different ways. It seems that in my mother's family frustration has been dealt with by drinking. So it's a waste. I look at who is there in my generation and I have a feeling of responsibility. My mother and father made the sacrifices for me to be where I am now.

Māori women are becoming stronger and becoming more of a force. Part of me wants to say to tautoko our men. I've always had that sense when I was growing up in our family. It's not that the men are weak in our family. They are very talented but they are not as focused. In education Māori women are becoming stronger and we must do something about supporting our men. There is something sadly lacking. A lack of something in the character.

I see why I married my husband. The support is there no matter what. There is this encouragement enabling me to go out and do things. When I was at university I had a couple of Māori boyfriends. The support wasn't there in the same way. There was something that was just lacking. I sometimes feel quite sad about that. I feel quite sad that my husband isn't Māori and he can't share the things that are so important to me. But he has brought to me an awareness of so much more of what I want our sons to be. I know that through his example they will be stronger. They will have the conviction that I see that is lacking in some of our men.

Interviewee Three

Mine is a local story. I attended a Catholic Primary School. My dad was the Deputy Principal at another Primary School. I went there for a while. My parents both taught in the Pacific Islands for two years. I was educated there for two years.

My teacher there had the most profound effect on me in terms of how I believe he taught me so well. He is the teacher that I have the fondest memories of. It was a two teacher school and he took all the standards. We were very much like Ruamata School with a whole range of ages with only a few pockets of kids in each class level. He did a lot of group teaching and we also had our own individual work to do as well. His organisation was phenomenal. He taught us to swim in the sea. We had sports days. He took us outside and he showed us plants. He did all these kinds of things and it was very enjoyable. My first Māori songs, apart from the ones we had at home, were learnt at Niue Island.

When I came back to a Girls' College, a Catholic school for girls, had just opened. I went there as a form one student. There was no Māori language taught there at that time. There might have been the occasional Māori song. I didn't see it as a lack in my education because my Māori side was separate from my school side. We went up North for tangis. That was my home side and the school side was different.

In form four, a priest asked whether anybody wanted to learn Māori. My parents are both fluent speakers of Māori. We had never spoken Māori. The

same story. They inherited that getting a strap at school. Their memories are very strong of younger brothers getting hit on the first day of school for speaking Māori by well meaning teachers. They were determined that our English would be better than adequate. In our best interests they chose not to speak Māori to us.

So the father said did anybody want to learn Māori. I was one of the few that said yes. At that point in time I knew more French than I knew Māori. For forty minutes a week on Wednesday for one term I learned Māori with the father. A Dutch Priest.

One day the bell rang on the stove. I said to my father, kua tangi te pere. His eyes popped out and he said go and tell your mother. From that time on my parents were wonderful. They were supportive.

I should mention that I was accommodated by the school and was sent to a Girls' High School for a year to study German.

I went to university for two years and then on to training college. My teaching career started at a country high school. Not for any great desire to teach there but that was the job I landed. That's been largely how my education and my career has gone. It's sort of what has fallen my way rather than any great determination to go in a certain direction.

All I have been clear about right from when I was at school is that I will be a teacher. I was never in any doubt. I never felt that I would like to do anything else but of late I have. As for future aspirations I haven't given them a great deal of thought. It's really been just a matter of survival.

My career, now I trained to be a French, English and Māori language teacher. In terms of strength my Māori was the weakest. However, I was never a great fan of teaching English. There's far too much marking and you have to read too many boring essays. But I was adequately qualified to teach English and confident to teach French. I was wanting to teach Māori but not at all confident to teach Māori. Mine had been a book Māori. It wasn't speaking Māori. In 1977 the renaissance was just beginning. Schools weren't short of Māori teachers and they weren't even considering them.

The Principal at my school said to me we're thinking of starting a Māori class would you be interested in being in charge of that. I said I'm a new teacher. I'd like to see myself established in an already established department before I branch out or be responsible for an area of my own. However towards the end of the year it was raised again. There had not been any Māori at that school up till that time.

I had very few resources so I wrote away and got free copies of Wharekura and Tautoko. I used very little money to build resources in the Māori Department. The school would have profited magnificently from that. I was a new teacher and I was able to be manipulated. It wasn't until I left there that I realised that I had been manipulated.

This is an important job starting a Māori department and to give it to a new teacher. I have since seen the politics of it. There was an establishment grant offered to schools if you started Māori. It was used as a selling point to

schools. It was never explained to me and of course I was very easy to manipulate because I was so new to the whole game.

Three years later I went to leave. When I went to hand in my resignation I said I notice you haven't advertised my job. At that stage I had School Certificate classes and a thriving Māori Department. Clearly he didn't anticipate the interest and the success of the programmes and the enthusiasm and energy that a young teacher has. I was single and absolutely committed to Māori things. He was saying to me it was too hard to replace me. I burst into tears in his office and I said you can't do this. That was the climate I began teaching Māori in. However, he did advertise my job in the Gazette.

Since then I have had a very checkered teaching career. I did some relieving before going overseas for eighteen months where I worked as a barmaid and then as a nanny in a Greek household. Where they only spoke Greek. That gave me another cultural perspective. It makes me so humble when there are other cultures.

I grieve for our kids who are so mono-cultural who will not tolerate Japanese kids, who will laugh at Japanese culture and will laugh at drama. They are totally intolerant. It's a lack of exposure to other cultures. Our kids, I'm not talking about Pakeha New Zealanders. It's absolutely arrogant that our kids who purport to be such holders of culture can't see that their culture is precious and so is everybody else's. They get so indignant if there are twitters from Pakeha kids at Māori things. I hope that overseas exchanges will redress some of that. Not all of our kids are like that but the ones that are can certainly be very public about it.

While I was away I had mates in France and I went to French weddings and I picked grapes with French people as a job. Those kinds of things come to bear on me as a teacher. Those kinds of experiences are what I bring to my kids now and the kids are fascinated.

I believe that our schools are full of teachers who have been in the classroom since the age of five. From five till they retire they have been in some classroom either as a pupil, a student and then a teacher. That's their experience and that gives them a blinkered vision. The most interesting teachers for our kids are the ones who have been carpenters before, or boatbuilders, grape pickers, potato growers and so on. They have all of that interesting life experience to bring to their classrooms. If you don't have an interesting background to draw on you are just going to be stuck with your books and your blackboard. That's all that your kids are going to get out of you and that's not enough.

When I came back from overseas I went to a High School and did some part time relieving. I then went full time in the Māori Department. While I was at this High School, the Head of Languages unexpectedly left to go to a Polytechnic. I was already teaching French and Māori and from the school's point of view it was desirable that the Head of Languages remain a Māori. So you know I fell into that. It was not something that I had sought after, I just happened to be the one there. That position was a PR1.

Then a Girls' High School advertised for an HOD Māori which was a PR2. Before the interview I was asked to try for a similar position, but at a Catholic College. I was approached by the Deputy Principal as they were losing their

senior Māori teacher to the College of Education in another town. I applied for the position at the Girls' High School because at my own school we had been agitating for a Bi-Lingual class. Our man over at that school was too slow. We had heard him publicly at meetings saying that Bi-Lingual education is a dream. We had been waiting for two years and he had never consulted us, his Māori staff. I was very anxious to be a part of the Bi-Lingual thrust. I pursued the position at the Catholic College because it was a co-educational school and I was familiar with the running of it because I had relieved there and I had attended as a pupil during my school days. More importantly they wanted to start a Bi-Lingual Unit and I knew that if I came, it would be developed along the lines that I wanted because it was new. That was the temptation, not that it was a PR2. Neither was there dissatisfaction with my job at my old school, it was simply that we had no immediate prospect of a Bi-Lingual Unit and I did not want to be left out any more.

For me there has been no lusting after power or PR Units. Frankly, I think that those kinds of things remove some of our best teachers from what they do best to places behind desks pushing paper where they are not wonderful administrators. I am sure that I'm not a wonderful administrator, but I am an efficient teacher. I am a competent teacher and I am a committed teacher. It seems to me that the higher you go up the more removed you become from what you do best and that's something you have to weigh up.

I have been asked if I am interested in the job of Senior Mistress which is now termed an Assistant Principal. I have no desire to be dealing with wagging, swearing, stealing and not wearing the correct uniform. This is not what I got into teaching for. I might be interested if there was a Kura

Kaupapa Māori that I felt I could be a part of. I could be interested in something like that. I am not interested in that kind of position in this kind of structure. I am happiest as a Māori teacher.

As Māori teachers we tap into the things that excite the kids. Their excitement is contagious. I see it in our kids you just pick up on something that's just right with them. It spreads and then everybody is laughing and everybody is animated. There is an unspoken bond that's already there. My most enjoyable clientele are Māori kids and I find them quite addictive.

It's really important for me for them to be proud of me as their Māori teacher. To be able to trust me that I won't embarrass them in any way. There's nothing nicer for me to hear the kids say Miss you look nice or Miss you sounded nice when you did that. Those are real gems for me. It's a conscious attempt by me to be turned out as well as I can. My colleagues' opinion is less important to me than my Māori students.

When I agreed to teach French this year I wanted my Māori students to see that Māori teachers can teach things other than Māori. I also needed the Pakeha student fraternity to see that the Māori teacher could also teach French. There's a certain amount of snob value in that and I know that is a very superficial thing, but it was important for them to see it. That my own Māori kids could say our Māori teacher doesn't teach just Māori, she can teach French too. The pride we have in each other, it works both ways.

Barriers to Māori women, yes they are there and they are there as perceptions too. Certainly they are there, but they are not insurmountable. What makes it difficult is the way that when a Māori comes on to the staff,

the automatic assumption is that their English will only be standard English. They won't be able to understand words of more than two syllables. That's the first. These are the things that I believe a Māori teacher comes on to a staff with. The automatic things that are already there that have to be dismantled. That they are not as literate or as articulate as the non-Māori staff. That they don't have an interest in administration. That they are very good disciplinarians, so you hand over all of the Māori problems to them.

However, I would rather that the Māori discipline problems did come to me because I am arrogant enough to think that others will mishandle them badly. I can deal with things smartly without having to go through detentions and building up of resentment.

Those barriers are certainly there. I notice that I am on a lot of committees firstly because I'm Māori. But I also notice that I have to promote other young Māori women on staff. Empowering our young Māori women is not something that anybody else thought was necessary. It's a kind of condescension. I am beginning to wonder about our Māori men, I think they are getting left behind. It would be wonderful if at some stage we could hui together. It would be as wonderful if someone could do this for our Māori men.

Interviewee Four

I was educated at a small Native School and it was predominantly Māori. The students there achieved well. It was a farming community and was part of a pilot scheme initiated by Sir Apirana Ngata. The school was very supportive. Most of the Māori people who came from that school seem to have done well. I think it was the security that seems to be the basis for that because our parents were not professional people. They were farming people.

I went on to the city and I wanted very much to go to a High School which was co-educational. But my mother was very much in favour of me going to a Catholic School. She thought they made ladies of you so that's why I ended up at the Catholic School for girls in the city.

The school had two categories, General Studies which was an academic stream and Commercial Studies for the rest of the students. I was put into Commercial Studies. There was probably an assumption made by the school that those from the Native schools would not be academically inclined. I look back now and I think I should have done General Studies, but there was no choice. I think that my education was very limited.

The nuns turned out wonderful Shorthand Typists and so I became a whiz kid at Shorthand Typing. I studied Shorthand Typing, Book Keeping and English. The English was more grammatical and there was no Literature. It was really, really limiting. I don't recall being given a choice. When we came into the school they made the decisions. Academically I could have gone further if I just had that background.

Although at that time my parents were doing very well by me. In that era there was a lot of thinking that girls grew up and got married so what is the point of educating them. My dad never had that attitude, but a lot of people around me did have. I think later they learnt to educate the women and that ensured the children would be educated too.

We are a close knit family, but my dad was very much the head of the house. He worked hard to support a family of ten children. I came about middle in the family. He was so busy working that it wasn't until the latter years that there was time to get to know him. My mum is a lot younger and as children we were brought up to look after her. It was a happy home and we were very secure. We weren't pressured by our parents.

I got married and went out to a timber town. After having two children I got the job as secretary to the Management in the large mill there. I was approached to go and teach at the local College. I had not consciously planned a career in teaching. Quite frankly there was no attraction for me to go teaching. I had done secretarial work and I would have gone back into that.

However, I went to the College and out there in those days you could take your children to school. I began to teach and I found that I just loved it. I can remember walking to the classroom and thinking I love it. Eventually I got sick of it and I wanted out. But for many years it was something that I really loved doing. So in that respect I was lucky and I was good at it. I could get a lot out of the students that other teachers couldn't.

At Rangitahi I taught Commerce for three years. During this period I gained a Pitman's Teaching Diploma in Shorthand through a Polytechnic. I also had to go to a Training Outpost. There was a concern about uncertificated teachers working in schools. I was certificated after having completed twenty years of teaching and it didn't make me a better teacher.

Working with the students at the College I found as a teacher that you either win them or you don't. If you do win them, you have a lot of success. There was no streaming so you taught all levels which I believe is the measure of a good teacher.

While teaching there I did seek after promotion. I had been there for years and I was asked to be Head of House. My response was why should I take on Head of House when I didn't have a PR at all. Other staff members holding Head of House positions all enjoyed some form of PR status. So that's how I got my recognition. I was made the Head of Commerce. Just before I left Rangitahi, I was offered the position of Senior Mistress. They don't always like to bring in new people to these district schools. I was not terribly ambitious, but at the same time I was not going to be given responsibility without any form of recognition. I actually had aspirations of training as a Guidance Counsellor through Massey University, but family circumstances changed that.

Having moved from the country back to the city I eventually started at a large High School by doing relief teaching. A position for a Transition Co-ordinator became available. I applied for that and got it. Initially this job did not carry any PR units. Once having made it known to the school that the position in Transition was recognised with a PR at other schools, there was no problem.

In time it was given PR status. My husband became terminally ill so I resigned the position.

I don't see any barriers to Māori women seeking promotion. People are bending over backwards with this equity thing. I am a firm believer that you shouldn't choose Māori women because they are Māori. I don't believe they should be appointed because they are women. I think that they must be competent. I think the balance is swinging in favour of the Māori and Māori women have the edge more so than Māori men.

When seeking promotion they must believe that they are going to succeed and make sure that they aren't put down. There are ploys that can discourage young people. But if they know their worth it really doesn't matter whose challenging them. I think that they should go for it. If they don't get what they are deserving of, there is the backup in place for them that they may not have got a long time ago. You may lose or you may win, but go for it. Stand tall for what you are and be what you are.

As an observation I think Māori do tend to group together for support and tend to be less concerned with what is happening on a broader scope. I don't think that is necessarily good for them because in order to know what is happening they should be getting involved. It's a natural thing to seek support and togetherness, but not to seek it elsewhere is a mistake.

There is support in the school and that can benefit Māori staff as well. If they are known. I really think that is something young people should be aware of. If you want to be seen as a well integrated person who is looking at the

school as a whole, then by strengthening yourself with, say, the non-Māori part of the school, you really strengthen the whole attitude towards Māori.

Once you start keeping together, it doesn't give you as much strength. For you to operate within the school you need a wider perspective which you are not getting if you are sticking in one area. It doesn't hurt to broaden and to meet a few challenges from other staff and prove that you can stand and walk tall. It shows that you are comfortable, that you understand all people and that you're prepared to work with anyone.

If you see yourself going up through the ranks people will not see you as a likely senior woman if you are associated with only one group and need to be propped up by one. If you are going to be in a senior management position you really don't and shouldn't have to rely on one group for that ultimate support to keep you going.

It's lovely that the support and togetherness is there and it always will be because it's a part of being Māori. But I think that you have to be perceived as being able to stand tall and comfortably with that feeling of equality. I think sometimes it's perceived that you don't and that you need to always be together. That's how it's perceived, wrongly in many instances, or it can be perceived as arrogance. If you are ambitious for yourself you need to be aware of how you are being perceived.

More Māori are needed as Senior Women and as Principals and not just as Heads of Māori Departments. Māori people are also needed outside of the Māori Department if people are going to change anything. They have got to make a change that will impact on the students in the entire school. They

need to get more involved and know what is happening. If a Māori woman is career oriented she will have to look broader.

However, within the education system I believe that the greatest area of need for Māori is in the Guidance Counselling area. This area has not been addressed in education. I feel extremely strongly that this is where we need Māori people because there are many troubled kids out there. It is useless to get the average sort of Pakeha person to come in to counsel Māori. I believe they don't have enough to pick up on the needs of Māori. They don't have the confidence when dealing with Māori kids and there is something lacking there. With the best will in the world and care they are still not able to cope. They have the compassion and aroha but it is not something that you can learn out of a textbook.

I believe that Māori women are better at this because they have an instinct. I don't care what anybody says they feel more. I say this as a person brought up and comfortable in both worlds. I have to be absolutely honest, the best counsellors that I have ever come across are Māori women. It is something that they do best and this is an area where they would really make such an impact. There is definitely a grave need for more training of Māori women as Guidance Counsellors.

A lot of our Māori kids need it. They need their culture but they need counselling as well. A lot of the damage is already well underway. So if you get good competent counsellors catching up on these things they can work on it. Māori know more instinctively how to approach Māori students. Sometimes it's with actions, sometimes it's with putting your arms around them. You either have it or you don't.

Interviewee Five

I was born in a country town. My father died when I was very young. I was five at the time. I never really knew anything about things Māori because my mother was European. It wasn't until I was older that I discovered it and then it was a great trial trying to find out from whence I came. It took quite a few years. It was my husband who discovered from whence I came. We had followed a family line back because he had this great desire to know.

I got this money which arrived out of the blue from the Māori Land Court. I didn't know where it came from and no one would give us any information. It just arrived and the Land Court said you got the money and that's it. They wouldn't tell us where it came from.

My husband decided to see what he could find out. He started tracing back through my father's family. We traced back to Isobella Faulkner, a daughter of Ruahine and John Louis Faulkner. I am a direct descendent of theirs.

I'm at the age when women didn't have a lot of opportunities, but my mother said that I had to have a profession. I wasn't allowed to leave school without going into something professional. The only things that I could see that looked right were teaching and nursing. I didn't want to become a nurse, so I became a teacher.

I was turned down from primary teaching because I was too young when I applied. The following year I discovered that there was a special Maths and Science Course being offered because of the chronic shortage of teachers in those areas. I applied for that in secondary teaching and was accepted.

There was no great desire on my part to be a teacher. It was just my mother's insistence that I have a profession. Then having got into teaching, I loved it and I stayed in it.

I had a short time off for marriage and went overseas. After I was married for four years, I went back into teaching. We had two children and a third child came later. A deputation arrived with this plea to help them out at a Girls' College. I taught part time for five years and then decided to go full time. I went in as Head of Maths and Science. There was a grave shortage of people in those areas, especially in an all girls' school. When the school amalgamated with the Boys' College, I got the position of Senior Mistress which is now of course the Assistant Principal. Teaching locally suited my family circumstances because there was no way that I could look at positions outside of the city. My husband's work was based there. So for that reason my career movements were restricted. There were very few and still are very few professional development courses for secondary roles, especially for secondary women. It's very much a pot luck situation. With regard to role models, I think you just model yourself on what you have been involved with. I taught at the College with religious sisters which was restricting to begin with. Having been brought up to believe that they were better than ordinary mortals, it wasn't until later on you realised that they were human and made the same mistakes as we did. They were probably more gracious. There was very little in the way of things for women and for Māori women too.

I had very strong support networks from my mother. She would come in and help look after the children. My family were very supportive. In the profession there was my Liaison Inspector. He would come in and suggest

ways that you could progress. Also a teaching Sister was very supportive and she still is.

I think it takes a certain type of person to achieve in teaching. Unfortunately I have to say that I have seen many people leave teaching because of the stress. I wonder if there is any way that you can predetermine that before you go teaching that you are not suited to it.

I think that it's really important that you have other things that you can enjoy and relax with. Do them and don't keep putting them off. I enjoy reading so I make a point of spending a couple of hours reading every Sunday. I also have a holiday. I pack my bags and leave the country. This is because I live close to the school and people see me as the person to come to at any time, day or night. So I stay around during Christmas time because I feel it is my duty to do that. But in the winter months I have a specific Pacific Island which I go to.

The working day is a long one and I'm usually at school shortly after seven in the morning until about five in the evening, sometimes later. I still have a young one, my twelve year old to consider as well. I usually work every night on something to do with school and there are times when I return to school to continue certain work. I try at the weekends to keep anything related to school down to an absolute minimum. If people ring me up, unless it is urgent, I will ask them to contact me at school during the week. The only ones that are allowed to interrupt are my family.

Occasionally my husband reminds me that I'm not at school because I tend to be a very organised person. I'm a very organised black and white person.

He is very supportive and obliging. I couldn't do it without him, but over the years you work out systems. Home tasks like shopping and cooking are shared between us.

I find assessment changes demanding, but curriculum changes are not so bad. I'm keeping up with variations in assessment, but it gets very busy. I've done a lot of personal study to keep up to date with my own subject area.

I didn't always manage to balance things between home and school. I think it took it's toll, probably on our family.

When I was younger I did feel that I could do everything, but now I'm older. I stopped at some stage. I think it was actually when I had Andrew, the youngest. I was put in hospital for five months. Yes, well you have to take stock then. After considering where I wanted to go, I had to change.

In my early years I believed I could do it all, but I was not looking for promotion. I'm not a person who can blow their own trumpet. I tend to take a back seat. I can honestly say that I have never applied for promotion, although I have been asked to apply. I was made, or given, the positions of responsibility as Head of Department and Assistant Principal. Inside myself I'm confident with what I'm doing, but to actually go out and push myself is something I wouldn't do. Part of my role is to help other Māori women to develop the confidence that I don't have, to go for it. To strive for promotion.

At this golden age of mine, I am not really wanting to shift. The only thing I would do is if I win Lotto I would probably resign. I am happy where I am. I would give it away if I couldn't cope with the job. I have no aspirations of

becoming a Principal. I think at my age now there are younger people to do the job required. Of course at my age superannuation becomes a problem. Basically superannuation will not maintain the standards that I have become accustomed to and deserving of.

Māori women seeking promotion should make themselves available for all the Committees coming up in schools. In particular, the Curriculum Committee, the Accreditation Committee, the Lead Team and others. Basically Māori women must really get involved in new curriculum areas. Those involvements do become administrative and managerial.

I think that a lot of people who control the giving out of positions do in fact include Māori women. The Māori women are there but not so much the Māori men. I don't think that Māori women are keen on putting themselves forward. I think they hold themselves back. If there is anything that I would like to see is that somehow we are able to push Māori women more in the direction of management roles.

While this is important you are really restricted. It's hard to tell someone, look, I think you're worth it, go for it, when they are not feeling confident inside themselves. I believe that it's dependent on a lot of professional development, being involved in Curriculum Committees, taking opportunities that are there, like chairing staff meetings or accepting positions of responsibility because it is all part of it. I think there is a wonderful future if you go out and get it. Have confidence in yourselves and promote yourselves. Self promotion is important, but you've got to know the ways that are acceptable in education. Not enough people have it in themselves to go for it. I know that for some people promotion is not a priority or a desire.

Interviewee Six

I was educated at Okarita Primary School. From there I went on to Rangawai College where I was streamed into the top stream or A class. When I think about it 80 percent of the school was Māori. Besides myself there was only one other Māori in my particular class.

I wanted to take Māori rather than French as a language option. After some intermediation between the school and a Māori Affairs Officer, I was told that I might be able to take it by correspondence. So after six weeks a decision was made saying no, I couldn't take it. There was no talking with me or with my dad. In protest I left school. I was thirteen at the time.

My parents supported me because they said that I was right. But they were scared that I would get expelled and the shame of that too. When I refused to take French or Greek if I couldn't take Māori, they put me into a Home Economics class with all the other Māori. That's what it really was. But I got bored and I got into mischief. So the next year I did a combination of Typing and Commercial subjects, as well as Home Economics. The Principal also took me under his wing because of all the raruraru around me wanting to take Māori at school. I gave some of the teachers a hard time.

My family was a real mixture and that had an influence on me. Dad's Indian and Māori while mum is Irish. Two of dad's sisters, my aunties, were married to Chinese and we all lived together. We lived next door to each other - we were in the same paddock. There were about thirty of us kids

growing up together. So it was really confusing. Okarita was such a mixed placed that a lot of us didn't know what the hell we were.

It wasn't till we actually started school and the teachers said all the Māori go over there and get your hair checked for nits that you realised you were different. Mum and dad hadn't brought us up like that. We were all the same. For me and my younger brother we came middle in the family - there was always this fighting for your identity. Him and I are strong in our Māori identity, but for the rest of the family it's not so important.

I said that I was going to be a teacher. I think that it was partly because of what happened to me at High School. If I analysed it now as an adult I would probably say I looked at teachers and said what the hell do you think you are doing. Maybe I can do better and maybe I'll have a go later.

I actually started off training as a psychiatric nurse. Back then the options were limited for Māori girls. At school I had taken Home Economics, but that finished at the fifth form level. I picked up Geography, Biology, English and Mathematics in the sixth form, but I was the only Māori in there. As it happened the psychiatric nurse training lasted six weeks. Night time on ward duty was frightening. To try and keep me on, they put me with the little children. I used to take them to an integrated kindergarten. That was when I first saw a kindergarten and I thought to myself, I like this. I was only sixteen so I went back to school to get Sixth Form Certificate.

Then I went up to the Kindergarten Training College. It was a very elite place. There were four Māori and we all got through, long before the compulsory Māori quotas came in. That lasted for two years. While I was

there, I got hapu, but I managed to hide it and to graduate. If they had found out, I would have been out, because in those days I wasn't married.

I went back home to mum and dad and they looked after my eldest girl until she was two. Until after I married my husband. I had my daughter in May and I had to be back in the classroom teaching by July. She was only about six weeks old when I left her. Emotionally it was pretty trying because I didn't like leaving her. I got a job in Tairoa which is only about forty minutes away. Initially I could go home just about every night.

I went straight into a Head Teacher's Position. I never actually had the ground work of just being a teacher. I did that for the next twelve years off and on, in between having kids. As for professional support, people didn't come and visit to check things out. Certainly not in Tairoa in the middle of nowhere. We had Education Advisers in the town so monitoring did occur which was really good.

After marriage I finished work to raise our young children. I did some relieving at secondary level and I also coached junior netball. You see, Tairoa is only a little community and relieving teachers were pretty scarce. We stayed in Tairoa for twelve years and then it was either stay in a rut or move.

We had always said that we'd go and teach in the Islands. When the Government Exchanges came up we applied for one. We went there for two years. Although I wasn't allowed to work, I helped to set up a Pre-School Centre there. For a while I worked in a local kindergarten. I did relieving at the College where my husband was working and I also marked School

Certificate papers. I socialised with other New Zealanders through our High Commission there. I started running marathons, playing netball and eventually coached the representative Netball Team.

On returning home we went down south. Quite a contrast from the Pacific, but it was nice though. It took us months to acclimatise. I was the permanent relief teacher at the central High School. I did a lot of Physical Education and I enjoyed that. We moved back North and again I relieved at the College until I got a permanent position at Pukeko Kindergarten.

Throughout my career my main support networks have been my family. Then in 1985 the first Māori Runanga was formed within the Early Childhood Union and I became heavily involved in that. I was on all the Working Parties as our Māori representative looking into Curriculum changes during the late 80's. That experience and profile resulted in my being offered a lecturing position at a College of Education in the Kindergarten and Early Childhood Section. I saw it as a challenge, but I wasn't sure if I could do it. I did it at a huge personal cost.

Initially my husband supported me going. That year was quite hard because I was travelling back and forwards. The boys were getting agitated. I knew that for me my career in the city was going to have to be a big personal decision to make. We had a trial separation for the latter part of 89. Then it was a permanent one in 1990. It still hurts because I'd felt that I'd always gone wherever he'd gone for twenty years. I felt it was time for him to support me. In a typical Māori male style he would not talk about it. I think because I'd made a stand and went, it left him feeling somehow inadequate. He said to me once, I lose my confidence when you do this.

From the College of Education I joined the Education Review Office. It was the ideal place for looking at education issues and I loved it. I also became heavily involved in the Public Service Association representing Māori at National Executive level. The reason that I am here in this town is because of my youngest son. He hated the big city. I gave up a high profile position for his sake. I think he was hoping to reunite me with my husband who is still up north.

If I had remained in the Education Review Office I wouldn't be writing Early Childhood Units. I wouldn't be finishing my degree. I wouldn't have written Early Childhood Training Programmes. Simply because there wasn't the professional development and support to do that. Whereas here, you do get some time. All the courses that are on campus are free and you get so much towards fees if you are finishing a degree. That's really good support.

One of my jobs when I came here was to write Early Childhood Programmes for the Polytechnic. I've done the first two years and I've got to write the Diploma year. There are fifty three students currently involved in the programmes that are in operation. In another couple of years the Diploma course should be on track for 1996. I'll see my first graduates finish and then I'll be looking for something else.

Other Polytechnics don't offer full Diploma courses in Early Childhood Education so there will be a little network to set up which is good. Also with the growth in Early Childhood I can see that we could actually be a school of our own in five years time. Maybe a little longer depending on finances. If I can see that the progression is to that, then I'm certainly going to be the first

Manager of that school. I'm not going to give it to somebody else after I've done all the hard work. So I've got to have my degree for that. If I want to be the boss, I've got to have the paper.

A lot of Māori women are still in marriages and still in places, not because they are too scared to go and make changes, well they might be a little bit scared, I was, but it's because they have sacrificed their own personal career for family. I could have done that too. Maybe I should have done that, I don't know. I've chosen what I've done and I can't change it. So I just get on and do it.

I've been watching Māori women and their marriages. The married women who are succeeding now are either single, or are married to Pakeha men. Most of them. Or they're at the other end, they are younger and have either chosen to be single, or they have chosen to have a career and it's got to be a deliberate choice by Māori women. They shouldn't be made to feel guilty because they have actually considered themselves for a change. Māori women often consider everybody else before themselves.

There have been huge changes for Māori in education. The options have opened up. Young Māori women in particular, those in their thirties and late twenties are now taking every opportunity that they can. I mean those who have got through the school system. I'm worried about the ones who haven't got through though. We need to bring them on because they're the kids who have been probably from day one at school told they are not going to achieve.

The attitudes of tauiwi teachers in the system must be changed. Change is needed because every now and then you see the buds of growth in Māori women, but we need it to be more than just buds. We need it so that every single girl through the system can be a success story. Even with all the good changes they are a minority. It's only the ones who have made a stand and been bloody-minded and stubborn and have challenged. Challenged the school. Challenged the system. Challenged men, some of them, but not all.

Somewhere along the way there is a holding period where you just sort of stagnate for a little bit. I feel that way now and it's because I've lost my political contacts from not working within the Public Service Association any more. The communication and information networks there were empowering giving you substance to take action. A holding pen is healthy because you can take time to look and see what you are doing.

You can't just be a woman if you are Māori. You're a Māori woman. There's a significant difference because you know you've got to do it better. You've got to prove yourself all the time. I aim for that Māori group first and if what I'm doing passes the Māori test, that's my gauge. There is a real need for Māori men and women to move forward together. It's not here. It's the bad effects of the missionaries and colonisation on our men. I think until we bring our men on board with us, we're not going to go ahead together. Māori women are going ahead now, but we're actually leaving our men behind.

I can think of one man with a high profile in Māoridom that I respected. He did his job with humility and care for Māori people and was not arrogant. Neither did he make unilateral decisions. He has recently passed away. I

have great difficulty in trying to think of other high profile Māori males with similar qualities.

Probably one of the best things that young Māori women can do for themselves is to join the Union. The majority of Unions have a Runanga established for Māori and by Māori. From that they have access to all incoming information and a strong support network. As well as that I firmly believe that a Māori women's network is really vital for support and further developing of Māori women's aspirations in education.

Interviewee Seven

This (early schooling) took place at a Primary School in the Wairarapa and also a College in that area.

Secondary subjects studied included Mathematics, Science, English, History, French, Applied Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Economics.

By today's standards, probably fairly Europeanised (whānau). I have a Pakeha mother and a Māori father. We would go to tangi and some other celebrations, but not a lot. Otherwise, a nuclear family was fairly predominant. We were working class, my father was an unskilled labourer (having had no secondary education) who worked in dairy factories and freezing works all his life. My mother was a full-time mother who sometimes took part-time work (in the evenings) when things got a bit tight.

Education was highly valued by both parents - in fact, none of us were allowed to leave school before five years of secondary education. It was just an accepted and unquestioned aspect of life. My parents encouraged and supported us into lots of sports activities when we were young.

One of the interesting bits was that I was the first to go to university in my family and even though education was highly valued at home, a university education did not enter my parents' vision for their children. It was assumed that we would leave school into paid training. The public service was held in high regard as they looked after their own. Hence my two older sisters went to Teachers College and nursing respectively.

As third out of six (and the third daughter) in the family, I had to battle to get to university as my parents did not understand how it could be done. They had no idea about such things as bursaries or fee payments. They had assumed university education was beyond us because they could not afford to send me. They thought they would have to keep me. I am pleased to say that all my younger brothers and sister tried university as well (even if they didn't all complete).

I slipped into it (teaching) really. I left university not knowing what I was going to do and my marks weren't that good. However, in 1978 there was still a teacher shortage so I got a couple of part time jobs in schools until I decided what to do and basically found that I liked it. I liked working with the students, the work was varied and interesting, I guess I felt as if I was making some contribution to the future. There is no doubt that I also liked the holidays (although after being in teaching I could understand why they were necessary for staff, as well as the students), and the flexibility of the job. Such things as the work hours, being able to take marking home, and going shopping after school. I wasn't influenced by anyone in particular, that I can recall anyway, just that I could do it and seemed to do it reasonably well. Obviously, teaching before I went to Teachers College influenced my decision so I wasn't going into it blind really.

Having begun teaching, I did seek promotion. Basically I gathered confidence to do this from staff around me. For my first promotion, I was in the school I had begun teaching in from Teachers' College. I was the only Māori on the staff at the time, but I had a lot of support from my Pakeha colleagues in the Science Department and also in other areas, including the

Principal. One particular supporter was a senior staff member who had the responsibility for new staff, he almost filled a mentoring position. They were all men as there were no women who filled senior positions in the school except for the Senior Mistress. I also sought out unpaid responsibility, like looking after the netball, taking on outdoor education, and took what was offered.

After this first promotion internally, I applied for the Head of Department of Science at a Girls' College and got that. It was the first time I had applied for any promotion outside my current school and got it. There didn't seem to be any problem in getting the position. What I did meet when I actually got on the staff, and obviously some people had thought about it before I came, was many staff's perceptions of a Māori leading a department.

This had never occurred to me that I would be perceived differently from other Head of Departments. Apparently, and I was told this from a senior staff member a couple of years later, people had certain expectations about the issue of being Māori. Hence, the expectation that I would be as lazy as other Māori staff. This would cause some difficulty with my department. As far as I could tell this did not come from the Science staff themselves (although it could have and I was just insensitive enough not to pick it up). Hence, they were surprised when I did not live up to their expectations.

I actually had to prove myself. Now, even though this happens to most new Head of Departments to some extent, the interpretation is that I had an extra hurdle to jump so to speak and I had to work harder because I was Māori. I felt this to some extent as I remember at the time that some of the senior staff were not as helpful or friendly as they could have been. On the other

hand, I didn't put too much emphasis on it and got on with the job. I think I deflected some of it because I've always been a bit of an over-achiever anyway.

I work hard because I want to be good at what I do. I think this is an attitude from my sporting involvement - one might say it's a competitive spirit and I think they would probably be right. However, on the other hand, I have always felt that I had to work hard because I was Māori - it is very hard to separate the two.

In terms of professional training towards assuming a position of responsibility - preparation was nothing. There was a one day in-service course for Science Head of Departments towards the end of my first year. That is all that I had. The Head of Department Māori was a woman who held the same Position of Responsibility as I did. We were both PR2. There was only one other woman in the entire Waikato/Bay of Plenty that was a Head of Department Science. We were appointed around the same time. However, I got a lot of support from the Māori staff at the school. There were about five at that time.

My support networks at that time were mainly professional such as Subject Associations. I had no family network up here. There were some informal networks, in particular, Māori staff and friends. I did not know of any Māori Teachers' Association or such. There were for teachers of Māori which included the bulk of Māori teachers in schools, but not for those of us outside that. I also think that I am a very independent person, overly so, and I think to some extent that has come because of my chosen field of study.

(Coping with pressures in teaching) I'm not sure. I'm still alive but not in the school system any more. It wasn't just the aspect about dealing with Māori students all the time that made me leave - in fact it was only a small part of the final decision. The biggest part was the treadmill I seemed to have got myself on. I had a PR4 at the age of thirty one, the next step was Deputy Principal and then Principal. I could see the structures in the Department and associated places get wiped away through Tomorrow's Schools restructuring, hence movement from the Principal position was becoming smaller to almost non-existent. Hence, if I became a Principal by the time I was forty (or even sooner) I would be stuck until I was sixty/sixty five. Not good for me or the school/s. I couldn't see myself as doing that.

I broke away while I was still young enough to have a go at something else. Not having another income to fall back on to take time out to study, I had to find it as part of my job. I like the field of education and didn't want to abandon it altogether, hence my new job here now. Moving into the Centre on November 1 is the beginning to my new career in the educational research/academic field which I have found I like.

I enjoy teaching, even in my present job, but in schools teaching isn't all that you do. The increase in the amount of crap generally that came across my desk as a Head of Department was a disincentive - the beginnings of what was to come.

I am not very good at balancing my lifestyle. When at school I was better - my sport played an important part of that. In the winter, I would be involved with sport every Saturday, and most Sundays either umpiring for representative teams or at tournaments and in the earlier years, playing in

tournaments. I could juggle most things, but then I didn't have a family to juggle as well. Personal time came mostly in the summer - I refused to take on summer sports, but I used to jog to keep a reasonable level of fitness. I would garden, do up my house and spend weekends visiting friends out of town. At holiday time I always visited my family down home.

I have got worse over the years. At present, I do not have any of that balance. I spend most of my spare time working towards my Master's degree and I hope to start my PhD next year. Another four years and I should be finished. I try to take at least one weekend a month off. I usually force myself to go out of town so I can't do any work. I also go out to dinner and movies or such quite regularly with friends. But in essence, it is not as balanced as it should be - I must work on it.

This year was a decision point in my career in education. I left the classroom nearly four years ago now. I wanted to come to Teachers' College to get my Masters degree, as well as get experience on the pre-service/in-service end of education. I finish my Masters this year and I had to make the decision of whether to go back into schools or not as I felt if I was out any longer I would lose credibility. I have made the decision to stay.

I have now secured a job in the Centre for Science and Mathematics Education Research. This is a research centre that deals only in graduate courses and supervising post graduate degrees. I see my future in research.

In my future work I want to work on, in a fairly broad sense, what a science programme in Māori schools might look like. This includes challenging all those aspects about science that are taken for granted such as its value

neutrality and universalism. I also want to see science education research and the science curriculum in schools to start looking for answers that take into account the social, political and economic positioning of Māori.

I believe the sorts of solutions we find will work for all students. On a wider basis I believe we can conceptualise science, and hence science education, better to the benefit of all students and I believe working from a Māori perspective can achieve this.

These aspirations will be achievable in the position I begin in November. In terms of leadership, I am one of very few working in the field (and at present, the only one in a university) and in that sense I guess I already occupy a leadership position. However, in an academic world I am still a lecturer and there is plenty of movement available. I fully intend to go for promotion as I get more established.

The way for promotion in a university includes teaching, research and administration. The research component is very high and that means competing for research monies from different agencies, winning contracts and publishing in academic journals.

I have some good people supporting me in my aspirations - from the Tari Māori as well as Pakeha women from other areas, mainly in the field of feminist education. I find myself talking to them a lot as my ideas do not seem as radical as they are working in areas with issues that are relevant too and that can contribute to my field in science education.

There are barriers to Māori women seeking promotion within the secondary school system. There are perceptions that we need to overcome. Mainly to do with being Māori and what that means. Recognition of their work and pivotal role in Māori society and the valuing of being Māori. There is very little support for being Māori in secondary schools. They also face all the same barriers as other women do. We have a double hurdle to overcome.

It is a difficult position being a Māori woman seeking promotion in secondary schools. It is important to know who you are and what you want. At the same time you need to realise that others in positions of power and influence (mainly white males) are not going to understand some of your aspirations or means of doing them. Your thoughts will be seen as being radical even though it appears to you that they are normal. You will also be accused of being traditional (holding on to the past and hence bad thoughts) because you may adhere to Māori values (seen as old values) that are not generally accepted in schools. You will need to be a skilled communicator and learn to juggle different positions at the same time. You will be called on to make extremely tough judgement calls. You may also be called on to represent Māori views. My advice is get this one cleared up right from the start. It is the school's responsibility to do this consultation and if you are expected to help in this area trade bargain and treat it as an area of work like your teaching load. Other staff are not expected to do it.

You will need a good support network, but I think most of all find a mentor. Someone whose judgement you trust. Other Māori women are not likely to be there in positions at the moment so you may need to go to someone else. I had very good support from a Pakeha woman (Caroline) who held a PR4, who had an empathy for things Māori, she spoke the language and worked

hard to get the bilingual unit up and running. She was my most important influence at this time in my life.

Networks are operating within secondary schools. There is always the senior staff network consisting of the Principal, Deputy Principal and Assistant Principal and sometimes some of the very senior PR holders, depending on how big the school is. You need to be aware of this group and know where the influence is wielded. It is important that you get an ear here and one of these people support your efforts and know your worth. Make sure they are aware of the work you are doing. Also be seen at subject association conferences. There used to be a national network on a professional level that could also be useful, for example, being asked to join writing groups for different projects, but with the demise of the Department of Education, this has now changed considerably. However, taking the initiative in your own professional development usually is important.

In terms of what the future holds for Māori women in secondary teaching, this is a toughy! I'm not sure really, but the future holds not a lot under the current way of operation. Obviously, schools need to undergo a transformation if they are to benefit more Māori, full stop. However, I think we are in a bit of a Catch-22 here because I believe Māori women have the ability and experience to make the changes. In some ways we are going to be pivotal in changing schools because of who we are. We know what it is to be a woman in a man's world and at the same time we also encompass what it is to be brown in a white world. Although this puts us in a very precarious position, it also is a position where we, perhaps more than anyone, can see the problem we are in and, hopefully, a way out of the mire as we live it.

I also think Māori women are leading in the field of education, certainly in Māori education notably Kohanga, Kura Kaupapa, and they are a large part of the solution in mainstream education as well, but are not given the opportunity, and they are not getting the recognition in general that they deserve for the work that is being done.

Their status is still very low in secondary schools on the whole. I think one of the problems here is that Pakeha people (in charge of schools) do not perceive Māori women as being the speakers/leaders of their people, Māori men hold that position in their minds. It is not helped by the stuff the Te Arawa Trust Board tries to pull and the media getting hold of it. But in fact, I believe Māori women are the answer.

We still need a complete transformation of the schooling structures and especially at secondary schools. Anything else is just tinkering. However, I don't think we can keep one part of a crooked system and just change the upper reaches. It has to go right through and include our aims of education and schooling. We need a complete refocusing in education where we build a system that recognises both Māori and Pakeha at the very core of what we do and how we do it. This is very problematic if you don't want an anarchic state somewhere in the process. One way I suppose is to get more teachers into the schools that are more critical and reflective in their approach. Although Māori women can show the way, at present they do not have the power to do so. We need to increase their profiles and the work they do in schools, both in and out of the classroom.

Interviewee Eight

Early schooling took place at a rural sole charge Primary School and then on to a northern College.

Secondary school subjects studied included English, History, Biology, Geography and Art.

As the youngest of six, family life was secure. We were happy and well provided for. We learned to read, cook, knit, sew, crochet, design, draw and research with our mother. Well read and positive, she was well brought up. Her mother was a Māori of the local tribe. Her father was English, one of the Smith family with an Oxford degree. My father, an excellent beloved man, worked hard and always supported us. His father was Irish. His mother a high born Ngā Puhi, a lovely granny.

When I was in the sixth form I told my oldest sister the training college selection panel was coming. She asked if I had applied. I said I hadn't. She said go on apply, there are bigger idiots than you there. So I did. I really wanted to go to Art School, but I was too frightened to tell anyone. I had two sisters who were already teaching. Becoming a Principal was a case of natural progression. This job was advertised and Nanna (who was aged eighty seven) and I thought it would be a good idea to apply. I actually thought it was warranted.

When I was an Itinerant Teacher of Māori, we did career paths. After that I won the jobs I applied for. The problems have been the expected ones of the job.

In preparing to take on greater responsibility there is learning and a need to know so much more. I am doing a Diploma of Management through Unitec. I am isolated from course members and the nearest one is in Mahurangi. I am the only Māori in the course. There are two Māori at Secondary Principals' meetings. It's not friendly.

The barriers to Māori women seeking promotion in secondary schools is just getting in, being qualified and being able to cope with all it entails. My advice is to get really well qualified because it's a competitive scene and it's lonely. Having two degrees would have been a big help.

A healthy balance doesn't exist with Positions of Responsibility. My life is about work. We all do it. I'm pretty tired, it's because there are so many things I enjoy doing. For the last three years I have had little time off. We just manage. Father does some cooking. I hope to learn to do this job properly and be well and have some relaxation.

(My future aspiration) is to become the Race Relations Conciliator.

The future - we need many more Māori women qualified and able to train as secondary school teachers. There are too few right now. There must be a deliberate policy to bring about change for successful education pathways for Māori girls. The needs will involve money, a plan and the power of oneness to make it happen and radiant thinking. So there is a belief in the fulfilment of potential for Māori women.

Interviewee Nine

As a five year old walking to Te Apihoa Māori School, metalled road, four miles from Waiata - one way! I did that till age six. The whānau shifted to another papakainga after mum died, and as a six year old, rode horseback with my older brother and sister (three of us on the horse!) from the papakainga to a Consolidated School, a distance of twelve miles - one way! At age eight to nine it was decided that a better option was to walk only three miles to catch the train to a Māori School. The war had broken out and the train only went three days a week, so we had to walk the other two days - some ten miles one way! The whānau returned to Waiata and the rest of our Primary schooling was completed at the Waiata Primary School (Pakeha). We walked the shorter distance of two and a half miles, one way.

It was interesting travelling to secondary school at the nearest town - in the mail/luggage compartment of an NZR bus (where we would pinch the odd fruit from out of the fruit boxes!). I attended this District High School until it was translated to a College with full secondary school status.

I took a full commercial course consisting of Shorthand/Typing, Book Keeping, Commercial Practice and English.

I was the youngest. Mum died and left a family of six boys and six girls. Dad never re-married. We were happy, full of life and full of laughter. There were heaps of aunties and uncles around, including cousins and others. There was always plenty of home-grown kai and cream milked from a few cows. My older brothers helped dad while the girls (who were not married) were all

sent to Boarding School. We didn't really notice the lack of modern conveniences as we have them today.

In 1975 the school couldn't find a replacement Te Reo Māori teacher. I was the Secretary for the school and board at the time. The Principal suggested that I should apply to do the one year Māori Language Teacher Training Course. There was no Ngā Puhi participant in 1974 when the Course started! Ngā Tama Toa (Waitangi Action Group) fought to have that Course established because of the demand to have Te Reo taught in secondary schools. There was such a shortage of Te Reo teachers then, (as now). It was very difficult leaving a growing family. In the end, the advantages for the whānau whanui far outweighed the disadvantages. Strong whānau support ensured stability at home and my survival away from home.

I've never sought promotion as I've enjoyed the flexibility of a reasonably relaxed life-style in the school environment, in the community and the wider community. Family dislocation when I went away for teacher training was the determining factor preventing me from seeking promotion. The decision between family and a higher, broader career path was very easy for me to make.

The position of responsibility for me at this point in time is very much in a supportive role to be there for those who are setting out on the long journey of life with its many complexities. To be there to share successes, laughter, sadness, to provide a shoulder to cry on, to encourage by a smile, a touch of a hand, a quiet word of solace and a silent prayer. Not only to offer a positive pathway for further professional training, but to walk side by side as a guiding hand along that chosen pathway of life's journey.

My own matua/tupuna have been my support networks and now I am doing the supporting for our uri whakatupu (the growing generation). The important thing is to make sure you have your own safety mechanisms in place. You are the only one who can decide when to whakata, to pull out of situations when the going gets tough! How else have I survived in the environment that exists today?!!

School pupils, teachers, families, Board members are always in front of you, to the side and at the back of you, every minute, every hour and every day of your life! Recognise and accept, but put them aside now and again. Always allow time, quiet time, with your own whānau and mokopuna. The needs of your own whānau, especially in times of illness and bereavement are always a priority and everything else in your life becomes secondary. But an understanding of these family needs are always to be translated and relayed to your CEO! (Tumuaki) continuously, and you are continually building credits within the school environment, to enable you to move out freely in your time of real need at home.

I guess matauranga will be a focus in my life a mate noa ahau!! What is the purpose of living? He awhi, he tautoko, he manaaki i te whānau, me te whānau whanui, to tatou iwi Māori. My main aim is to keep alive mo tatou!! for as long as I can!

(My advice) - be assertive as a Māori woman! There is overt racism and non-recognition of the values we hold. Be focused, ensure that goals are achievable, more importantly that your whānau are totally behind you with their tautoko.

Women, especially Māori women, have always been pivotal in the development of the whānau, hapu and iwi, it can be no different in secondary schools. It behoves all of us to encourage our young Māori women to train and become secondary teachers.

We must continue our collective strength in the Unions, as a group in secondary schools, in areas of Te Reo, other subject areas and in sport.

The recognition of the status of Māori women, is not necessarily in the senior managerial positions. PR positions should be mandatory for at least one Māori woman in a school to deal with Māori problems as perceived by Tauiwi - a pōwhiri, pastoral care and guidance of Māori children, their parents and the communities they live in - the Marae, whānau, hapu and iwi.

Legislate! Stand up and be counted tauiwi ma!! The argument: we have never caught up, we will never catch up either unless, and until, we have autonomy, to catch up in our own world first; and capturing any other world after that will be a matter of course - ki ahau ra!! Kia ora.

Interviewee Ten

I was educated in the city. I went first to a small Primary School and then on to a city High School for four years. When I came from the small country school, I started in the bottom stream. They put Māori from Native Schools into the bottom streams. I worked my way up.

In the fourth form by then, I was in the B stream. In the fifth form I was in the A stream. I sat School Certificate in five subjects, Mathematics, English, Māori, Science and Latin. Unfortunately I bombed out in Latin.

When I was in the fifth form, I was away for the whole of the first term. I was sick. I had rheumatic fever. I was in hospital. So I missed a whole term and with Latin I just couldn't get back into it. It was too difficult to miss so much. By the time I got to the sixth form, I didn't want to stay at school any longer so I went to Training College. I got my University Entrance from the sixth form.

I was the second oldest. I was only one year younger than my older sister. We were very close.

My family were very supportive of all their children. My parents were very supportive. My father in particular was a person who believed that education was a way to go. The only way that his children would get on in the world.

I remember in form two I actually sat for a scholarship, a Ngarimu Scholarship. My father was hoping that I would get it and he'd send me to a

Girls' Grammar School. I was glad I didn't get the scholarship because I certainly didn't want to go to that Girls' Grammar School. I ended up going to the High School and enjoyed it there.

My parents actually planned my career for me. They said that teaching was a good thing to go into. When I was in the sixth form there was another Māori girl who was going to be applying for Training College. She said why don't you apply with me. I guess that's how it happened. I didn't particularly have any great ambitions to go teaching.

I went to Training College and I actually enjoyed the social life. As I had my University Entrance, I was allowed to take part-time University subjects. That enabled me to spread my wings a bit too. I enjoyed going to University. There was Māori Club at University and Training College, sports and all those sorts of things. I really loved teaching.

I did two years at Training College. We only had to do two years in those days. After two years I got a Scholarship to do a third year at University because my grades were good. The Training College paid for me to go to University in the third year. That wasn't enough to complete my degree. I needed another year after that so my parents paid for my last year to finish off.

When I was a fairly young teacher I was asked if I would take the position of Senior Mistress at a local Kawerau Primary School. When I was in the Primary service. I said I suppose so and I became the Senior Mistress for one year. Then of course I got married and moved away so that stopped that job. That was a position that just came to me.

When I went to a city High School I was offered promotion before I applied for any. The positions like Head of Department and House Master I actually didn't go after them. They gave those ones to me. But when it came to the Assistant Principal's position I actually applied for it. I felt I had been given other positions so I felt in a good position to apply. I got that one.

I actually applied for another position after that one. I applied for the Deputy Principal's job, but I didn't get that one. I guess I got the Assistant Principal's position on my record. I'd been in a position of responsibility for quite a number of years. The Deputy Principal's position I thought was just a natural move to the next stage. I had a good chance of getting it actually, but I didn't. I was disappointed. I was quite disappointed by that.

It was given to an outsider. It was given to a Pakeha man. The reason that was given to me was that they wanted an outsider and that he was good. I didn't think he was better than me and I still don't. One of the reasons I heard that I didn't get the job was the Principal was Māori, so they couldn't have a Deputy who was Māori also. I think the Principal actually influences the Board on such matters. In the end I am actually grateful that they didn't give me the position because I wouldn't have come here to the polytechnic.

I'm actually glad I didn't get that job. It's okay, I'm really quite happy here. I like the work, I thrive on it. I thrive on work and I thrive on challenges and I don't get stressed.

In terms of feeling and being prepared for taking on a position of responsibility, no, it was a matter of hit and miss all the way through. I didn't

have any professional development for my positions of responsibility. As for role models, I think I was just too busy getting on with the job.

Somebody who has been a role model for me in the whole way that I look at life is my father. He was an educated man and he wanted us to have an education. His whole way of dealing with people, of accepting challenges and his whole way of working I've used it right through as a role model.

When he was going to school he was living in a grass hut, earth floor and that sort of thing. His father divorced or separated from his mother. His mother was from Waikato so he moved all over the countryside. From Waikato and back to Rotorua, back there again and back to Rotorua.

He didn't have the sort of lifestyle that he gave us. He was one very much into his Māoritanga and I guess his father was too. Even though his father moved from place to place he ended up at a small village. The thing with his father was that once he established himself at that place he was into the Marae. He looked after the Marae and then my father did the same. He took over the running of the Marae and those sorts of things.

My support networks to start with I suppose were my tribe. My tribe have been very supportive of all the things I've done. Right back when I came out of Training College I joined the Youth Club back home and the Parish Choir.

In those days they would have what was called Hui Toopu. Every summer or every time they had a Hui Toopu we would travel to Gisborne or wherever the Hui was. That was quite a good network for us.

I also became the secretary of our Tribal Committee and with that the network that was created was quite good. As I say, my tribe has been a really good support for me. When I came up to the Polytechnic here the tribe actually brought me out here. So they are probably the biggest support network I have besides my family. My family are pretty close.

Then there are the Māori teachers. Māori teachers when I was at the High School, we always used to get together to organise events. We met regularly. Our teachers were very good. It was our Association that organised Cultural Festivals. It was a pretty good network.

I belonged to the Parent Teacher Association at my High School which meant that I had quite a lot of parent contact. Not just the Māori but the Pakeha as well because most of the ones on the Parent Teacher Association were Pakeha. Through them there was quite a good network out to the parents of the community.

I also belonged to the Squash Club. We had a membership of two hundred when I was on the Committee. That was a really good network, not just for squash, for the school. The Squash Club was situated at the school and a lot of the children belonged to the Squash Club. As well as the parents and the teachers. So it was quite good too. I never had disciplinary problems because there was always some way of solving it. It was through those networks. I generally knew the parents through some means.

When I was at the High School we had about nine Māori teachers on the staff. My husband was on the staff as well. My husband doesn't believe in men before women. We were both actually in similar positions at the school.

We moved up the ladder together, but he tended to get his positions of responsibility because of who he was. Rather than what he did. I said to him I have got to work for mine. Whereas with you they just give it to you. When I was above him on the ladder he'd never worry. He always encouraged me to stay there. I guess because of his example the other men were similar and never stopped other women moving up. We had a good group of Māori teachers there.

There were pressures when I was young because of my workload at school. When I was a fairly new teacher I used to take all the netball at school. I used to coach four netball teams and I had three young children. So I would take my three young children to netball every Saturday, one in an arm and one pushing a pram. I did that for a number of years until my children grew up.

Now I'm at the stage where it doesn't matter about my workload because there's only me and my husband at home now and it doesn't matter what time we get home. When I was at the High School when I was the Assistant Principal I used to go in during the holidays and spend quite a few weeks actually working. It was easier to get administration done during the holidays. Those sorts of things didn't worry me. I guess I like work. Our children saw it every night, mum and dad sitting at the kitchen table doing their homework - piles of books. I've never thought of it as a problem. I really loved teaching.

One sad thing about my job is that I don't actually do much teaching. I'm actually into management here. The only time I teach is three weeks in the

year we have Total Immersion Language Courses for one week at Marae. That's the only teaching I do now. But otherwise it's straight management.

The change from teaching to management has been a progression. I started in a position of responsibility which meant that I had so many hours administration and of free periods. By the time I got to Assistant Principal I had only two classes. I had a seventh form and a sixth form.

I had to learn computer skills and I am also doing Accounting courses because I control the budget of the Te Kura Māori area. It's quite a big area and our budget is a few million. I have had to learn Accounting for that but the other skills that I got from school like the people skills they were really important here too. I don't intend to go anywhere from here. I'm actually quite happy here. Unless something really exciting comes along I don't intend to move. This Polytechnic is divided into four Education Groups and two of the Education Groups have got Māori women as their heads. I am the Education Manager of Te Kura Māori Humanities.

My husband is very supportive of me going up the ladder. Now he's different from most Māori men. I think Māori women have actually got to prove themselves to get into the position they want. Whereas a man, Pakeha or Māori, can get there on name.

An experience I had when I applied for this particular position here, when I went for my interview, I was told by someone on the panel (a Māori male) that the position was not for me as I was a woman. As Head of Māori it had to be a man and I ought to know better because I was from Te Arawa and Mataatua, tribes that have men at the top, not women. This person was from

Mataatua canoe, not Te Arawa. He said I shouldn't even be applying for it. I am not male. I had my three male supporters there and they answered for me. I took three male supporters just for things like that.

At the High School we were encouraged to apply for jobs that were advertised. The Māori staff were especially encouraged to have a go. As well we used to train them up in how to put a Curriculum Vitae together, how to handle interview situations by running mock interview sessions and all those sorts of things. A number of our staff got jobs after going through that process. I didn't feel as nervous when the actual interview came for the Assistant Principal's job because of the prior assistance.

The future for Māori women, there are more Māori women who are getting into senior positions now. Apryll Parata is a Principal now. Our cousin Mihi at Tauranga is a Deputy Principal and there is Kitty Bennett too at Murupara. Māori women are slowly going up the ladder. We have only been moving in the last four years. Before us I don't think there were any at all. Not in senior positions. There have been Heads of Department but not at the senior level. It's starting to happen now. There is Pani Hauraki at Broadwood Area School and Hera Johns, the Principal at Queen Victoria.

A hui for Māori teachers would be valuable. Two or three years ago Ngati Pikiao held a hui for all the students studying at any Tertiary Education Institute. It was really to get the Ngati Pikiao Graduates to talk to them. It was a lovely hui because the Graduates were talking about all sorts of different things about encouraging them in their education. The Graduates enjoyed it and so did the students.

CHAPTER FIVE: THEMES THAT EMERGED IN RELATION TO THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS MĀORI WOMEN'S PROFESSIONALISM

Struggle For Mana Māori

Introduction

This chapter introduces the discussion of the emerging themes in relation to the literature, and provides an analysis of the themes in relation towards the formation of a Māori Women's Professionalism.

The wahine Māori interviewed hold a variety of positions, (although not principalships), that involve leadership roles and positions of responsibility involving administrative duties. They are not confined to low paying and low status positions, such as was found in studies of ethnic minorities in America (Yeakey, Johnston and Adkison, 1986:111, 127). Neither are they restricted to positions in school districts that comprise mainly of ethnic minorities as found by (Ortiz, 1981:100; Inkles, 1973:618; Moody, 1973; Scott, 1980). Instead they are located in a range of schools and educational institutions in both urban and rural settings that serve a diverse ethnic and socio-economic population.

The struggle to be recognised as Māori professionals with equal credibility and standing to tauiwi meant that five of the Māori women reported experiencing difficulties in some form or variation simply because they were Māori. Comments from the women included: "I had to work harder because I was Māori," "This had never occurred to me that I would be perceived differently," "You can't just be a woman if you are Māori," "You've got to

prove yourself all the time". Reaching back to their early school days and childhood experiences, the interviewees were perceived as being of lower ability and not suitable for academic courses. The strong sense of being "different" from other students and feeling personally responsible to promote iwi Māori in a positive light was a major undertaking. At times a heavy burden and a lonely path. The deprivation and neglect of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori devastated those desperately seeking Mana Māori Motuhake.

The inability of an education system to acknowledge the passionate cry of Māori to be educated within te reo me ngā tikanga Māori resulted in one of the women moving elsewhere. She felt that as a young teacher she was manipulated into teaching Māori and in setting up a Māori Department. She decided that bi-lingual education was going to be the path to follow and strove to achieve this. She experienced lack of consultation and a slowness or reluctance by one Principal to introduce bi-lingualism so she moved elsewhere. The shift to a more responsive environment allowed her to lead and initiate the development of kaupapa Māori education.

The struggle for three of the Māori women to gain self-identity and Māori identity occurred also within their own whānau. To grow up unaware of one's Māori whakapapa or to exist in a state of confusion because one's Māori identity is not fully established reflects the struggle. However the expectations from within their whānau were important in establishing in these women a strong resolve to succeed.

The common element in the families of these women is that they were part of large families and extended whānau with whom they had strong links. Family support was there and in turn they want to carry this on and support

their families. Their parents strongly supported the idea of their children having a good education and so do these wahine Māori.

In summary, the women reported an overwhelming feeling of being perceived as unsuitable or unqualified for management positions by their colleagues and superiors. The ingrained negative perceptions required the Māori women to work twice as hard in order to prove their capabilities and justify their positions of responsibility within their schools.

Aspirations In Teaching

Motivated by a strong desire to bring about change provided inspiration to seek promotion, but in doing so, the constraints faced by some served only to create frustration. The women had similar views: "What made me think about gaining promotion was the situation of not being able to influence things. Seeing some people who were not incompetent, but just not up with it and not being able to change that". The opportunity to gain the professional development required to move up the teaching hierarchy was almost non-existent. A common theme from the women interviewed was reflected in their statements: "It's really frustrating because we are not told about things. You're not encouraged to look outside and find out what's going on." This lack of experience and exposure was common to all the wahine Māori. However, their extra workload and responsibilities were not equating with formal recognition within the school hierarchy and structures. Frustration heightened as schools increasingly worked to alienate young Māori and failed to provide them with competent professional service and culturally safe environments.

For one of the participants the struggle to achieve career success served to drive her on to prove herself and work harder. Accusations of being professionally and personally inferior because she was Māori increased her motivation to be on top. She was strong enough to succeed and consequently learnt to cope independently. Similarly with all the women participants promotion and success has its costs. Success as defined by the women was inclusive of professional and curriculum expertise in the

education sector, and recognition and service to Māori. At some time or other they have all experienced feelings of being lonely and isolated.

One of the women does not seek promotion as she wants to stay close by the family. For her this was not a constraint but more a conscious decision to place family above all else. Another became very much part of the community of her school and was encouraged to accept the promotions that came her way.

The younger women are actively seeking senior positions in education, either as Head of Department in mainstream schools or in kura kaupapa Māori, or tertiary positions in a range of sectors. Generally, the women already in senior positions are looking to remain in those areas until retirement. A common theme for the women interviewed was the decision between family and career. Family dislocation was a determining factor preventing these women from seeking promotion away from their home districts. This was typified in the following statement: "The decision between family and a higher, broader career path was very easy for me to make".

In the words of the whaea, there are significant roles to fulfil even when one is not seeking personal promotion. "The position of responsibility for me at this point in time is very much in a supportive role, to be there for those who are setting out on the long journey of life with its many complexities" and, "to offer not only a positive pathway for further professional training but to walk side by side as a guiding hand".

In summary, seven of the Māori women interviewed have gained some form of promotion. Five out of the seven have not actively sought promotion but

instead they have been offered promotions based on their own performance and a case of vacancies becoming available in their individual schools. Only two of the interviewees have consciously sought promotion from the early stages of their careers. While another two later in their career stages actively sought promotion.

The wahine Māori have paved the way for others, as was found in studies of ethnic minorities in America by (Nieva and Gutek, 1980:267-76; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1978:246-55). Konrad and Pfeffer (1991:145) concluded that once a woman or minority person is hired in positions from which they have been excluded in the past, subsequent women and minority persons are more likely to be hired.

In relation to the status of Māori women in secondary schools a strong theme that emerged throughout all the women's stories concerned the perceptions that Pakeha people held about Māori women. This is highlighted by one of the women's statement: "I think one of the problems here is that Pakeha people (in charge of schools) do not perceive Māori women as being the speakers/leaders of their people, Māori men hold that position in their minds". The women's sentiments are echoed in this statement: "We need a complete refocusing in education where we build a system that recognises both Māori and Pakeha at the very core of what we do and how we do it."

Preparation For Promotion

The wahine Māori interviewed expressed lack of opportunity to gain experience in administration. This form of exclusion from administrative positions hinders their initial advance up the career ladder, as was found in studies of ethnic minorities in America (Ortiz, 1981:100; Valverde, 1974). However, the wahine Māori counter the 'lack of access to appropriate sponsorship and socialisation processes' by establishing their own support networks so that professional contacts are extended and knowledge is disseminated. The whānau concept of sharing and strengthening the people is utilised to empower others. The following statements by the women encapsulate their common experiences: "My tribe have been supportive of all the things I've done," "Then there are the Māori teachers...we always used to get together to organise events," "My own matua/tupuna have been my support networks."

The wahine Māori interviewed are aware of the importance to seek professional development and upskilling. They are focusing more on career goals, higher career aspirations and developing greater understanding of how the system operates. They are developing their knowledge of career paths to empower themselves to effect positive change within schools. Position and power was considered a tool to bring about change for the better, as was noted in McGrath's study of white American women (1992:62), that knowledge was developed for the purpose of empowering themselves to contribute and to initiate changes for better learning and teaching within the classroom. Their focus is more on addressing community needs rather than the male values of individualism and competition as identified in the literature

on white women (Sergiovanni, 1992; Gilligan, 1982; Malcolm, 1978:7). The importance of assuming a caring role was highlighted. Taking on leadership positions in education complemented this role.

The wahine Māori interviewed were pragmatic in accepting that increased administrative responsibilities would reduce their time spent in the classrooms. They accepted that having the power to influence decision making may involve moving into positions outside of the classroom. However, the contact with students featured as a significant priority for them.

The desire to bring about change and get the credit for it motivated one to strive for promotion. But the lack of opportunity for professional development required when in a position of responsibility is thwarting progress. The lack of provision is both in the curriculum and administrative and managerial skills. The likelihood of the women accessing professional development is increasingly dependent on the quality of information flow. The teachers who are aware of what is available have an immediate advantage over others.

Stirred on by the prospects of better things to come says one of the women, "When the opportunity comes for specifically managerial type professional development seminars then I'll go for that". She adds, "Māori women should seek professional advancement. It's absolutely necessary to have Māori women in positions of responsibility. Māori women should be open to professional development in schools".

The lack of professional training opportunities for women is strongly criticised. As echoed by one, "There were very few and still are very few

professional development courses for secondary (teaching) roles, especially for secondary women (teachers). It's very much a pot luck situation".

Another comments, "In terms of professional training towards assuming a position of responsibility - preparation was nothing". This is highlighted when one of the women relayed how a one day inservice course was her sole induction into the new position of Head of Department (towards the end of her first year in the position).

The tenacity of the women who gained promotion was a major factor in their ability and ultimate success in overcoming the isolation (of being lone Māori) in a hierarchical system consumed by an institutional culture and values that were assimilatory in form and structure.

Recognition and promotion through the teaching ranks for one was gained after she delivered an ultimatum to her school, whilst another gained promotion more readily due to shortages of teachers in her curriculum area. This was still a struggle though. Success was gained through sheer determination and certainly not because of provision made for professional guidance or training courses. Such preparation and opportunities were practically non-existent.

Māori teachers tend to group together (in a school) for support and tend to be less concerned with what is happening on a broader scope. The younger Māori need to be more aware of the support systems in the school (that extend beyond the Māori networks). Yet at the same time ensuring that they are not manipulated by those more shrewd and experienced who have ulterior motives which do not involve the promotion of Māori teachers at all.

In summary, nine of the Māori women reported having inadequate preparation for gaining positions of responsibility. They have all been involved in self initiated professional development or study on top of their full time teaching responsibilities in order to advance their careers. Seven of the women stated that their learning took place on the job. In terms of mentors, six reported having a mentor to encourage and assist in their overall development. Mentors ranged from parents, tupuna, professional colleagues including Principals and Inspectors, community leaders and partners.

Constraints

Barriers to Māori women gaining promotion take many forms. One barrier has been identified as "the male thing. The white Pakeha male". It's effect serves to undermine the self confidence of Māori women. The literature (Brown, 1979; Terborg, 1977; Kanter, 1975; Strober and Tyack, 1980; Martin, 1993:124; Shakeshaft, 1989:83) made similar reference to the way in which a male defined and male dominated world worked to create barriers to prevent women from advancing in school administration. Hansot and Tyack (1981) referred to male hegemony as the cause of all barriers to women.

Within the hierarchy Māori women sit at the bottom, behind Pakeha women, Māori men and Pakeha men. Limited awareness of the structure in schools and the people within that hierarchy places them at a disadvantage. The wahine interviewed agreed that knowledge of how to operate within the system can be empowering as was found in the studies on white participants (Ball, 1987; Lyons, 1981:64; Lyons and McCleary, 1980:105).

Perceptions held by non-Māori staff about the ability of Māori women can be damaging but the problem is not insurmountable. There are perceptions that Māori are not as articulate or as literate as other staff members. That they are strong disciplinarians but have no professional interest in administration. These attitudes are already in existence and have to be dismantled. The notion of empowering young Māori women in schools is quite often overlooked by non-Māori staff. This is the kind of condescension that occurs overtly and through ignorance. There are ploys to discourage young Māori therefore they must hold firmly to the belief that they will succeed. Holding

low expectations or negative stereotypical attitudes of Māori are examples of such ploys.

The Māori literature also identifies similar issues of attitude and perception. Irwin (1992) reported on the invisibility of wahine Māori in New Zealand society. She related this state of invisibility to the effects of oppression. Similarly, Tuhiwai-Smith provided a perspective that showed how wahine Māori have been historically constructed by white patriarchies and feminism's as belonging to the group 'other'. As a way forward they advocated the emergence of the unique experiences of wahine Māori. The Māori women interviewed also articulated their need to formulate self understanding and self definition, to reflect their realities.

Many Māori women are very uncomfortable with the notion of self promotion and may be inclined to hold back from participating in high profile activities such as influential committees in the school. Culturally many Māori women are reluctant to raise themselves above others. The prevalence of this attitude may result in only limited development of their true and full potential. It is therefore essential to question why Māori women are holding back. An environment that reflects the norms of the dominant white culture will certainly detract from the more inclusive and creative responses of the Māori woman professional. Tuhiwai-Smith (1992) cautioned that for many wahine Māori part of their survival in Pakeha institutions has been related to their acceptance of the re-constructed knowledge of Māori society by Pakeha.

In contrast one of the women participants doesn't see any barriers to wahine Māori seeking promotion. "People are bending over backwards with this

equity thing". Māori women should be appointed on their ability and competence not according to ethnic origin.

There are huge expectations placed on Māori women, "You can't just be a woman if you are a Māori. You are a Māori woman. There's a significant difference because you know you've got to do it better. You've got to prove yourself all the time". The fact that one is Māori automatically makes life more difficult and of course difficulties are barriers that have to be overcome.

There is little support for being Māori in secondary schools. Māori women face the same barriers all women face but, "we have a double hurdle to overcome". It is important to get to know the senior staff network in the school and know where the influence is. Māori women seeking promotion need these allies to support their professional aspirations. Given the competitive scene today higher qualifications can only enhance the climb up the ladder.

The whaea says, "Be assertive as a Māori woman! There is overt racism and non-recognition of the values we hold". She declares that women, especially wahine Māori, have always been pivotal in the development of the whānau, hapu and iwi, it can be no different in secondary schools. It behoves all of us to encourage our young wahine Māori to train and become secondary teachers!

Pressures

For some the dominance and all consuming nature of teaching became a burden to the extent that personal health suffered. Time away from teaching provided relief and time to reflect. On returning to teaching there was a strong resolve to achieve a balance in life. There was expression of concern in that other colleagues did not recognise any sign of possible nervous breakdown. Neither were there safety checks in place to monitor the general well-being of teachers.

Having to contend with a heavy workload, struggling to raise the work standards of students, and endeavouring to provide students with the necessary tools of learning created constant pressures on some of the women. Their sense of responsibility as teachers was compounded by their personal commitment as Māori. The effect of this meant increasing infringement on personal and family time. The challenge for many was in endeavouring to work and operate within certain boundaries so that teaching did not continually dominate and affect personal well-being.

In order to keep workload under 'control' there are long hours to contend with usually involving work at night and sometimes returning to school to carry out some tasks. Organising skills appear to be well developed amongst the women, however, having very supportive partners who share in household tasks has been a major factor for some in coping.

A conscious decision to leave the school system probably enabled one of the women to remain intact as a person. Having to deal with Māori students all

the time made her leave. She seemed to have got on a treadmill. She could not see herself becoming a principal, say at 40 years of age and then spending the next 20 years in that job. She did not think she could cope with that so she broke out while young enough to start new challenges.

They are all aware of the need to 'recharge the batteries'. But they all admit that maintaining the balance and taking heed of the warning signs is another matter. Sometimes it takes a serious jolt to force them into taking a break!

Having the ability to set up personal safety mechanisms has been the saving for one of the women. In her words, "You are the only one who can decide to pull out when the going gets tough. How else have I survived in the environment that exists today?" She adds, "My own matua, tupuna have been my support and now I am doing the support for our uri whakatupu (growing generation)".

In summary, six of the Māori women reported having experienced high levels of stress and the need to maintain a more balanced lifestyle. One of these women has since been forced to slow down through illness. Five of the interviewees reported handling and managing stress reasonably well.

Pastoral Care - Service

Wahine Māori are so committed to all sorts of extra-curricular and cultural activities, but much of their contributions are occurring with little recognition. As one says, "How do I measure the talents that I bring to teaching? How do I quantify experiences as somebody who worked and set up a playcentre and educational programmes when I don't have a certificate to say that I did do that and worked all those hours? That's what we do as Māori women. We do so much extra and so many hours extra. But we don't go for those glossy certificates that say we are qualified and experienced. It wasn't paid employment, it was all voluntary and that makes a difference. I wasn't paid to do that so it doesn't count". She goes on to say, "Part of me just wants to slide in and be incognito but I can't because there's too much work to be done. There's too much uplifting needed!"

The expectations placed on Māori women reflect the literature findings on socialisation processes as discussed by Ortiz (1981:118), the assumption drawn is that white males manage and administer adult, women instruct children and minorities direct and contain other minorities.

There is concern over the Māori students that haven't got through the school system as these are the kids who from day one have been told they will not succeed. "Every now and then you see the buds of growth in Māori women but we need it to be more than just buds. We need it so that every single girl through the system can be a success story".

One woman maintains that the greatest area of need for Māori is in the Guidance Counselling area. This area has not been addressed in education. This is where Māori people are needed because there are many troubled kids out there. One of the women expresses, "It is useless to get the average sort of Pakeha person to come in to counsel Māori. They have the compassion and the aroha but it is not something you can learn out of a textbook". The essential quality of being Māori in thinking and in feeling connects Māori to Māori.

Non Māori staff members have a tendency to see Māori teachers as very good at handling discipline matters regarding Māori students so these are handed over to the Māori teacher. As summed up by one of the women, "I would rather that the Māori discipline problems did come to me because I am arrogant enough to think that others (Pakehas) will handle them badly. I can deal with things smartly without having to go through detentions and building up resentment".

The whaea considers that it is a position of responsibility that she has to be supportive of those setting out on the long journey of life. She describes her role this way, "To be there to share successes, laughter, sadness, to provide a shoulder to cry on, to encourage by a smile, a touch of a hand, a quiet word of solace and a silent prayer".

In summary, ten out of ten Māori women reported heavy to extreme workloads in undertaking responsibility for extra pastoral care duties. The workload of Māori women in this area is extreme.

CHAPTER SIX: THE WOMEN'S VIEW OF WHAT IT IS TO BE PROFESSIONAL

Introduction:

The following factors emerged from the women's stories as significant in Māori women educators' views, and crystallises for them what it is to be a Māori woman professional.

A Māori Woman Professional:

- Has an overwhelming responsibility to provide a supportive role "for those who are setting out on the long journey of life with its many complexities". Supporting the uri whakatupu (growing generation) through guidance is encapsulated by one of the women, "He awhi, he tautoko, he manaaki i te whānau, me te whānau whanui, to tatou iwi Māori".

- Is always seeking to serve Māori needs in a way that Māori define their needs. In accepting these challenges the Māori woman professional is focused on goals that affirm and advance the cause of Māori education.

- Has an ability to network widely, seeking multi-lateral input and more importantly whānau tautoko to determine the goals and implementation strategies for Māori education. The pragmatic considerations of the Māori woman professional will "ensure that goals are achievable".

- Articulates the need to "continue our collective strength" through professional and cultural activities within the workplace, schools, unions and the wider community.

- Affirms the right of Māori women to exist and operate within the current educational structures and to access career developments. As the options have opened up for Māori in education the "buds of growth in Māori women" have appeared. The Māori woman professional is aware that "we need it so that every single girl through the system can be a success story".

- Strives for professional development and curriculum upskilling in both a Māori defined way and in a Pakeha world. "Strengthening skills" is part of the process required to deliver high quality experiences and outcomes for Māori in education. Attendance at various educational seminars in tertiary institutions, marae based hui and wananga, and wahine forums provide positive role modelling and successful strategies that develop self confidence and leadership qualities.

- Endeavours to find "a positive pathway for further professional training" of other Māori women. In providing encouragement to other Māori women to "become secondary teachers" the Māori woman professional accepts a greater responsibility that extends beyond the immediate school boundaries, to serve the on-going development of iwi Māori. "You can't just be a woman if you are Māori. You're a Māori woman".

- Demonstrates a deep sense of commitment and service towards Māori. Part of the uplifting of Māori is an acknowledgement that "There is a lot to be done for Māori" and a realisation that "this isn't being done".

- Endeavours to provide and promote an educational environment that embraces Māori values and Māori defined goals.

- Continually challenges the present school system to provide scope for the support of whānau and iwi Māori. Their concern is to ensure that Māori gain support "in the way that they need to be supported".

- Is acutely aware of defining the Māori women's experience and realities. This process of self-defining acknowledges the need for Māori women to define their sense of reality through Māori eyes. Part of the path towards autonomy for Māori women requires the Māori woman professional to gain understanding and autonomy in "our world first". A Māori woman professional strives to gain autonomy and control of their lives.

- Offers a perspective and a way forward to address issues involving pastoral care, guidance and liaison with iwi Māori.

- Makes efforts to resolve situations that are often perceived by tauiwi as "Māori problems". In confronting these issues the Māori woman professional has to dismantle perceptions to demonstrate that she is literate, articulate and interested in administrative responsibilities.

- Embraces an inherent desire to be Māori and to grasp all that is tangible and intangible in the Māori realm. Hence, the impetus to be involved in bi-lingual education and Māori schools that are "run by Māori according to Māori values".

- Accepts the need and the challenge for Māori women to gain senior positions in administration and management beyond the level of Department Head. There is a need for a "complete transformation of the schooling structures" and a "complete refocusing in education where we build a system that recognises both Māori and Pakeha".

- Steadily works to raise the aspirations and achievements of Māori students. There is an accepted responsibility to provide "world experiences" to their Māori students. "As Māori teachers we tap into the things that excite Māori learners". As professional role models they work to instil cultural empathy and to broaden the views of young Māori within their care. "It's really important for me for them to be proud of me".

- Believes she has a responsibility to promote and empower other young Māori women on staff. This requires them to project a strong will to succeed and the confidence to "stand tall for what you are and be what you are".

- Develops a broad perspective to meet the challenges needed to bring about change. They endeavour to introduce change that will impact on all students in the school. This will involve them in the wider school operations beyond the Māori department and the Māori staff.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

The research worked to empower wahine Māori so that their aspirations and achievements to define their own Māori women's professionalism was given life and substance. The research participants were not treated as objects for research but were encouraged to speak freely and frankly so that others could learn and benefit. As agents of change and improvement, the research process was entered into in a manner that respected and acknowledged the dignity of all the research participants. In this way the grounded theory of qualitative research lent itself naturally and successfully to the wahine Māori formulating their own themes and solutions.

It must be stressed that this research is forging new ground and is therefore critical as a starting point for other kaupapa Māori work to build from. In this respect it is limited in that much of the literature does not directly relate to wahine Māori in Aotearoa. It should also be noted that some of the international literature is dated. Endeavouring to secure more relevant material proved extremely difficult simply because the data was not available. Although there are references to Māori literature much has been taken from overseas studies and environments that are not reflective of the wahine Māori world and life experiences. Hence the need to continually support research initiatives for Māori by Māori. Further research should include a larger representative sample from across the country to determine the extent of emerging themes and theory. Other research studies may focus solely on wahine Māori principals, or the positive pathways for Māori girls to focus on.

While other research on Māori has concentrated on negative factors, this study has taken the approach of focusing on those wahine Māori who have made a pro-active stand to become teachers and educators, who are wahine Māori professionals. In this day and age with the focus on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, tokenism should by now have been replaced by partnership and meaningful representation (Mita, 1992:50).

The process adapted in this study provides a way for wahine Māori to learn about the reality of each others' lives. It could act also as a forum for consciousness raising and the path for overcoming barriers and oppression at all levels. As argued in chapter two, life stories are central to the developmental process and the process of telling, itself is developmental. It helps to uncover; to recall forgotten memories; clarify one's own thinking in telling their story and develops insights into our own lives and liberation (Farrell, 1992).

The use of the qualitative approach of gathering data through the use of personal interviews, enabled the wahine Māori to ease comfortably and naturally into the story telling mode.

As already stated, the informants have been allowed to speak for themselves without the researcher's biases and presence intruding on the data. However, the final written report of findings presents an overview and insight into the entire findings. Yet at the same time there are aspects that have been delved into with greater depth and revelation. Within the discussion are the researcher's own interpretative comments. Although not all the interpretative commentary is theoretical, it is nevertheless part of the researcher's aim, for the development of theoretically informed

interpretations is the most powerful way to bring reality to light (Blumer, 1969; Glaser, 1978). The theoretical formulation that results not only can be used to explain the struggles of the wahine Māori towards evolving a theory of a Māori women's professionalism. It does, however, provide a framework for action. Integral to this approach and outcome is the grounded theory approach of qualitative research which is founded on the building of theory.

The following main themes have emerged from the study of this group of Māori women's views of the struggle towards Māori women's professionalism.

Wahine Māori have struggled to be recognised as Māori professionals with equal credibility as their tauiwi colleagues. Having experienced the treatment of one who is considered to be inferior and different the wahine Māori have developed a determination to prove their worth as Māori professionals. Although at times a lonely and heavy burden to shoulder, they are clear in pursuit of their goal. The wahine Māori, have a desire to bring about change in the education system that will benefit Māori students - knowing very well that the rangatahi will be the future leaders.

Aspirations for promotion have been motivated by a will to develop and nurture an education system that will embrace te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, alongside the skills and knowledge of a Pakeha curriculum thus providing the holistic balance for rangatahi. Where barriers may exist they are merely a challenge to overcome and dismantle. The wahine Māori have learnt the value of developing a more assertive and confident approach so that they are heard.

Preparation for promotion was extremely inadequate but this served to force the wahine into action. Working against the tide, they grew with the few opportunities that came their way. It was a case of sink or swim! The results speak for themselves. The wahine Māori gained through on the job experience. They recognised smartly the need to become familiar with the secondary school system and the hierarchy within the schools. In doing so they came to understand the value of networking, of setting up support systems and avoiding pitfalls through sound advice of more experienced mentors. Regular hui for wahine Māori both regionally and nationally appeared high on the list of priorities in sustaining Māori women's professionalism.

The pressures in teaching are well known yet still a trap for many. The wahine Māori experienced their share of suffering through personal health problems, heavy workloads, and constant infringement on their personal and family time. They have expressed the need for a balanced life style and the need to have a life outside of teaching. Supportive partners have kept a number of the wahine Māori going. The skill of organising and time management has clearly been well developed by many of the wahine Māori.

Not only are Māori natural educators, but they are also the best when it comes to providing pastoral care service. The wahine Māori undertook many extra-curricular and cultural activities, often with little recognition from the school hierarchy but that didn't stop them from getting involved. They were driven by a concern to develop the buds of growth to support rangatahi. The wahine Māori spoke of the many troubled Māori in schools and the way in which they were treated. One of the wahine was so concerned about the inadequacy of her tauiwi colleagues in handling the discipline of Māori

students she insisted on having that responsibility. Clearly, there is a need for more wahine Māori to be trained as qualified Guidance Counsellors.

There are constraints for wahine Māori in teaching. The wahine Māori spoke about the continual need to have to prove themselves in the eyes of tauiwi. In terms of a pecking order, the wahine Māori were perceived as sitting behind Pakeha women, Māori men and Pakeha men. They acknowledged that while there were barriers and perceptions to overcome these were not insurmountable. They learnt how to promote themselves in an educationally acceptable way. In increasing their knowledge of the how to operate within the system and becoming aware of the people within the hierarchy they gained a sense of empowerment. Empowerment developed self confidence and the firm belief that they would succeed. Given the huge expectations placed upon their shoulders they sought professional allies and means to gain higher academic qualifications.

The wahine Māori expressed concern about needing to bring tane Māori up to speed so that they are not left behind the wahine. They also identified the need for more experienced wahine Māori to embrace the younger wahine and to share the wisdom of their experience. Furthermore, bringing about successful and in-depth change in the education system, would require other wahine Māori to train and qualify as secondary teachers. It would also require wahine Māori to broaden their horizons outside of the Māori department and the sport field. More wahine Māori are needed as senior women, as Guidance Counsellors, and as Principals.

References and Appendices

Appendix I

17 Hood Street
NGONGOTAHA
Friday May 20 1994
HE PĀNUI

Tena ra koe

I am writing to seek your assistance with my Masterate of Education Thesis Research. My proposal is to investigate factors that contribute to the success of wahine Māori in leadership positions at secondary school level.

With so few papers published on this particular kaupapa I feel compelled to contribute. Such a task is onerous so for the data to be truly representative, it requires input from wahine Māori actually involved in the educative process. As I am currently still formulating interview questions I plan to conduct interviews during Term 2 of the school year.

My course supervisors are both lecturing staff from the Massey University Education Department. Arohia Durie and Marian Court will be known to most of you.

Without any obligation on your part I hope you will agree to an interview at some stage. I have included some data introducing myself and the educational issues of concern. I look forward to contacting you in the near future.

Arohanui

TERESA MAKAO BOWKETT
Phone : (07) 3574893 ROTORUA.

Ko Te Arawa toku waka. Ko Ngongotaha toku maunga. Ko Awahou toku awa. Ko Te Arawa toku iwi. Ko Ngati Rangiwewehi toku hapu. Ko Teresa Makao Bowkett toku ingoa.

My name is Teresa Makao Bowkett. I am 35 years of age. I have been married for 17 years to my partner Jim, who is a retired primary school principal. We have two sons, Hamiora aged 16 and Benjamin Pukeroa aged 15.

My tribal affiliations are Te Arawa, in Rotorua, Te Rarawa, in Ahipara and Waikato.

I currently hold a Trained Teachers Certificate, a Diploma of Teaching and a Bachelors Degree in Education.

My teaching experience includes four years teaching in Multi-level and Bi-lingual classrooms at Selwyn Primary School. Followed by three years of teaching English, Drama and Waihanga (Art) at Western Heights High School in Rotorua. As an assistant teacher I carried the responsibility for overseeing the English programmes of Māori students within Te Akoranga Reo Rua Immersion Unit.

Within the wider community I have served on local Iwi Māori initiatives including both the Runanga and Te Runanganui o Te Arawa. While a student I was a member of the Board of Teacher Education and the Academic Board of Waikato University. I have held various positions in Public Relations and as Booking Officer for local primary school organisations.

My political and professional interests have led me to represent Māori teachers on the National Executive of the New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association. Much of this work ensures Māori input into education policy as it impacts on Māori. Consequently I have gained considerable experience and opportunity to participate in both national and international forums on education.

Recently I returned from a five week tour of the Philippines. I was part of a Rotary International Group Study Exchange. Our purpose is primarily to enhance international understanding and goodwill. The cultural exchange enabled me to observe and "live" amongst the Tangata Whenua. There was opportunity to immerse in the Tagalog language, social customs, music in song and dance, religious ceremonies and cultural values. Many aspects of Filipino life blend in very much with our own Māoritanga. Concepts of whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, manaakitanga, awhinatanga and aroha visibly obvious in social interactions.

For the remainder of 1994 I am on sabbatical leave having gained a Secondary School Study Award. I have undertaken research towards completing a Masterate of Education Thesis.

My initial concern is to investigate the issue regarding the status of Māori women in secondary schools. Recent findings by John and Hilary Mitchell reveal the huge workload carried by Māori teachers. Anecdotal accounts indicate that Māori women teachers in fact are burdened with much of the responsibility. For the most part their work efforts are "invisible".

The extra duties shouldered by Māori women in schools often involve: providing positive role models for Māori students, in particular, Māori girls, dealing with discipline matters related to Māori students, administering guidance and pastoral care often in the form of counselling to Māori students, Māori parents and caregivers and to other teaching colleagues, liaising with Māori whānau and wider iwi groups and organising sporting and cultural activities, to mention in brief.

To what extent does the extra load impact on Māori women teachers in terms of personal health, personal whānau responsibilities, personal relationships, professional relationships with teaching colleagues, personal classroom planning and teaching programmes, personal time and energy for personal professional development and career promotion prospects?

To what extent is the work of Māori women teachers taken for granted, especially in terms of the guidance and pastoral care workload which for the most part is carried out as unpaid work within the schools?

What is the status of Māori women in schools in terms of PR positions and assistant teacher positions? Is the work carried out by Māori women sufficiently rewarded? What is the status of Māori women with regard to senior management positions? For those who have become principals, what

path have they taken? How have they managed to reach the "top"? What can other Māori women gain from their experiences? Especially those aspiring to follow in their footsteps.

There is much to investigate and such work must be started with earnest. The issues are significant and need raising. There is clearly a need to develop the skills of Māori women researchers in order to delve beneath the surface. Māori investigating Māori issues and concerns is long overdue. Therefore who better to ask about the state of Māori women in education than the Māori women in schools.

Appendix II

17 Hood Street
NGONGOTAHA
Friday 8 July 1994

HE PĀNUI
Kia ora ano
Warmest greetings on your return from the Mid-Term Break.

As promised, I am writing to seek your participation in my research project, "Factors that contribute to the success of Wahine Māori in leadership positions at secondary school level".

For the purposes of this research, I hope to conduct personal interviews with twenty-six Māori women teaching in secondary schools throughout the Waiariki District and six Māori women principals from throughout Aotearoa.

I have included a questionnaire covering personal details and interview arrangements. If you are agreeable, I would appreciate receiving your data and interview details by post. We can proceed from there.

With regard to the interview session, I am interested in recording the biographical life stories of each individual tracing their educational career paths. In a sense you take on the role of a storyteller. It is hoped that you will feel encouraged and inspired to reveal your story for other Māori women.

The process known as Biography "offers one way of approaching an enriched perspective which brings the past and possible futures together with the present for the purposes of understanding and action". (Mann, 1992).

Possible topics and questions which can be used to guide our interview session will be conducted in an open and non-threatening manner. Discussion need not be confined to the issues set by the interviewer. As well, be assured that only material approved by you will be used in final publications.

I sincerely look forward to your positive response and to visiting you over the next six weeks. So for now, best wishes for a productive and exciting term.

TERESA MAKAO BOWKETT

Phone: (07) 3574893 ROTORUA.

Appendix III

Interview Questions:

1. As a child/youngster where were you educated?
2. What subjects did you study at High School?
3. How would you describe your family life and upbringing?
4. Where did you come in the family?
5. When did you know or decide that you would enter teaching? What attracted you into teaching? Who or what influenced your decision?
6. Have you sought after promotion and if so what steps did you follow? What problems did you encounter?
7. Did your seeking promotion impact in any way on your family life (partner, children)?
8. How well prepared do you feel to take on a position of responsibility? Have you been involved in any form of professional training to assist you in such areas? Do you have access to appropriate role models?
9. What form of support networks do you have access to?
10. What do you see as barriers to Māori women seeking promotion in the secondary school system?

11. What advice do you have for Māori women seeking professional advancement?

12. What "informal networks" operate within secondary schools that Māori women seeking promotion should be aware of?

13. How would you describe your role and your workload in the area of pastoral care and guidance?

14. In what way do Māori women provide for the pastoral care and guidance needs of students within the school?

15. To what extent have you coped with the pressures of teaching?

16. Has your school workload created pressures on home life and personal time? In what ways? How do you maintain a healthy "balance"?

17. What are your future aspirations in education? How do you intend to achieve them?

18. What does the future hold for Māori women in secondary teaching? What is the status of Māori women now? What changes are required and how can they be realised?

Appendix IV

P E R S O N A L D E T A I L S - Please return by post
(Envelope enclosed)

NAME:

ADDRESS:

TELEPHONE:

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH:

AGE:

MARITAL STATUS:

NUMBER OF CHILDREN:

TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS:

HEALTH: (eg. good/excellent)

PRESENT POSITION AND SCHOOL: YEAR APPOINTED:

QUALIFICATIONS:

YEAR INSTITUTION AND COURSE RESULT

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

POSITION NUMBER OF YEARS

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS:

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS:

COMMUNITY/CULTURAL/CHURCH/MARAE ORGANISATIONS:

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS:

INTERVIEW - DATE - TIME - VENUE

(Please fill in as your schedule allows)

Appendix V

17 Hood Street
NGONGOTAHA
Monday 1 August 1994

A FRIENDLY REMINDER
Kia ora
My apologies for being a hoha by adding to your schedule of "crowded activities". Let me guess: ERO visits, Regional Māori Cultural Competitions, Ngā Manu Kōrero, examination entries to complete, inter-school sports, report evenings with parents . . . Ka aroha.

I would still love to hear from you and share your teaching experiences as a Māori woman. No doubt your time is committed and with that in mind, I wonder if you would rather answer a questionnaire? I have included one for you just in case.
Kia kaha koe.
Arohanui
TERESA MAKAO BOWKETT
Phone: (07) 3574893 ROTORUA.

P.S. Any suggestions or names of other people that you would like included? I would really appreciate any help. Wishing you well, on this the first day of Spring!

Appendix VI

17 Hood Street
NGONGOTAHA

Thursday 24 November 1994

Kia ora ra

This is a brief pānui to provide an update on our research project. At this stage the thesis is nearly three quarters of the way to final completion.

Obviously, as the term draws to a close you will still be working to complete the usual end of year requirements. I hope that it has been a relatively smooth term without too many stresses.

On a personal level I will be leaving for Wellington on Tuesday 29 November (next week) to take up my new position as a Policy Analyst with the Ministry of Education. So I will be out of teaching for the next few years. Naturally, I will endeavour to keep some form of contact with you as it will be mutually beneficial.

At present I am waiting for some feedback from my supervisors at Massey University but you may be interested to know that I am working on the data analysis. I am also waiting for some guidance from Arohia on this section before I continue working to any great depth.

I am amazed at the speed of time. It really does feel like yesterday when I first started out on this piece of work. My intention is to set up a meeting to share our responses. I will be in touch accordingly. If you wish to ask about anything specifically please contact me.

My new address is:

42 Kaitawa Crescent, Paraparaumu.
Phone: (04) 473-5544.

So for now, Arohanui ki a koe
Peace and Goodwill
Na Teresa Makao Bowkett

References

Antill, J.K. (1983) 'Sex Role Complementarity versus Similarity in Married Couples' in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, pp.145-55.

Aspinwall, Kath (1992) 'Biographical Research: The Search for Meaning' in Management Education and Development, 23, 3, pp.248-257.

Ball, S. (1987) The Micro-Politics of the School, London, Methuen.

Baughman, M.K. (1977) 'Attitudes and perceptions of a selected sample of women senior high teachers toward becoming school administrators' in Detroit public schools in Dissertation Abstracts International, 36, 4886A, University Microfilms No. 7804644.

Bem, S.L. (1974) 'The measurement of psychological androgyny' in Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42, 2.

Bertaux, D. and Kohli, M. (1984), 'The Opening up of Anthropology' in E.M. Bruner (ed.) Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society, The American Ethnological Society, Washington, D.C., pp.1-18.

Biklen, S.K. (1987) 'Women in American elementary school teaching: A case study' in P.A. Schmuck (ed.), Women educators: Employees of schools in Western countries, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp.223-242.

Blackmore, J. (1987a) 'Tensions to be resolved in participation and school based decision making,' in Educational Administration Review, 4, 1, pp.29-47.

Blackmore, J. (1987b) 'Contradiction and contestation: Theory and ideology in teacher's work,' Paper presented to the British Educational Research Association Conference, Manchester, September.

Blackmore, J. and Kenway, J. (1988) 'Rationalisation, instrumentalism and corporate managerialism: The implications for women of the Green Paper in High Education,' in Australian Universities Review, 31, 1.

Blackmore, J. (1989) 'Educational leadership: A feminist critique and reconstruction' in J. Smyth (ed.) Critical perspectives on educational leadership, London Falmer, pp.93-130.

Blumer, H. (1969) Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Boston Women's Teachers' Group (S. Freedman, J. Jackson, and C. Boyles) (1983) Teaching: An imperilled "profession" in L.S. Shulman and G. Sykes (eds.), Handbook of teaching and policy, New York: Longman, pp.261-299.

Brandt, Ron (1992) 'On Rethinking Leadership: A Conversation with Tom Sergiovanni' in Educational Leadership, February, pp.46-49.

Brown, L.D. (1985) 'People Centred Development and Participatory Research' in Harvard Educational Review, 55, 1, pp.69-75.

Brown, L.K. (1979) 'Women and Business Management' in Signs, 5, 2, pp.266-268.

Bruner, E.M. (1984) 'The Opening up of Anthropology' in E.M. Bruner (ed.) Text, Play and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society, The American Ethnological Society, Washington, D.C., pp.1-18.

Bruner, J. (1987) 'Life as Narrative' in Social Research, 54, 1, pp.11-32.

Burns, A., Homel, R. (1989) 'Gender division of tasks by parents and their children' in Psychology of Women Quarterly, 13, pp.113-125.

Court, Marian (1989) 'Women in Educational Administration' in Women's Studies Association Conference Papers, Christchurch, pp.151-161.

Court, Marian (1992) 'Leading from Behind: Women in Educational Administration' in Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds.) Women and Education in Aotearoa 2, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, pp.181-196.

Davies, Julia (1992) 'Careers: Biography in Action, the Narrative Dimension' in Management Education and Development, 23, 3, pp.207-214.

Denzin, N.K. (1989) Interpretive Biography, Qualitative Research Methods, Series 17, Sage, Beverley Hills.

DES (1987) Statistics of Education: teachers in service England and Wales, 1985, HMSO, London.

DiPrete, Thomas.A. (1987) 'The Professionalization of Administration and Equal Employment Opportunity in the U.S. Federal Government' in American Journal of Sociology, 93, pp.119-40.

Drust, B. (1977) 'Factors related to the employment of women as junior high school and high school principals, assistant superintendents and superintendents in California public schools' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 37, 5479A, University Microfilms No. 77-4825.

Eagly, Alice H., Karau, Steven J. and Johnson, Blair T. (1992) 'Gender and Leadership Style Among School Principals: Meta-Analysis' in Educational Administration Quarterly, February, 28, 1, pp.76-102.

Edson, S.K. (1988) Pushing the limits: The female administrative aspirant, Albany: State University of New York Press.

Eisner, E. (1991) The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice, New York: Macmillan.

Erickson, H.L. (1984) 'Female public school administrators and conflict management' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 45, 5, 1251-A.

Etaugh, C., and Gerson, A. (1974) 'Attitudes toward women: Some biographical correlates' in Psychological Reports, 35, pp.701-702.

Farmer, H.S. (1985) 'Model of career and achievement orientation for women and men' in Journal of Counseling Psychological, 32, pp.363-390.

Farrell, Pauline (1992) 'Biography Work and Women's Development: The Promotion of Equality Issues' in Management Education and Development, 23, 3, pp.215-224.

Fisher, F.P. (1978) 'A study of the relationship between the scarcity of women in educational administrative positions and the multiple factors which influence the career aspirations of women teachers' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 40, 574A.

Gardenswartz, L., and A. Rowe (November/December 1987) 'Getting to the Top: The 5 Success Secrets of Women Who Have Made It' in Executive Female, pp.34-38.

Gasser, M.H. (1975) 'Career patterns of women administrators in higher education: Barriers and constraints' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 36, 7893A-7894A, University Microfilms No. 76-13, 240.

Gilligan, C. (1982) In a Different Voice, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Glaser, B.G. (1978) Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory, Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Glaser, B.G., and Strauss, A.L. (1967) The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research, Chicago: Aldine.

Glazer, Judith (1991) 'Feminism and Professionalism in Teaching and Educational Administration' in Educational Administration Quarterly, 27, 3, pp.321-342.

Glazer, P., and Slater, M. (1987) Unequal colleagues: The entrance of women into the professions, 1890-1940, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Goffman, E. (1963) Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Prentice-Hall Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Gotwalt, N., and K. Towns (1986) 'Rare as They Are, Women at the Top Can Teach Us All' in The Executive Educator, 12, pp.13-29.

Grant, R. (1983) Promotion in teaching with particular reference to gender differences, unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Sheffield.

Grant, Rosemary (1989) 'Heading for the Top - the career experiences of a group of women deputies in one LEA' in Gender and Education, 1, 2, pp.113-125.

Grumet, M. (1981) 'Restitution and Reconstruction of Educational Experience: An Autobiographical Method for Curriculum Theory' in M. Lawn and L. Barton (eds.) Rethinking Curriculum Studies, Croom Helm.

Hagen, R.L., and Kahn, A. (1975) 'Discrimination against competent women' in Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 5, 4, pp.362-376.

Halaby, Charles.N. (1979) 'Sexuality Inequality in the Workplace: An Employer-Specific Analysis of Pay Differences' in Social Science Research, 8, pp.79-104.

Hansot, E., and Tyack, D. (1981) The dream deferred: A golden age for women school administrators. Policy Paper No. 81-C2. Stanford, CA: Stanford University School of Education, Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance.

Harker, Richard (1990) 'Schooling and Cultural Reproduction' in John Codd, Richard Harker and Roy Nash (eds.) Political Issues in New Zealand, Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, pp.25-42.

Hartley, R.E. (1964) 'A developmental view of female sex-role definition and identification' in Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, 10, pp.3-16.

Hennig, M., and Jardim, A. (1977) The managerial woman, Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Henry, Ella Y. (1994) 'Rangatira Wahine Māori Women Managers and Leadership' Unpublished Thesis, Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Philosophy, University of Auckland, May.

Houser, B.B., and Garvey, C. (1985) 'Factors that affect nontraditional vocational enrolment among women' in Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9, pp.105-117.

Hughes, E.C. (1958) Men and their Work, New York, Free Press.

Human, Linda (1993) 'The Development of Black and Female Managers in Souch Africa: Why Many Affirmative Action Programmes Fail' in Management Education and Development, 24, 2, pp.153-166.

Inkles, A. (1973) 'Social Structure and Socialization' in D.A. Goslin (ed.) Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, Chicago: Rand McNally, p.618.

Inner London Education Authority (1984) Women's careers in teaching: a survey of teachers' views, RS 921/84, London, ILEA Research and Statistics Branch.

Irwin, Kathie (1988) 'Māori, Feminist, Academic' in Sites, 17, Summer, pp.30-38.

Irwin, Kathie (1989) "Challenges," To Māori feminists in Broadsheet, October, pp.20-23.

Irwin, Kathie (1992) 'Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms' in Rosemary Du Plessis et al (eds.) Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand, Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp.1-7.

Jones, Ruth (1988) 'Interview with Rose Parker-Taunoa' in Race, Gender, Class, 7, pp.44-49.

Johnston, John (1986) 'Gender Differences in Teachers' Preferences for Primary School Leadership' in Educational Management and Administration, 14, pp.219-226.

Kandel, D.B. (1978) 'Similarity in Real-life Adolescent Friendship Pairs' in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36, pp.306-312.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss (1977), Men and Women of the Corporation, New York: Basic Books.

Kanter, R.M. (1975) 'Women and the Structure of Organizations' in M. Millman and R.M. Kanter (eds.) Another Voice, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Kauffman, Robert L. (1986) 'The Impact of Industrial and Occupational Structure on Black White Employment Allocation' in American Sociological Review, 51, pp.310-23.

Kelly, J.A., and Worrell, J. (1976) 'Parent behaviors related to masculine, feminine, and androgynous sex role orientations' in Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 44, pp.843-851.

King, L.A., and King, D.W. (1985) 'Sex-role egalitarianism: Biographical and personality correlates' in Psychological Reports, 57, pp.787-792.

Konrad, Alison M. and Pfeffer, Jeffrey (1991) 'Understanding the Hiring of Women and Minorities in Educational Institutions' in Sociology of Education, 64, July, pp.141-157.

Larson, M.S. (1977) The rise of professionalism, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lyons, G. (1981) Teacher Careers and Career Perceptions, Slough, NFER.

Lyons, G. and McCleary, L. (1980) 'Careers in teaching', in E. Hoyle and J. Megarry (eds.) World Yearbook of Education, London, Kogan Page.

Malcolm, Margaret (1978) 'The Almost Invisible Woman' in Set, 2, Item 12.

Mann, Sarah J. (1992) 'Telling a Life Story: Implications for Research' in Management Education and Development, 23, 3, pp.271-280.

Marshall, Catherine (1985) 'From Culturally Defined to Self-Defined: Career Stages of Women Administrators' in The Journal of Educational Thought, 19, 2, August, pp.134-147.

Marshall, C. (1985) 'The stigmatised woman: the professional woman in a male sex-type career' in Journal of Educational Administration, 23, 2, pp.131-152.

Marshall, Catherine (1992) 'School Administrators' Values: A Focus on Atypicals in Educational Administration Quarterly, 28, 3, August, pp.368-386.

Marshall, Judi (1992) 'Researching Women in Management as a Way of Life' in Management Education and Development, 23, 3, pp.281-289.

Martin, Yvonne (1993) 'Sex-Role Orientation, Coping Strategy, and Prospective Women Administrators' in Educational Management and Administration, 21, 2, pp.123-129.

Mast, D.L., and Herron, W.G. (1986) 'The sex-role antecedents scales' in Perceptual and Motor Skills, 63, pp.27-56.

McGrath Thrasher, Sue (1992) 'Here come the Women!' in Educational Leadership, February, pp.62-65.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1968) The Visible and the Invisible, Northwestern University Press, Evanstown, Illinois.

Mickey, B.H. (1984) 'You can go home again, but it's not easy' in Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 47, 3, pp.3-7.

Mills, C.W. (1970) The Sociological Imagination, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Mita, Merata (1992), 'The Soul and the Image' in Jonathan Dennis and Jan Bieringa (eds.) Film in Aotearoa New Zealand, Wellington: Victoria University Press, pp.36-56.

Mitchell, Hilary Anne and Mitchell, John Maui (1993) Māori Teachers Who Leave the Classroom, New Zealand Council For Educational Research, Wellington.

Moody, C.D. (1973) 'The Black Superintendent' in School Review 81, 3, pp.375-382.

Neville, Mollie (1988) 'Implications: Women Must Be Superwomen' in Promoting Women, Auckland: Longman Paul, pp.147-152.

Nias, J. (1989) Primary Teachers Talking: A Study of Teaching as Work, Routledge.

Nieva, Veronica F. and Gutek, Barbara A. (1980) 'Sex Effects on Evaluation' in Academy of Management Review, 5, pp.267-76.

Noddings, N. (1990) 'Feminist critiques in the professions' in C.B. Cazden (ed.), Review of research in education, 16, pp.393-424, Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Ortiz, F.I. (1981) Career Patterns in Education: Men, Women and Minorities in Public School Administration, New York: Praeger.

Pere, Rose (1988) 'Te Wheke: Whaia te Maramatanga me te Aroha' in Sue Middleton (ed.) Women and Education in Aotearoa, Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, pp.6-19.

Rapoport, R., and Rapoport, R. (1971) 'Earlier and later experiences as determinants of adult behavior: Married women's family and career patterns' in British Journal of Sociology, 22, pp.16-30.

Report of The Royal Commission on Social Policy. April 1988, Volume II Future Directions, p.156.

Reynold, B., and Elliott, B. (1980) Differences between men and women in their aspirations for careers in educational administration. Unpublished manuscript.

Riley, M.W., Johnson, M.E., and Babcock, S.S. (1963) 'Woman's changing occupational role: A research report' in American Behavioral Scientist, 6, pp.33-37.

Rimmer, C. and Davies, B. (1985) 'Women principals in education department high schools in Victoria' in Journal of Educational Administration, 23, 2, pp.153-189.

Rosen, B. and Jerdee, T.H. (1974) 'Sex Stereotyping in the Executive Suite' in Harvard Business Review, 52, pp.45-48.

Sachs, Rachel, Chrisler, Joan C. and Devlin Sloan, Ann (1992) 'Biographic and Personal Characteristics of Women in Management' in Journal of Vocational Behavior, 41, pp.89-100.

Salancik, Gerald R. (1979) 'Interorganizational Dependence and Responsiveness to Affirmative Action: The Case of Women and Defense Contractors' in Academy of Management Journal, 22, pp.375-94.

Salancik, Gerald R. and Pfeffer, Jeffrey (1978) 'Uncertainty, Secrecy, and the Choice of Similar Others' in Social Psychology, 41, pp.246-55.

Sampson, S. (1983) 'Women and men in the teaching service,' in The Secondary Administrator, pp.51-2.

Sargent, A. (1978) 'The androgynous blend' in Management Review, October.

Schmitt, B. and Millard, R. (1988) 'Construct validity of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI): Does the BSRI distinguish gender-schematic and gender-aschematic individuals?' in Sex Roles, 19, pp.9-10.

Schmuck, P.A. (1976) 'Sex differentiation in public school administration' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 36, 5791A, University Microfilms No. 76-5204.

Schneider, I., Schneider-Duker, M. and Becker-Beck, U. (1989) 'Sex roles and social behaviour: on the relation between Bem Sex Role Inventory and the SYMLOG behaviour rating scales' in Journal of Social Psychology, 129, 4.

Scott, H.J. (1980) 'The Black School Superintendent: Messiah or Scapegoat?' Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Shakeshaft, Charole (1989) 'Barriers to Women's Advancement into School Administration' in Women in Educational Administration, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp.81-124.

Shakeshaft, C. (1979) "Dissertation research on women in educational administration: A synthesis of findings and paradigm for future research' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 40, 6455A.

Shakeshaft, C. (1989) Women in Educational Administration, Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, pp.56-74.

Smith Tuhiwai, Linda (1992) 'Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine' in Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds.) Women and Education in Aotearoa 2, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, pp.33-51.

Smith Tuhiwai, Linda (1993) 'Getting Out From Down Under: Māori Women, Education and the struggles for Mana Wahine' in M. Arnot and K. Weiler (eds.) Education, Gender and Justice, London: Falmer Press, pp.58-78.

Snyder, Karolyn J. and Johnson, William L. (1985) 'Retraining Principals for Productive School Management' in Educational Research Quarterly, 9, 3, pp.19-27.

Stevenson, F.B. (1974) 'Women administrators in big ten universities' in Dissertation Abstracts International, 34, 5553A-5554A, University Microfilms No. 74-6141.

Strachan, Jane (1991) 'Taking Action: Empowering Women for Educational Leadership', paper presented to the Seventh National Conference of the NZ Educational Administration Society, Thriving on Change, at Massey University, Palmerston North, 12-15 January.

Strauss, A., and Corbin, J. (1990) Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Strauss, Anselm L. (1987) Qualitative Analysis For Social Scientists, Cambridge University Press.

Strober, Myra H. (1984) 'Toward a General Theory of Occupational Sex Segregation: The Case of Public School Teaching' in Barbara F. Reskin (ed.) Sex Segregation in the Workplace: Trends, Explanations, Remedies, Washington, DC: National Academy Press, pp.144-56.

Strober, Myra H. and Catanzarite, Lisa M. (1988) 'Changes in Black Women's Representation in Occupations and a Measure of the Relative Attractiveness of Occupations'. Paper presented at the annual Standford Organizations Conference, Asilomar, CA.

Strober, M. and Tyack, D. (1980) 'Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research in Schools' in Signs, 5, 3, pp.87-108.

Sutherland, Margaret B. (1991) 'Women and education: Progress and problems' in Prospects, XXXI, 2, pp.145-155.

Terborg, J.R. (1977) 'Women in management: A research review' in Journal of Applied Psychology, 62, pp.647-664.

Tuckman, B.W. (1978) 'Constructing and using questionnaires and interview schedules!' From Conducting Educational Research, New York: Harcourt Brace.

Tyack, D., and Hansot, E. (1988) 'Silence and policy talk: Historical puzzles about gender and education' in Educational Researcher, 17, 3, pp.33-41.

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1977) 'Job Patterns of Minorities and Women in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools' Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, p.iii.

Valverde, L.A. (1974) Succession Socialization: Its Influences on School Administration Candidates and Its Implication to the Exclusion of Minorities From Administration, Project 3-0813, Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Vroegh, K. (1971) 'The relationship of birth order and sex siblings to gender-role identity' in Developmental Psychology, 4, pp.407-411.

Woo, Lillian C. (1985) 'Women Administrators: Profiles of Success' in Women in Administration, December, pp.285-288.

Wright, Deil S. and Bullard, Angela M. (1993) 'Circumventing the Glass Ceiling: Women Executives in American State Governments' in Public Administration Review, 53, 3, May/June, pp.189-202.

Yeaky Camp, Carol, Johnston Styles, Gladys and Adkison, Judith A. (1986) 'In Pursuit of Equity: A Review of Research on Minorities and Women in Educational Administration' in Educational Administration Quarterly, 22, 3, Summer, pp.110-149.

Young, D.B. (1973) 'The Socialization of American Minority Peoples' in D.A. Goslin (ed.) Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, Chicago: Rand McNally, p.1107.