# WOMEN OF POWER IN A MAN'S WORLD
# CAREER PROFILES OF SUCCESSFUL WOMEN
# IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

MOLLIE NEVILLE

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Educational Administration
Education Department
Massey University

1986

**ABSTRACT**

There is now a considerable body of literature on women in education and the blocks that prevent them from entering the senior administrative positions in educational institutions. Much of this research has been primarily survey-based and between-group in nature. Too often in between-group research the women become 'deficit' in being compared to the men who are the 'norm'.

In studying the careers of successful women in educational administration this thesis aimed to present positive role models for women. It has concentrated on between-group analysis, to compare women with other women and attempted to determine how these women were able to overcome such 'barriers'. The data are a combination of both survey questionnaire and conversational non-hierarchical interviews. The women in this study have resisted stereotyping. They are in control of their lives, balancing home and career lives without detriment to either. They are committed to their institutions, families and communities. They have not taken absences from teaching to raise their children and rarely move to accompany their partners. Their partners, on the whole, move for them. They have no 'wives' to take the nurturing role in the home but their partners are completely supportive. They have little leisure, few holidays, and have continued study for further qualifications for their professional development. They are leaders in politics, the community or church, as well as at school.

They nearly all planned their careers, developed a knowledge of the career path and had training for political skills and speaking by holding executive positions in teachers' organizations. They avoided the 'feminine' roles in the school hierarchy.

They have shown tenacity in applying for promotion and have been willing to move to gain promotion. They show courage in taking risks, responding to change, making the hard decisions and being innovative. They perceive their isolation and are sometimes burdened by the responsibility of speaking for all women and of being seen as symbols to all women. A group of well-known male administrators recognized their capabilities and sponsored them for important national residential courses and promotion. Many belong to a network of supportive women colleagues. They have a clear vision of what their goals are, and use a caring and collaborative leadership style.

They, in turn, are empowering others, and above all, are preparing young people to face a future that is uncertain and unknown. These women are redefining the role for career women in New Zealand and are redefining leadership styles for leaders throughout the education system.

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to:

The sixteen women who gave their time willingly and their encouragement unstintingly in responding to the questions on which this thesis is based.

Dr Tom Prebble, my supervisor, who understood my purpose and enabled me to follow it through.

Eric Archer, whose keen intelligence and eye for detail were a constant challenge.

The Department of Education, including Director-General, Bill Renwick, and Deputy Director-General, Peter Brice, who answered my questions on statistics and policy; and in particular, the Department of Research and Statistics: Bob Garden, Helen Norman and Ngaire Bennie, who gave me help with writing questionnaires and finding supporting material.

The Management Committee and staff of Kohia Teachers Centre who provided the support necessary to complete this thesis.

Linda Hardy, lecturer at Victoria University of Wellington, with whom I explored concepts of feminist theory fundamental to this research.

Dr David Hawke, lecturer in Geographic Information Systems at the University of Auckland, for his advice on word processing.

Jan Kelly, Department of Geography, University of Auckland, for drafting the figures.

Brian Hurst, Department of Geography, University of Auckland, for reproducing the photographs.

Chris Hammett, Deputy Liaison Officer, University of Auckland, for providing supporting data.

Finally, I am embarrassingly indebted to my husband, Warwick Neville, who entered this thesis on the word processor and spent hours editing the script - a pioneer in the role of the supportive partner needed by career women like me.

**CONTENTS**

## LIST OF RESUMÉS

## LIST OF TABLES

## LIST OF FIGURES



## LIST OF APPENDICES

# CHAPTER ONE

## RESEARCH RATIONALE: HIGHLIGHTING WOMEN'S SUCCESS

### 1.1 THE STATISTICAL BASE

The management structures in New Zealand educational institutions give both men and women teachers and students a very clear message: men lead; women follow; men manage; women teach. This is not an emotive argument but a statement of fact and Tables 1.1 to 1.5 illustrate the point better than any rhetoric.

Women decrease in numbers as the age of the children they teach increases (Table 1.1). Only five women are principals of state coeducational schools out of a total of 205 schools! In the primary service women comprise 66 percent of the total full-time teaching staff yet hold only 14 percent of the principals' positions (Table 1.2). It is significant that the Senior Teacher Junior Classes (STJC) position supervising the junior school is traditionally a woman's position with 89 percent held by women. Men hold the management positions and women are given the 'nurturing' roles in the primary service, reinforcing the gender-related roles in school hierarchies.

In the secondary service women have a disproportionately small share of administrative positions in terms of their total numbers in the service (Table 1.3). Women comprise 41 percent of the total full-time staff but

Table 1.1

New Zealand: Women in Teaching, 1985[1]
Women as a Percentage of
Full-Time Teaching Staff

| Category | Number[2] | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Kindergarten | 1,104 | 98.9 |
| Primary School | 17,218 | 66.2 |
| Secondary School | 13,249 | 41.4 |
| Area School | 520 | 42.3 |
| Technical Institute | 2,463 | 29.2 |
| Teachers College | 389 | 27.2 |
| University[3] | 2,935 | 15.2 |

1 Pay period 1, March 1985

2 Both women and men

3 July 1985

Source: Research and Statistics Division
Department of Education (1986)

Table 1.2

New Zealand: Women in Primary Schools, 1985[1]
Women as a Percentage of Professional Staff in Primary Schools

| Category | Number[2] | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Principal | 2,272 | 14.3 |
| Deputy Principal | 1,339 | 33.0 |
| Second Deputy Principal | 135 | 39.3 |
| Senior Teacher Junior Classes | 820 | 88.8 |
| Senior | 1,987 | 57.7 |
| Sub-total, administrative staff | 6,553 | 41.1 |
| Teacher | 9,725 | 81.7 |
| Year 1 | 791 | 84.8 |
| Other | 149 | 54.4 |
| Sub-total, full-time staff | 17,218 | 66.2 |
| Pro Rata | 1,688 | 98.3 |
| Relieving | 1,970 | 86.0 |
| Total, all staff | 20,876 | 70.7 |

[1] Pay period 1, March 1985
[2] Both women and men

Source: Research and Statistics Division
Department of Education (1986)

Table 1.3

New Zealand: Women in Secondary Schools, 1985[1]
Women as a Percentage of Professional
Staff in Secondary Schools

| Category | Number[2] | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Principal | 315 | 15.9 |
| Second Principal | 13 | 7.7 |
| Deputy Principal | 334 | 21.0 |
| Senior Master/Mistress | 312 | 60.6 |
| PR 4 | 184 | 14.7 |
| PR 3 | 794 | 16.1 |
| PR 2 | 2,102 | 27.1 |
| PR 1 | 1,015 | 40.0 |
| Sub-total, administrative staff | 5,069 | 28.4 |
| Guidance Counsellor | 247 | 36.0 |
| Guidance Teacher | 34 | 67.6 |
| Senior Manual Teacher | 60 | 45.0 |
| Manual Teacher | 604 | 51.8 |
| Assistant Teacher | 7,235 | 49.6 |
| Sub-total, full-time staff | 13,249 | 41.4 |
| Pro Rata | 2,513 | 82.0 |
| Relieving | 754 | 69.0 |
| Total, all staff | 16,516 | 48.8 |

[1] Pay period 1, March 1985
[2] Both women and men

Source: Research and Statistics Division
Department of Education (1986)

hold only 16 percent of the principalships, eight percent of second principals' positions and 21 percent of deputy principals' positions. The situation in area schools and teachers colleges follows a basically similar pattern (Tables 1.4 and 1.5)

A comparison of the statistics in Tables 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 with Helen Norman's (1985) Tables 2, 3 and 4 in The Position of Women in Education, reveals little improvement in the numbers of women in administrative positions since 1984. In fact the number of women in pro rata and relieving positions has increased in both primary and secondary schools. On the other hand, women have decreased in the second principal's position in secondary schools by seven percentage points and lost ground, by four percentage points, in their traditional area of guidance teacher. There are two percentage points fewer senior manual teachers and two percentage points more assistant teachers. In area schools the percentage of women in administration has declined except in the PR2 position. Once again their proportion in pro rata and relieving increased markedly. The only service where women have increased their proportional representation in administration is in the teachers colleges where they have gained between two and four percentage points except in the dean's position where there was a loss of 12 percentage points (Table 1.5).

An analysis of the comparable data for primary school teachers in TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 128) reveals a more significant change for the primary service

Table 1.4

New Zealand: Women in Area Schools, 1985[1]
Women as a Percentage of Professional Staff in Area Schools

| Category | Number[2] | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Principal | 37 | 2.7 |
| PR4 | 23 | 4.3 |
| PR3 | 58 | 27.6 |
| PR2 | 108 | 37.0 |
| Sub-total, administrative staff | 226 | 25.7 |
| Teacher | 279 | 55.9 |
| Manual Teacher | 15 | 40.0 |
| Sub-total, full-time staff | 520 | 42.3 |
| Part-time / Pro Rata | 151 | 88.7 |
| Relieving | 63 | 77.8 |
| Total, all staff | 734 | 54.9 |

[1] Pay period 1, March 1985

[2] Both women and men

Source: Research and Statistics Division
Department of Education (1986)

Table 1.5

New Zealand: Women in Teachers Colleges, 1985[1]
Women as a Percentage of
Professional Staff in Teachers Colleges

| Category | Number[2] | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Principal | 6 | 16.7 |
| Vice Principal | 5 | 20.0 |
| Deputy Associate Principal | 4 | 0.0 |
| Dean | 8 | 25.0 |
| Principal Lecturer | 63 | 19.0 |
| Sub-total, administrative staff | 86 | 18.6 |
| Senior Lecturer | 134 | 15.7 |
| Lecturer | 169 | 40.8 |
| Sub-total, full-time staff | 389 | 27.2 |
| Part-time Lecturer | 68 | 72.1 |
| Relieving | 13 | 53.8 |
| Total, all staff | 470 | 34.5 |

[1] Pay period 1, March 1985
[2] Both women and men

Source: Research and Statistics Division
Department of Education (1986)

since 1979. From 4.7 percent of the principal's positions women increased their share to 14.3 percent in 1985, and from 12.2 percent of the deputy principal's positions they increased to 33.0 percent in 1985.

The TEACAPS statistics for the secondary service (Department of Education, 1982, 130) show very little change since 1973 except for a dramatic deterioration by 27 percentage points in the senior master/mistress position and a modest increase of ten percentage points in the lowest position of responsibility (PR1). The traditional 'nurturing' role of the secondary service, the 'SAM' or senior assistant mistress position, was created to ensure that there was at least one woman in the top three administrative positions. When this was opened up to men, in 1973, the proportion dropped from 87 percent held by women in 1973 to 60 percent in 1985. Forty coeducational schools now have only men in the three senior administrative positions. There has been no compensating increase in the proportion of women principals or deputy principals.

## 1.2 DISCRIMINATION

This lack of power in schools vitiates an equal pay policy as, in occupying lower grade positions, women earn far less on average than their male colleagues. For example, women in secondary schools are clustered in the lower PR1 (40 percent) and PR2 (27 percent) compared with

PR3 (16 percent) and PR4 (15 percent) positions. This thesis subsequently demonstrates that the lower status and earning power of women inevitably has a severe effect on their self-esteem.

The Director-General of Education recognizes the seriousness of the situation. Yet the means of change are not entirely in his hands. Senior secondary positions are appointed by autonomous school boards. In a letter to All Chairpersons, Coeducational Secondary School Boards of Governors, Regional Superintendents and District Senior Inspectors of Schools, The Director-General states quite categorically that, 'There are not enough women in senior positions in coeducational secondary schools... The present position for the country as a whole is not good enough. It can be improved, and it will be improved if we put our minds to it.' He urges them all to cooperate in promoting the policy statement of the Secondary Schools Boards Association, the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) and the Department of Education.

Traditionally teaching is a 'woman's career' and some of the brightest women in the country have entered teaching. 'The average woman teacher student was more able than the average male teacher student. It follows that more women should have been capable of reaching the top of the teaching profession and they have not' (Byrne, 1978, 212). So why are there so few women in management positions? What effect does it have on women and girls to have the message of sub-ordination reinforced day in and day out from primary school

to university?

Historically schools were begun for boys and structured by men and this has continued to be the case despite the fact that girls and women are now part of the education system. There have been exceptions to this: for example, primary schools in the early twentieth century lacked a career structure and women were allowed to hold management positions. Again they moved into senior positions during the two World Wars. However, since the 1950s, education and particularly management in education, has developed a career structure and women have no real place in that structure.

Most of the research on the position of women in schools focuses on the problems of socialization of men and women on the basis of stereotypes and biological factors. However, as outlined in Chapter Two, the most recent research sees the root cause as a more fundamental problem: that is, the sexual division of labour throughout society in both capitalist and socialist countries alike.

It is not the biological fact of women bearing children that prevents them from attaining senior positions, it is the fact that society allocates to them the primary responsibility for childrearing. All the 'barriers' or 'blocks' to women's promotion documented in the literature can be traced to this single factor. Women are trapped by society allocating to them the nurturing role. They are educated in schools with few role models of women in senior positions, they live in homes where there is division of labour on the basis of gender, and so they continue to live their lives

within the structures such as these which society perpetrates. The allocation of childcare as a gender-related activity and its effects on women's participation in education seem too obvious to be stated but they must be stated again and again. They account for the perception of women as 'unreliable', of their absence from meetings, their lack of mobility and allocation of 'tampax and flowers' chores in the school - chores that do not lead to promotion.

## 1.3 THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

What can be done? The purpose of this thesis is to follow just one of the suggestions by recent feminist researchers (Burton, 1985; Department of Education, 1982; Shakeshaft, 1981; Malcolm, 1978): to give prominence to successful women who have infiltrated the hierarchy, to examine their background and career profiles closely, to find explanations for their success, and to feature them as role models. Their experience would, therefore, be an encouragement to those lacking confidence and aspirations, as well as a stimulus to those with aspirations but lacking vital knowledge about women's career paths.

At the same time it is also important that women's experience in management be part of the literature for educational administration. This thesis is an attempt to add to the very sparse literature on women in management, not only in New Zealand but anywhere in the world.

Currently the literature used by educational administration faculties is written by men and cannot deal with the problems of women administrators. These problems, engendered because of their isolation, their position as 'tokens' in the hierarchy, are an extra burden to carry in an already difficult job.

An outstanding text by Marshall (1984), Women Managers: Travellers in a Male World, analyses the personal and structural problems women face, and women can identify with her findings in a way that helps them cope with their particular development. Marshall (1984, 223) says, 'From my own and other women's experiences, it seems that the first clear identification of oneself as a woman in a man's world is unavoidably disturbing and turbulent', and the consequent effect it has on women's relationships with men partners and colleagues until they grow to a sense of 'self-worth'. Reading this statement is, in itself, a step towards 'self-worth' and one that only a woman could write for other women. Far more literature on and by successful women is urgently needed.

The absence of women in the literature on educational administration, both as authors and as subjects, exacerbates the problem of achievement aspirations. What is also significant, I have realized, is that even when women appear in the literature, it is generally in a distorted perspective (often referred to as the 'deficit model' of women) as Schmuck (1981a), Weisskopf (1978) and Acker (1983) have shown. Therefore, another purpose in this thesis is to

reverse the tendency to study women as 'subordinated' (Burton, 1985) or 'powerless' (Roberts, 1981c) and to focus on how women can and have succeeded.

Added to their absence from the literature for educational administration, is their absence from the structures in the faculties for educational administration. Perhaps it was this factor of the 'taken-for-granted' attitude in the management literature that lecturers to administrators are male and teachers female that finally made me realize three years ago that I was indeed a 'woman in a man's world'.

## 1.4 'BIAS' IN THE RESEARCH

The subjective element in this thesis is essential to the purpose and content because as Kate Millett (1970) says, for women 'the personal is political'. As Sue Middleton (1984b, 51) a well-known New Zealand feminist researcher asserts, 'Radical Feminist 'knowledge' is grounded in the experience of being oppressed as a woman in patriarchal society. Through sharing this experience women come to see what was once seen as a 'personal problem' as a product of oppression, as shared with other women, and as changeable through political... consciousness- raising'.

It is important, therefore, that I make clear my 'bias' or personal interest and involvement in this research process - an essential principle in feminist research. Ironically, when I began my studies in educational

administration in 1984, I was not a feminist. I joined the course because my District Senior Inspector told me I lacked administrative experience. This the 'Catch 22" problem women face - how to get administrative experience without being given the opportunity to be administrator. Research shows that the most senior women administrators believe that men are appointed on their potential but women have to prove themselves (Edson, 1981; Tyack and Strober, 1981). So, like the women administrators in Edson's Oregon survey, I decided to do a degree in educational administration in order to enhance my opportunities for promotion.

The process of my studies over the past two years has been the process of my politicization. As I read the feminist literature, and the phenomenological and Marxist critical theorists I began to see truths about the structures in society, in educational institutions and the family that were considered the 'norm' and yet were denying women the satisfaction of fulfilling their potential.

This thesis really began the first time I was shortlisted for a job and was not appointed; when I realized that gender was almost certainly the main reason for not being appointed. It grew in anger and pain and finally found focus late in 1984. I was sitting in my home talking to my friend Charmaine Pountney, Principal of Auckland Girls Grammar School, about my anger and asking about her experience and why she had succeeded where so many women failed. She suggested that I read the Teacher Career and Promotion Studies (TEACAPS) (Department of Education, 1982) and as we

talked we developed the idea of my investigating and writing, not about why women fail but (by examining case studies of successful women) about why they succeed.

The journey has been a deeply personal one as I have read the meagre amount of material on successful women available either here in New Zealand, on the ERIC database, or in publications from the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada or Australia. The women I approached to help me in this study were chosen on a personal as well as on a stratified sample basis. Only three of the women were not known to me and they have now become personal friends like the others. They are my mentors; my support group.

I am thankful that as I write a series of case studies to add to the understanding of the severe problem women face in gaining promotion in administration, that the approaches to research in the social sciences have changed and subjectivity and inter-subjectivity are seen as valid (Shakeshaft, 1981; King, 1984; Burgess,1984; Oakley, 1981; Acker,1983).

This is a thesis about successful women written by a feminist, using a woman's style, regarding women as the 'norm' for society. Despite the depressing account of 'deficit woman' in the literature this thesis celebrates women. As W.H.Auden asks of the poet in his poem, 'In Memory of W.B.Yeats' (1939), in a time of war -

> Sing of human unsuccess
> In a rapture of distress;
> In the deserts of the heart
> Let the healing fountain start.

For me, in this context, it celebrates the sensitivity, strength, compassion, the uniqueness, the tolerance, the love of women at a time of change in our education system when these qualities are now desperately needed.

## 1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

There has been a wealth of literature written on the 'barriers' to success for women in educational administration; very little indeed has been written on the success of the very few women in educational administration. This thesis aims to help fill this gap in the literature. The TEACAPS report (Department of Education, 1982), Reilly (1984), and Burton (1985) all recommend that one of the next steps in research, which currently relies predominantly on survey-based studies demonstrating the 'invisibility' of women, is to focus on close studies of successful women.

My aims are twofold: firstly, to examine the career paths of sixteen women in terms of previous findings on the profiles of successful women and attempt to make some tentative generalizations from this study; and secondly, to highlight the characteristics and experiences of these role models so that aspiring women will find in them a source of inspiration and practical encouragement. In other words the very lack of 'history' of the presence of women in the literature will be counteracted by giving a high profile to New Zealand women who have proven competence in management.

These are women who are known nationally, some internationally, for their ability, and it is important that we examine their career paths to identify the ways in which they have overcome the 'barriers' facing women to achieve eminence in their fields.

## 1.6 RESEARCH ISSUES

This thesis examines the current expectations of women in the educational hierarchy, both in New Zealand and overseas, to see to what extent the sixteen women conform to modify or add to these expectations. Moore (1981, 22) emphasizes the desirability of doing this in her recommendations for improving the ratio of women to men in the hierarchy, 'In order for women aspiring to educational administration careers to increase their chances for success, it is vital to identify the traits of these women who have achieved success to determine which qualities are skills which can be improved'. Tyack and Strober (1981, 149) say that the new research must see beyond 'victims' and 'heroines' to relationships between women and the support they give each other which gives meaning to their lives.

A radical feminist, Clare Burton (1985, 133) also emphasizes this objective: 'Feminist theory has begun to develop an understanding of the dialectical relationship between 'structures' and people... we need specific studies of counter or muted female ideologies: active though often

covert or silent responses to particular circumstances and embodied in social practices'. As she points out, not all women are passive and research must uncover the responses of strong, active women to the contradictions in their lives consequent upon them occupying positions generally preempted by men.

The key issues in this thesis are not framed as hypotheses. Although hypotheses can be tested from case study data, the intention of this study is to explore, to describe and to understand. The questions addressed are therefore to give room for expansion and new concepts rather than to constrain and merely verify established concepts.

The issues on which this study focuses can be summarized as follows:

1. The influence of family, and socialization within the family.
2. The importance of schooling and role models of strong women in schools.
3. The effect of the 'multi-committed woman' syndrome in relation to home work, parenting, locational mobility, further education and role conflict.
4. The significance of a mentor or support group and the comparative influence of men and women within that group.
5. The importance of training for administration and knowing the regulations governing promotion.
6. The contribution of membership or leadership of professional, public, church or community organizations.
7. The extent to which being 'groomed for the job' affected promotion.

8. The influence of the roles they performed earlier in the hierarchy: whether the 'masculine' or 'feminine' roles in the school led to promotion.
9. The constraints or difficulties previously encountered and still faced by women managers.
10. The special personal attributes possessed by women succeeding in the educational system.
11. The leadership style chosen by women administrators.
12. The priorities in life adopted by women in administration and the satisfaction derived from the choice of management as a career.

# CHAPTER TWO

## EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

## WOMEN AS TOKENS

> 'If the aim of education is the full development of human potential, then educators have substantially failed one-half of humanity'.
>
> Cirincione-Coles (1975, 327)

### 2.1 THE THEORETICAL BASE

The focus of this thesis is primarily on within-group research. However, in order to take advantage of the broader contextual setting available from the literature and to avoid any dysfunction with the more general issues which are inherent in such an evaluation this initial review also includes major elements of the wider between-group approach.

As the literature on women increases in volume women researchers are becoming more critical of the quality of much of this literature (Shakeshaft, 1981). This is hardly surprising as works written in the area of women in management and particularly educational administration are characterized by over-repetition, over-generalization and an emphasis on the observable, situational and culturally specific rather than on root causes. In other words, a theoretical base is lacking. For this reason, this review

begins with the more recent and more theoretical literature before reviewing the empirical research.

One major criticism of the literature on women in educational management is that it discusses women in general. However, no discussion of the success of women in the career structure can avoid facing the fact that it is because they are women and have succeeded that they are significant and worthy of study.

Anyone who reads this thesis will be aware of the very few women who are present at the levels of management attained by the women in this study. Statistics show that the number of women principals of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, as well as inspectors and members of professional organizations in 1986 (detailed more fully in Chapter One) is still appallingly low despite all equal opportunity policies and programmes. Ten years ago Habermas (1976, 81) showed that 'the market has lost its credibility as a fair... mechanism for the distribution of life opportunities'.

Clare Burton (1985), in her recent publication, Subordination: Feminism and Social Theory, points out that schools are a powerful state apparatus with strong ideologies and shows how the family and school combine to perpetuate the reproduction of the concepts of 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. The roles in the family are re-emphasized at school so that children internalize concepts of masculine 'public' work and feminine 'private' unpaid labour. She shows how access to knowledge excludes, streams and selects

so that in most societies 'men's' subjects (for example, science, engineering, management) dominate, are valued more in employment and command higher incomes. The time and structure of the school day inhibits participation by men and consequently it is women who run the tuckshops and take part-time jobs to enable them to do so.

Basically Burton's thesis is that in all societies, whether capitalist or socialist, women are disadvantaged not because they bear children but because they are expected to nurture children and all perceptions of women in the work force, including teaching, are affected by this expectation. 'The position of all women, married or unmarried, mothers and childless, working class and middle class are outcomes of an active patriarchal ideology which is no mere echo of market forces' (Burton, 1985, 130). She shows how even the law defines women's roles and enforces on women the burden of gender and class subordination and in particular the 'special allocation to women of the responsibilities for children' and 'the vicious circle of sex-segregated work and the division of labour within the household'. Sadly, she concludes, equal pay does not work, as jobs are not truly integrated according to sex. One answer, she believes, is for feminists to research the 'counter or muted female ideologies: active though often covert or silent responses'. The aim of this study is to uncover some of the ways women have responded to particular circumstances and social practices and have come to terms with the contradictions in society, and to reveal how they have seen the exercise and

nature of power in education.

A comprehensive article by Sandra Acker (1983) in Walker and Barton's book, Gender, Class and Education, separates the theories into two categories. After providing a long history of the literature on women she identifies 'fundamental' theories and 'implementary' theories. The basically Marxist theory posited by Clare Burton that the positions of men and women are socially rooted and due primarily to patriarchal oppression, she sees as the most important but most neglected fundamental theory. The other fundamental theory, that the oppression of women is biologically rooted she rejects, as does Clare Burton, because not all societies insist that women nurture as well as bear the children. It is the nurturing, not the bearing of children which influences the attitudes and structures in society. The implementary theories are, of course, the basis of most empirical studies; they relate not to root causes but to how subordination is implemented. This is effected primarily through socialization, sex discrimination and role conflict. These theories only 'fill the gaps', they are situational and culture specific. They emphasize the 'woman as actor' and not the structures in society that act on the woman to keep her in a 'caring, serving, conforming mothering' role.

It is easier to effect change at the socialization level by equal opportunity preferences or positive discrimination. However, as Acker (1983) asserts, the sexual division of labour in the work force is reinforced by family and school and is at the basis of our economy.

Moreover, as many writers have pointed out in the last few years, as long as society, and education in particular, is run almost entirely by men who have a vested interest in preserving the current situation then there is no prospect of change at a fundamental level.

## 2.2 WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT

It is interesting to note that the British literature, including that of seminal writers like Rosemary Deem, Dale Spender and Eileen Byrne, is far more polemic and outspokenly political if not Marxist, than the American literature. This is not true of the literature on educational administration as a whole but it certainly applies to literature written by women about women. With the exception of local government and NUT surveys, even the British writers are very dependent on American research for primary material.

Little has been published on women in educational management. The most important is the collection of articles edited by Patricia Schmuck (1981b) entitled, Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials. One of the contributors to this collection, Charol Shakeshaft (1986), has written a text called Women in Educational Administration, which is to be released by Sage Publications toward the end of 1986. This will be the first book specifically on this topic. There are a number of useful

books on women in management in general, the most up-to-date and perceptive being Judi Marshall's (1984) book, Women Managers: Travellers in a Male World, but most material on women in educational administration is in unpublished theses and conference addresses. There are also a few articles in journals and some government funded research findings, such as TEACAPS in New Zealand (Department of Education, 1982) and that on Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Fellowship holders in America (Hoeflin and Bolsen, 1985). A search of the ERIC Database identified only 47 articles ranging from the later 1960s to the present day. Charol Shakeshaft (1981) found only 114 dissertations from volumes 33-39 of Dissertation Abstracts International related to women administrators in a United State's nationwide survey of research completed in the years 1973 to 1978. Moore and Wollitzer (1979) found fewer than fifty studies 1970-78.

Within this very limited selection of material little has been written on the career profiles of successful women in education. On the whole the literature is on the 'invisibility' of women and the 'barriers' or 'constraints' to success. It is necessary therefore to analyse this literature, determine the 'constraints' and to see to what extent the women in this study have encountered and/or counteracted these barriers, Only then can any pattern for 'success' emerge.

An interesting article by Nina Gupta (1983) written for the Educational Development Laboratory provides an excellent framework for discussing barriers. She suggests that

barriers can be personal due to personality, background and socialization; interpersonal, in the way men and women interact with the dominant power groups; or organizational, comprising all the structures that relate to recruitment, selection, placement, evaluation, reward, communication, power and authority and dominating norms.

The most valuable sources of material for this aspect of the literature are the Teacher Career and Promotion Studies (TEACAPS) undertaken by the Department of Education. The first three reports were papers authored by Judith Whitcombe (1979a, 1979b, and 1980a); these were followed by a major volume (Department of Education, 1982) simply entitled Teacher Career and Promotion Study. Subsequently two further papers were authored by Helen Norman (1983, 1985) and one by Mary Donn (1986). These major, scholarly, and highly readable pieces of original research are based on either the pilot survey or on questionnaires sent to five percent of New Zealand teachers. The conclusions reached in the summary, referred to throughout this thesis, are of great importance and I find it regrettable that so few women teachers or even men teachers in New Zealand have heard of TEACAPS, let alone studied the findings thoroughly. The main within-group and between-group conclusions from this set of studies will be referred to in the relevant sections of this review.

The Hoeflin and Bolsen (1985) study of 58 women on EPDA grants in America is also a thorough and fascinating piece of research. It is a longitudinal survey and as it is based

on information from interviews and questionnaires over fifteen years up to 1985. It corrects some myths and elaborates and upholds many widely held assumptions in studies of successful women.

As I have indicated, the widest ranging research is collected in the book of articles edited by Patricia Schmuck et al. (1981b) entitled Education, Policy and Management: Sex Differentials. The seventeen articles comprise primary research and are closely interrelated, interdependent and scholarly, challenging many of the beliefs about women in management held until recently. Papers by Schmuck, Shakeshaft, Carlson, Tyack and Strober, Edson, Paddock, Gaertner, Stockard and Johnson, Wheatley and Pitner are all based on original empirical research and are used extensively through this review. Another recent book entitled Women in Education comes from Australia and has two survey-based chapters on women in administration. It is the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society (1984: papers referenced by authors' names). Like the other three books it avoids repetitiveness and generalization, contributing in a meaningful way to the overall literature on the woman administrator.

The contribution of these books and a large number of articles to educational management theory will be discussed using Gupta's (1983) outline with the addition of the themes of women's leadership style and the effect of success on their private lives.

## 2.3 TOKENS

Perhaps it is pertinent here to give the figures which reveal the relatively isolated situation in which the sixteen women in this study find themselves, All the writers used in this Chapter cite telling and damning evidence of the lack of equity for women in management. However, for the purposes of this study a few figures from March 1985 for primary and secondary schools and for training colleges, and February 1986 for the inspectorate will be sufficient to provide background to the situation in the Auckland Education Board area in which these women work.

Of 83 secondary schools only twelve had female principals and this included single sex girls schools: this was 14.5 percent (lower than the national level of 15.8 percent). Only 20 percent of the deputy principals were women and 57.5 percent of senior masters/mistresses (59.7 percent nationally). This proportion has fallen since 1973 when the senior mistress position was opened to both sexes and since then 40 schools have appointed men to what was traditionally a female job and consequently have all three top positions filled by men. As women in Auckland form 42.6 percent of the total teaching work force (40.8 percent nationally) they are obviously grossly underrepresented.

Primary school women in Auckland have fared marginally better. In the Auckland area there were 15.8 percent of schools with women principals (13.4 percent for the whole of New Zealand) but women comprised 71.7 percent of the

teaching force so that proportionately they are in a far worse position than secondary principals in general. Auckland secondary teachers college had a male principal and a female deputy principal.* However, the woman deputy principal is the only one in New Zealand. Out of a total of 49 full-time staff in the secondary college only fifteen are women and they are clustered in the lower positions. The same is true of the primary college: here there were no women in the hierarchy above the principal lecturer level.

In 1981, Peter Brice, then Assistant Secretary Schools and Development, set 1990 as a target date for equal numbers of men and women in the inspectorate. He made the statement in 'a meeting of teachers and employing authority organizations which were considering the follow through from the Teacher Career and Promotion Study' which had been carried out earlier. In a very detailed reply to inquiries he points out that he has covered annual meetings since then and that Research and Statistics publish an annual review of TEACAPS. In 1984, women formed 21 percent of the Inspectorate 385.104 classification group; in 1985 (the year of data collection for this thesis), 22 percent; and in 1986, 19 percent. He points out that since April, 1986, the proportion has risen to 24 percent (Brice, 1986). It is encouraging to see this improvement but there is still a long way to go.

* In 1986 Auckland Teachers College and Secondary Teachers College, Auckland, became Auckland College of Education.

In the primary service there are no female district senior inspectors, and twenty male and two female senior inspectors. There are 47 male and thirteen female inspectors. Margaret Leaming, one of the women in this survey, is an acting senior inspector. In Auckland, in the primary service, there is a male district senior, seven male senior inspectors, ten male and five female inspectors. Writing in 1974, Ian McLaren was obviously bemused by the fact that unlike women in other countries, no New Zealand woman had ever held a top administrative position in the Department of Education. As Helen Watson (1985b) has pointed out, in 33 years of PPTA history there have been only four female presidents, and in her conference address, May, 1985, she noted that 40 percent of secondary teachers were women but not 40 percent of the officers of PPTA.

The secondary service has a few women in the inspectorate: there is one female district senior inspector out of four, ten male senior inspectors to one female, and 32 male inspectors to six females. Auckland has only one female in the whole inspectorate. In fact the computer printout for state secondary and primary schools for March 1985, reveals that Auckland women are in a worse situation than women in New Zealand as a whole, and the TEACAPS report for 1985 (Donn, 1986, 16) confirms that again the 'Northern Region has the lowest success rate for women'. This comes as a surprise since Auckland could be regarded as a radical, progressive educational district with groups such as Feminist Teachers and CAVE originating there and remaining

very active.

One of the most important management texts is Kanter's (1977) Men and Women of the Corporation. Marshall's (1984) book Women Managers, is heavily dependent on her theories. Kanter theorises that organizations, to keep stability and avoid 'risks' maintain a homogeneity in their management structures. Women managers, therefore, have low opportunity, little power and are relatively few in number. Low opportunity results in low expectations and commitment, an 'anti-success' norm and looking to peers for recognition rather than superordinates. As a result, women have less power as they are nor perceived to have the power to reward and promote others (Kanter, 1977, 98). The consequence of relative numbers is particularly relevant to this thesis. Kanter (1977, 99), through detailed exploration in interviews, observations and informal gatherings concluded that, 'groups with varying proportions of people of different social types differ qualitatively in 'dynamics and process''.

Kanter identifies four major groups. The first is uniform with only one, homogeneous group; the second, in the ratio 85:15, is skewed; the third, 65:35, is tilted; and the balanced group is 50:50. Obviously the women in educational administration are in the skewed group. Kanter calls this minority 'tokens', and says they are isolated and are largely symbolic (Kanter, 1977, 100). She comments on their isolation, their high visibility, and their tendency to cause the main group to polarize. At the same time they are

often mistaken for secretaries (status levelling) or put into stereotypes by the majority: mother, pet, seductress, iron maiden or woman's libber. In this way they are labelled and can be assimilated.

All the evidence supports the statement of Cirincione-Coles (1975, 326): 'If the aim of education is the full development of human potential, then education has substantially failed one half of humanity'. The research of writers in America, Britain and New Zealand (Tyack and Strober, 1981; Moore, 1981; Spender, 1982; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Deem, 1978; Watson, 1985a) all shows a history of women in administration in which the numbers of men in the profession have increased as the number of women in the hierarchy has decreased. This trend accelerated after the Second World War and the women in this study are particularly affected by the 'invasion' by men of the profession in the 1950s and 1960s. As Moore (1981) asserts, women in the hierarchy are an 'endangered species'.

## 2.4 PERSONAL BARRIERS

### 2.4.1 Personality

It must be remembered throughout this study that the fundamental theory that accounts for all barriers is that, because women are allocated the role of nurturer as well as bearer of children, they are denied access to power. This is significant in this section because women are seen as

inadequate in the literature (a phenomenon Acker (1983) calls the 'deficit' model of women) where the assumption is that women are not aspiring to administrative jobs, are unreliable because they are more committed to their families and, as a result of needs for affiliation (Malcolm, 1978) prefer teaching to administration. The literature is very confusing on these issues. The findings in New Zealand in TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982), for example, that women have lower aspirations than men are supported neither by the NUT (1980) findings nor by the research of Schmuck et al. (1981b) in Oregon in the United States. NUT found that 82 percent of all respondents see themselves as pursuing a career. Acker (1983) also discusses the fact that women see job intensification or 'lateralness' as career satisfaction. Edson (1981) quotes many researchers who show women have aspirations and indicates that although they become very frustrated they remain committed and highly motivated in their own professional growth and love of challenges.

Both Judith Whitcombe (1980a), in her later TEACAPS study, and Trown and Needham (1981) agree that it is 'a realistic, and possibly over pessimistic appraisal of opportunities, rather than lack of ambition or dedication, which causes many women teachers to set their career sights low' (Trown and Needham, 1981). Wilson (1986, 21, 24) found academic women in New Zealand 'less confident than their male colleagues about promotion' and 'they generally felt it was more difficult for women to achieve authority positions'. Also, as TEACAPS (Department of Education,

1982) points out, women are probably forced to scale down their aspirations to family needs. Several writers also discuss the myth or mystique which surrounds administration and which accounts for the fact that fewer women apply for senior jobs. This mystique is built around a concept that is mathematical in rationale, steeped in business jargon and male oriented in power relationships and structures. Early courses in educational administration had a business bias and recruited mainly men. Such an approach alienates women who do not pursue mathematics or business with the same degree of interest and so it creates obstacles for them in management positions (Dee, 1978). Research by Miller and Swift (1977), reported in Words and Women, show women have little direct contact with the language of business and bureaucracy and have negative reactions to many of the terms. Judith Manchester (1983) found that more men than women expected promotion, so consequently fewer wanted or applied for promotion.

A different picture emerges, however, with the profiles of successful women or of aspiring women in courses for educational administration. Briggs and O'Brien (1984) in Australia, found that Dip.Ed.Admin. students had high aspirations and persistence. Edson (1981) quite rightly points out that many studies are only of those who do not succeed, and are dominated by those who have been unsuccessful or who do not want to be administrators.

When successful administrators are made the subject of research their profiles emerge as remarkably similar in

several studies. The well-known study by Hennig and Jardim (1979) has been slightly modified by subsequent research. According to McDade and Drake (1982) and Edson (1981) the managerial woman in education is white, from a rural or small town. She is no longer the oldest in the family as in Hennig and Jardim but has only one or two brothers or sisters. Her mother usually keeps house and her father has less education than the mother and owns a small business. Her father has had the strongest influence on her life. Her husband (if she is married) is a white collar worker, usually a professional man, often a teacher or a manager. The successful woman has an MA degree and some qualifications in administration.

Both McIntosh (1974) and the EPDA survey in 1984 (Hoeflin and Bolsen, 1985) reveal that the husbands of successful women are supportive - more so than those of non-achieving women. McIntosh in her research comparing the lives of women teachers who do and who do not seek promotion, also found that achieving women spend less time on housework, use laundries, share chores, use outside help and accept a lower standard of housekeeping than less successful women. She also found that they were not as concerned as less ambitious women about getting home from school at a certain time if they had young children. Furthermore, they were also involved in many committees, community or church work and often in professional associations as well. The women in the EPDA survey found housework unsatisfying, found parenting limiting to their careers, but

were generally satisfied with their lives.

In the most recent research on managerial women (Why Women Don't Have Wives, by Terri Apter, 1985), there is support for the findings of McDade and Drake (1982) and Edson (1981). Successful women were not harassed and shared responsibility for the children with their husbands although most had no children. She found that half were unmarried (95 percent of men managers were married), four percent were widowed and 21 percent divorced or separated. Careers were an important factor in contributing to the divorces of successful women. The women were 'warm and ambitious'; they found life difficult but were not held back. Most were careful in their appearance and all too often felt a lack of confidence and attributed their success to luck. Nearly all complained of facing 'petty male chauvinism' and felt men in their professions had no idea how to treat them.

These women have obviously overcome the fundamental barrier of society's perception of the type of work suitable for women. For example, if these women do have children they tend to have them later in life when their careers are already established. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982), a large-scale survey, found that women are absent from top positions because of family commitments. In the TEACAPS survey many women were dissatisfied with the allocation of household tasks but again the TEACAPS studies also found that it was the senior women who were more satisfied and had households that shared tasks.

The problem is, of course, as Burton (1985) has said,

that 'self-concepts' are passed on from mother to daughter and it is difficult for a woman to choose non-conformity and non-acceptance by society. Families and schools pass on the messages of masculinity and femininity and the segregation of work on a gender basis in the household. Spender (1982) quotes Germaine Greer's assertion that women are made not born. It is easier for a man to move into a career without any role conflict as that is an established route for him to follow but, as Tyack and Strober (1981) suggest, women are conditioned to accept the leadership of men by the ideology of home, school and family. The fact that it is not the act of nurturing but society's perception of women that affects their status is borne out by TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 100) where the authors found that the same sex differentials in career profiles applied to all women whether or not they had taken time off for childrearing.

### 2.4.2 Socialization

The process by which society reinforces the sexual division of labour is called socialization. It involves sex-role stereotyping, in terms of myths about women, their abilities, commitments and effectiveness.

At the PPTA Women's Conference in Hamilton, May, 1985, Sonja Davies, the only woman member of the executive of the Federation of Labour, told women teachers of all races, 'The dual role is really the single most important thing we have to tackle'. Clarricoates (1980, 79) documents the guilt, tiredness, and emotional strain of the dual role and it is

she who makes the perceptive observation that women are already so overburdened they actually choose not to increase the burden and settle for fewer hours and responsibilities. It is, as Deem (1978, 126) says, the patriarchal nature of capitalist and socialist societies that causes the stress, and she suggests that 'the real need is to change gender-related jobs'. This would include, for example, the emphasis on men in manual work like carpentry and building in the working class, and women working in pastoral care jobs and men in management jobs in schools.

At the same time, Spender (1982, 97) says women's role in childrearing should be admired, not trivialized. She emphasizes the lack of role models in top positions and the fact that employment is an integral part of a man's identity whereas it is peripheral for a woman. As Moore (1981) indicates, there is a cultural lag behind reality because work is no longer peripheral for women, many run single income families or live on their own and do need work. The current group of successful women are in an age group where many men are unsympathetic to women working as a career. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 88), for example, found that in the secondary service, men 56 years of age and over were the most reluctant to work for women in senior positions.

Another aspect of socialization, sometimes called the 'imposter phenomenon' (Moore, 1981) is the fact that women are trained to desire and seek social approval and this leads to the denigration of their success. A successful

woman will nearly always deny success and talk about 'luck' or 'having all the breaks'. Geraldine McDonald (1976) in her articles in Education analysed questionnaires from women all over New Zealand and throughout the teaching service; she found that they would never ask for any allowances for the fact that they had families although their families hindered job application, membership of professional organizations, as well as attendance at full-time live-in in-service courses or other forms of further training. The TEACAPS reports (Whitcombe, 1979a; Department of Education, 1982) see constraints operating more against women than against men.

The acceptance of this socialization by women means only a minority of women are feminists committed to changing sex-role stereotyping (Novitz, 1982, 313). This is partly because women, especially if they have children, are financially dependent on their husbands. Bourdieu (1971) and Novitz (1982) point out that rebellion comes from the well-educated intellectuals who are angry at a system that does not approve of them.

Successful women, on the other hand, are 'career-oriented, self-confident and continuous in labour force participation [and] are both more likely to contribute a substantial increment to the family living standard and to share home work with their spouses' (Hoeflin and Bolsen, 1985). Moore (1981) confirms this from her research and finds that women have role overload and 'burn out' more than men because they accept all the roles society allocates to

them, so again women are in a 'Catch 22' situation where they are forced into low-paid or part-time high-turnover jobs which reinforce their low image and also put more pressure on men to maintain their traditional role. Edson (1981) found frustration among successful women aspiring to further promotion. Many were doing doctorates as then 'there shouldn't be too many excuses after that for not hiring me'.

As Bach (1976, 463) says of the whole socialization problem: what women really need is to be given the 'same credibility to their thoughts and actions as it [society] has reserved for the thoughts and actions of men.'

## 2.5 INTERPERSONAL BARRIERS

The relationships of women with the groups in power operate as a subtle but pervasive barrier to senior positions. As Moore (1981, 9) says, barriers are not so much 'situational' as 'attitudinal'. Whitcombe (1980b, 10) puts the proposition that although most principals are male it does not necessarily mean that they will favour men at the expense of women but women could find promotion difficult where a principal had a sexist attitude. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) found that although women support women for senior positions fewer than half the primary or secondary male teachers wanted women in senior positions. Briggs and O'Brien (1984) quote Kanter's (1977)

research which shows that even one woman in the hierarchy is threatening to homogeneity so women are put in 'staff positions' (that is, a nurturing type role which is likely to hinder women from moving further up the hierarchy).

More recent research by Tyack and Strober (1981) shows men were able to interact with other men in an all-male community. Stockard and Johnson (1981, 238) feel that men need to assert their maleness or to 'protect' themselves by denigrating women leaders. In a study of educational administration students Johnston, Johnston and Yeakey (1977, 315) found that male students seeking employment changed their views towards women when they felt they were in direct competition. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 102) found that fewer than fifty percent of men were 'moderately' or 'strongly' in favour of working for a woman administrator. On the other hand over fifty percent of women were 'strongly' in favour of working for a woman.

Stockard and Johnson (1981, 242) also document the fact that women are made to feel uncomfortable in top positions, and that even speech patterns, body language and job titles reinforce male dominance. She says that there is no change because, as one principal said, 'we need each other for survival' and this is based on an irrational fear of women taking their jobs. Therefore, according to Schmuck (1981a, 229) men groom other men for their jobs and she quotes four other researchers to show that it is superordinate/-subordinate relationships that affect women's lack of promotion. So women are 'protected' from difficult tasks

and are seen as too emotional for administration. It is interesting that the language used to describe men and women is so biased. As Love (1980, 3) says, men are 'absent minded', women are 'scatterbrained'; men are 'creative', women 'emotional'; men are 'logical', but women are 'cold'.

Once again successful women are not limited by these barriers. It was found by Whitcombe (1979a), for example, that senior women had had mentors to encourage and support them and these were nearly always male. These findings were reinforced by TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 102) which found that on the whole women received less encouragement in promotion but that successful women had received more encouragement than women generally or than men in the same positions as themselves. In recent research by Willis and Dodgson (1986) it was found that 59 percent of women administrators (in a survey of 113 women) had had mentors. In a study of a sub-sample of 24 women 92 percent reported 'exceptional influence' of a mentor on their careers, especially career direction. Most had maintained an on-going close relationship with the person they now saw as role model, protector or sponsor.

Paludi (1983, 14) found that most women had male role models - relatives, friends or instructors and she says it is 'not surprising given the higher status of males in the culture in addition to their greater visibility in business, academia and the media'. She emphasizes the findings of the 'classic' on mentoring by Levinson (1978, 98, 338) and their relevance to achievement and development. McQillen and

Ivy's (1985) research supports the finding that women have mostly male role models and considers that female role models are needed to help integrate professional and feminine goals. Hall and Sandler (1983) say that women do not know the unverbalized rules of organizations and need sponsors for jobs as well as mentors to give 'guidance, support and advocacy from those who already established in the system' - men. The most definitive work on mentoring is that by Aguilar-Gaxiola (1984), a very detailed examination of the sixteen kinds of mentoring behaviour. It is invaluable as a guide for defining mentoring and sponsoring roles. One of the most interesting findings is that women chose mentors on personal knowledge, men on reputation.

## 2.6 ORGANIZATIONAL BARRIERS

Wheatley (1981, 267) states, 'The situation for women in schools is dismal. They work in an organization whose hierarchical structure, normative patterns and community location conspire to create powerful forces of resistance to their advancement'. Tyack and Strober (1981) speak even more directly of 'institutionalized sexism'.

### 2.6.1 Recruitment

There is no doubt from the accumulation of evidence in the literature that organization structures restrict entry

to top positions to white males. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) suggests that women know less about the promotion system, are not represented proportionately on in-service courses and receive less encouragement than men. However, again, senior women reported receiving even more encouragement than men.

According to Spender (1982, 51), since men established the educational system they can provide evidence that they are the best candidates, and she says it is no wonder that having reached the top they think there must be something wrong with women because they do not achieve.

It is perhaps for this reason that Edson (1981, 178) found women believed men were hired on their potential whereas women had to demonstrate their ability and saw their main hurdle as their gender. The very nature of organizational structure in schools, often referred to by educational administration theorists as 'loose-coupling', encourages informal as well as bureaucratic structures. It is these informal structures men use for making appointments of other men (Wheatley, 1981, 251).

Schmuck puts the problem succinctly: 'No one has questioned how an organization that was segregated and stratified by sex would influence participants' behavior' (Schmuck, 1981a, 222). Wolf and Fligstein (1979, 325) place a different emphasis on the same concept: 'Strong evidence is present that suggests that the behaviors and policies of employers are much more important causes of sexual differences in authority in the work place than the attitudes

and behaviors of women themselves' (Wolf and Fligstein, 1979, 325). In her recent research, Wilson (1986, 31) found that nearly 50 percent of male academics in New Zealand believed they are superior to female academics.

### 2.6.2 Selection

The whole of this study of the literature confirms the absence of women in the hierarchy. The purpose of this work is to see why some women are selected against such odds. Helen Watson in her address to the PPTA Women's Conference in 1985, pointed out that 'the qualification for women active in PPTA to date has been to be childless or with grown-up children. Most women have also been without husbands'. Research by McIntosh (1974) is interesting in that she found no evidence of more aspirations for promotion among single women than among married women which, of course, runs counter to previous research findings (Rossi, 1969; Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport, 1971).

Margaret Malcolm (1978) found women mostly said they did not believe there was any discrimination in selection for jobs but, as she points out, Lenore Webster's article in the PPTA Journal, May 1975, gives evidence that fewer women are on free residential courses (24 percent of attendees) than are on voluntary holiday refresher courses (42 percent). TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 101) also found that fewer women attended national residential in-service courses; for example (1982, 75) '15 percent of primary women and 40 percent of men have been to one or more

residential courses. For secondary teachers, the figures were 25 percent and 39 percent respectively.' This is a very clear indication of discrimination against women even if they are reluctant to believe it.

### 2.6.3 Placement

A key aspect to structures hindering women is their placement in the hierarchy. Research in New Zealand (Manchester, 1983; Norman, 1985), in England (Sargeant, 1985; Deem, 1978), Australia (Briggs and O'Brien, 1984; Reilly, 1984), and the United States (Schmuck and Spencer, 1981; Stockard and Johnson, 1981) all make the point that because women are seen as nurturers they are placed in nurturing roles, in staff jobs that do not lead readily to further promotion. Wilson (1986, 10, 18) found women in New Zealand universities had lower status and were appointed at a lower level in the hierarchy.

Judith Manchester's unpublished research on senior mistress/senior master positions shows that women have the welfare, guidance relationship jobs while men look after the timetable, staff relief, buildings and grounds. These 'masculine' jobs are seen as better qualifications for a principal or deputy principal. As she says (1983, 3), 'The real problem is that men and women are not used to working together in roles that are not sexually stereotyped'.

Sargeant (1985, 81) cynically describes how women 'gracefully dispense tea, tampax and sympathy' while men timetable. This whole emphasis is, of course, reinforced by

mother role models. Reilly (1984) in analysing university positions in three departments in the University of Melbourne indicates that on the whole women do not get research positions, but rather the busy work as 'super-manager' or 'secretary' plus all the 'housekeeper' chores.

This observation is reinforced by the findings of Schmuck and Spencer (1981, 79) that women tend to replace women and men replace men. She also found, as did TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) that women were hired for 'appointive' (in New Zealand, 'regraded') rather than widely advertised positions. I have found no research into this sequential aspect of the career paths of successful women.

### 2.6.4 Interviews

Whitcombe (1979a, 14) found in asking about interviews participants had had for promotion that although questions at interviews were meant to be the same for men and women, one woman in the sample said that she had been asked about her children. Barrett (1985, 85) shows that in job interviews the candidates must talk fluently about themselves, but all research has shown that women's language is more diffident in that they use more tag questions, qualifiers, intensifiers and modifiers, and also women are interrupted more often than men in conversation (McEdwards, 1985, 40; O'Donnell, 1985, 65). Their negotiation works well in the classroom but it is the 'dogmatic charismatic male who interviews better' and consequently gets the promotion. Barrett also notes that women dislike the elaborate folders

of curriculum vitae. Schmuck and Spencer (1981) cite research evidence showing that a woman's chances of being appointed are increased by having even one female interviewer. Unfortunately, until recently, most interviewing panels have been predominantly male. For example, the research of Schmuck and Spencer (1981, 90) shows that interview panels in Oregon, 1978-79, were 75 percent male. This dominance of males on interviewing panels is borne out by the experience of the women studied in this thesis.

### 2.6.5 Evaluation

TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) shows that women primary teachers in New Zealand have consistently lower assessments than men and therefore their chances of promotion are lower. Most principals and inspectors are male and as women who enter teaching are brighter than men (Byrne, 1978, 212) the discrimination is obviously high. Auckland, the district under study, has the lowest rate of success for women. Secondary school women appear to fare better than those in primary schools but this is because they are appointed according to subject specialisms, have internal promotion and may be preferred for single-sex (girls) schools (TEACAPS, Department of Education, 1982). Both Whitcombe (1979b) and Norman (1985) find that women who do apply have a higher success rate than men. For example, (Norman, 1985), senior secondary teaching positions advertised received 28 percent of applications from women (who comprise 48 percent of teachers) but their success rate was

43 percent compared with that for men of 30 percent. However, in the Northern Region men have a higher success rate than they do elsewhere (Norman, 1985).

In the Frasher's research (1980, 252) sex bias in favour of men is found to account for the 'decline of women in educational administration'. Interestingly, they found no sex bias in studies that showed women to be more effective administrators.

### 2.6.6 Rewards

As women, throughout the world, are clustered at the bottom of the hierarchical structure they obviously earn less than men. Bunkle and Hughes (1980) say, 'these rewards have declined alarmingly over the years'. Deem (1978, 120) shows this is true in England, as Wheatley (1981, 262) does of America. A comparison of the 1984 and 1985 statistics from the Department of Education (March 1st staffing returns) shows a downward shift in the seniority of the positions held by women who are becoming increasingly clustered at the bottom of the 'positions of responsibility' scale in secondary schools. Wheatley says there are few rewards in teaching so funds, leadership training courses and conference attendance are seen as rewards. These rewards, as already noted, go to men and also to subjects regarded as men's subjects, like computer technology, physics, mathematics and even management.

### 2.6.7 Communications

This is described in the literature as the 'old boy' network. Moore (1981) says that even when overt discrimination ceases to exist, covert discrimination will appear as informal networks favour men. Wheatley (1981, 263) elaborates her statements by noting that, in this way, men get all the inside information and power. Women are excluded because they go home to their families and miss the drink with the boys at the pub or coffee at 5:30 with the principal. As the school relates to the community and men are able to be members of Rotary and Lions, women miss out on this vital communication, especially insofar as appointments are not based on curriculum vitae but on male skills like 'control, discipline' and 'coaching teams'. Very often these social networks are reflected on school boards and male dominated boards reward the ex-All Black or achieving athlete: 'he'll lead a good team'.

### 2.6.8 Power and Authority

If there is one topic about which there is no confusion and where there is complete unanimity in the literature, it is that power and authority in educational administration is in the hands of men. I shall take some telling quotes by men and women from several countries. They need no commentary.

Judith Aitken and Rosslyn Noonan (1981, 122) state that the 'politics through which public resources are allocated... effectively precludes consideration of the

interests of women' and the 'power of the male hierarchy... is substantial'. Acker (1983, 23) asks if teaching is female dominated because the number of women is greater than the number of men and answers, 'not if we take domination to mean the exercise of authority'. Tyack and Strober (1981) state baldly, 'women teach and men manage'. Apple (1983, 55) says, 'The fact that schools have tended to be largely organized around male leadership and female teachers is simply that, a social fact, unless one realizes that this means that educational authority relations have been formally patriarchal'. Thompson (1983) says that 97 percent of government in education is male. Spender (1982) is the most eloquent and detailed on this topic. It was Spender who first made the concept of the 'invisibility' of women in school well-known and her works, Learning to Lose and Invisible Women, have become essential reading for all interested in women in education.

Using the work of Sandra Acker, Tessa Blackstone, Sara Delamont and Sheila Tobias, Spender (1982, 49) shows that research by men excludes women, and her chapter in Roberts (1981a) Doing Feminist Research, documents the difficulty in getting feminist research published. She insists that women can 'prove' that men have set up a system 'so that they can provide the evidence that they are the best candidates for influential positions'. She makes the telling point that those who occupy top positions do not have to be malicious to think that as they got there by legitimate means there must be something wrong with those who have not succeeded

and accuse women of being complainers.

In an earlier text she discusses an issue which is again economic and virtually universal: that is, that the work of women is 'off the record'. Commonly, when a job is done by a man it is 'productive work', but frequently when the same job is done by a woman it is viewed as a 'non-productive activity' or, in the appropriate environment, simply as part of her 'domestic duties'. Furthermore, Spender also addresses the problem that the way men perform in a job is adopted as the norm and consequently women are always the exception; hence, one never hears the statement (Spender, 1982, 43), 'we had a male principal but it didn't work'. In 'Hormones and harems', Pitner (1981), in a meticulous piece of research on three male and three female superintendents quotes Tyack (1974) who, she says, aptly calls schools 'pedagogical harems'. Wheatley (1981), in a close study of the opportunity structures of schools in the United States, and Paddock (1981), who surveyed 51 percent of women primary and secondary principals and superintendents in the United States, both note and support with statistical evidence a gradual decline in women in administration.

Patricia Sexton (1976) draws her readers' attention to the domination of males throughout the educational structure, the education boards, teachers colleges, school boards, in city councils, state legislatures, mayors and governors, and rightly points out that 'sexual democratization of schools is dependent on economic and political

institutions'. She notes (1976, 55), 'Probably the chief source of inequality in elementary and secondary education is found not in the classroom but in the fact that administration and school leadership at all levels has been dominated by males'.

In conclusion, it is encouraging to note that Stockard and Johnson (1981, 235) adopt a more optimistic stance: 'Male dominance essentially is a social phenomenon and we believe that although it is ubiquitous, it is not inevitable'.

### 2.6.9 Norms

The Director-General of Education, as long ago as 1977, said, 'one of the main obstacles to a new concept of equality between the sexes is the continuing predominance of male norms as defining norms for both sexes' (Renwick, 1977, 11). Acker (1983, 127) speaks of 'male as norm' and challenges the stereotyping of women that I discussed earlier. The 'male as norm' concept is dangerous because any change to the status quo is seen as threatening. Spender (1980) may seem frivolous when she says that both women and men see that the 'entry of women into male posts will cause decline of morals, decline in the family, grow hairs on their chest and lose their femininity', but there is evidence to support the existence of such attitudes. A study of the history of Feminist Teachers shows that their activities have elicited similar statements from prominent opponents in newsletters, broadsheets and even newspapers.

Recently in the Baptist, the official organ of the Baptist Church, there were dire predictions about the consequences of feminism and of women taking managerial roles including: ...'broken marriages, disadvantaged children, abortions, immoral alternative lifestyles, and increases in crime and disease in the community' (March, 1986, 8). Although not an official statement of the Baptist church it is characteristic of the views held by many fundamentalist church members. This type of response confirms the comments by Adrienne Rich (1979) when she says 'objectivity is the name we give to male subjectivity for most, if not all of the knowledge,... has its origin in a male version of experience'.

Women are in a double bind: if they are feminine they are by definition not masculine and therefore inferior; if they are unfeminine they do not conform and are denigrated or are called 'difficult' by male colleagues. It is commonly held by feminists themselves that there are few feminists in top positions because they are not willing to be deferential, an assertion which attracts some credence although it cannot be verified statistically.

McDade and Drake (1982), in surveying successful women superintendents identified their main perceived problems. They were: that women must be better; are seen as an exception; and when aggressive they are perceived negatively. Anne Schaef (1981), the psychiatrist and sociologist, in her publication Women's Reality, points out that the White Male System is the system in which we all

live, where power and influence are held by white males. It is only a system but it is often regarded as reality by both men and women. In fact, of course, there are many systems, many 'realities'. There is a Female System, a Black System, a Homosexual System. In order to survive in the powerful white male system, many minorities 'buy' into it. This is because the myth of only one reality is perpetuated. Simon (1982) recognizes this problem of reality when he says, 'Ideas about educational experience... permeate the culture, providing a mythology so pervasive and unconscious it subsumes even those experiences in the history of the individual that contradict it'.

### 2.6.10 Leadership Style

Nowhere is the male 'norm' seen to operate more clearly than in leadership styles. The literature shows quite clearly that women have a style that is not the norm but has proven highly successful for students and teachers alike. The dissenting voice is that of Grambs (1976). He said that women will accept the male model so 'we can predict that having more women in school leadership will make no difference whatsoever in what happens in schools'.

Barrett (1985), Nash and Sungaila (1984), Moore (1981), Dee (1978), Pitner (1981), Stockard and Johnson (1981) and Wheatley (1981) all conclusively demonstrate that women prefer and do use a less hierarchical and more democratic style. In a recent study of Australian Catholic schools Nash and Sungaila (1984, 243) conclude 'it was acknowledged

that women exhibited to a greater degree than men democratic practices and good teaching practices'. Stockard and Johnson (1981), citing the work of Finegan (1979), Morsink (1968), Willis and Grobman (1955) and Meskin (1974), assert that studies show women run more closely knit schools and have better communication with their teachers. Pitner (1981) comes to the same conclusion noting particularly the different and less dominating body language, linguistics and meeting procedures used. Wheatley (1981), using Kanter's research on the influence of structures on behaviour in management, links women's more democratic style with their tradition of being in 'stuck' rather than in 'moving' positions. Dee (1978) concludes that in a rapidly changing world the skills and knowledge of women are more appropriate - skills such as using open procedures and participatory styles. Barrett (1985) points out that women do not like the 'ethos of hierarchical power and control' and suggests that the flexibility and sensitivity of women be used to modify the current more authoritarian style of management. Moore (1981, 22), quoting the work of Berry (1979) and Frasher (1979) says, 'feminine types of behaviour can be shown to be the more effective administrative behaviours'. As Moore (1981, 17) points out, women who do succeed have more effective administrative behaviours. However, they are so visible they attract a great deal of criticism. It is unfortunate that some women, as well as many men, adopt pejorative terms such as the 'Queen Bee syndrome' for those who are perceived as having made it alone and see no reason

to help others. I have found no research on such a phenomenon, but my own experience is that it is more likely to be ascribed by others than to be an objectively identifiable attribute of successful women.

Pitner (1981) analysed the leadership styles of male and female superintendents. She found that women spend less time on desk work, visited more classrooms, kept more up-to-date with the curriculum, spent more time with their peers, sponsored other women and had predominantly female friends. Their language was more hesitant and tentative, their agendas more informal and flexible, and subordinates first-named them more than males. Pitner asks if it is gender or status that affects behaviour and this aspect should certainly be investigated. A recent paper on linguistics demonstrates that women tend to use the same deferential language as subordinates use to superordinates or as criminals use when being interviewed by the police, which appears to support the concept of status rather than sex as a determinant (McEdwards, 1985).

Certainly Dee (1978, 14) believes that language is changing as society changes and the more negotiated style adopted by women 'can have a place in the design of the next evolutionary step'. She sees the traditional management style as 'crumbling because the priorities are different'. As indicated earlier, the studies by Stockard and Johnson (1981) and Wheatley (1981) both found schools run by women to be more effective. The problem is that, as Dee points out, women have not been 'team' or 'power' people and do not

act collectively so that they do not promote their more collaborative style (Dee, 1978, 13).

What is perhaps the most depressing aspect of the literature is the way that researchers support the strengths and the effectiveness of women leaders, yet at the same time and often in the same article (O'Donnell, 1985, 65) actively encourage women to develop masculine linguistic structures, body language, interviewing techniques and tactics in order to achieve success.

A quotation by Holland (1980, 7) sums up the literature on women in management: 'The evidence of discrimination against women in the labour market is considerable and reading it is a wearying experience'. It is vital, therefore, that research on women be positive, provide role models, and promote a sense of 'visibility'. This is the overall purpose of this thesis.

# CHAPTER THREE

## FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

## CHALLENGING THE NORMS OF ACADEMIC DISCOURSE

### 3.1 STYLE

Style is determined by content, audience and purpose. For a feminist writing about outstanding women for a predominantly female readership in order to highlight the experience of women, this has meant evolving an appropriate style unique to this thesis. Two years ago I started to find justification in the methodology of feminist research for a style I was already using and wanted to use in writing academic essays on the topic of women - a style that is essentially more personal and eclectic.

The assumption behind feminist theory and methodology is that traditional academic theories and methodologies do not reflect the experience of women and are not suitable vehicles for research on women. In Doing Feminist Research, Morgan (1981, 97) challenges traditional academic techniques as being the result of a male domination which does not recognize alternative methodologies. He asks, 'How far is academic discourse in fact a male discourse sheltering behind such labels as 'rationality', 'scientific' or 'scholarly'?'. The editor of Doing Feminist Research, Helen Roberts (1981b, 16) recognizes that a feminist approach is 'clearly political, controversial and implies personal

and/or political sympathy on the part of the researcher'. This is because a feminist theory includes subjectivity on the part of the respondent and researcher, a non-hierarchical approach to interviewing and the inclusion of the researcher's own feelings and experience.

To attempt to use a different methodology, therefore, is a 'risk' in a discipline where the norm has been set by men who are unaware of their own bias simply because their experiences are the norm not only for themselves but for women as well. However, determining that objectively measured findings precisely match a distorted standard measure does not make the standard measure the epitome of truth: it merely gives the illusion of being right (and unwarranted intellectual satisfaction) while a greater truth awaits discovery.

Even before reading Middleton (1984b), Roberts (1981a) or Morgan (1981) I had realized that the type of writing and research I wanted to do did not fit comfortably with the theories and methodologies I had encountered. Reading the work of the phenomenologists and critical theorists who were concerned that new methodologies should be evolved to investigate the lack of equity in education proved helpful. The work of Leifer (1980) on ethnomethodology made me aware that a qualitative rather than an hierarchical approach was more suited to my purpose. This was reinforced by meeting Penny Fenwick, a well-known New Zealand researcher, who introduced me to an article by Ann Oakley (1981). Oakley, a sociologist, points out in the article entitled

'Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms', that traditional 'cookbooks' on interviewing are patronizing - using a masculine hierarchical paradigm (seen in books such as that of Goode and Hatt, 1952). She suggests that feminist interviewing should be subjective, and not attempt to be objective; should be reciprocal, and should recognize that both interviewer and interviewee have emotions.

In the New Zealand literature, Alton-Lee (1984, 69) also challenges assumptions of objectivity. 'Researcher assumptions, particularly those that influence the kinds of data selected, are hidden variables in most investigations'. As she points out: 'Methodological assumptions can become obscured in traditional practice'. Nuthall (1986, 11-12), in a paper discussing her research, makes an important statement in support of her approach. 'I think that there are two major aspects of the previous research that need to be reformed... First, the earlier research had always taken a top down or authoritarian approach to the problem... second, we had focused on averages and generalizations before coming to understand the peculiar and the individual... obsessed with objectivity, excluding the enormously rich sources of subjective and individual experience'. This thesis is concerned with the rich sources... of individual experience' and therefore the data selection, data analysis, the theory, the personal and political are all inseparable and have contributed to what I hope is seen as a style uniquely suited to its purpose.

### 3.1.1 The Multi-Method Approach

I was grateful that Penny Fenwick, at the earliest stage of my research, suggested that I should combine qualitative with quantitative data. For several months I became preoccupied with the qualitative/quantitative debate, and argued for a purely qualitative approach. However, because of her advice, I had already collected invaluable survey data which gave me a statistical framework which I used frequently for within-group comparisons with the 1982 TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) statistics.

Alton-Lee (1984, 76) makes this point clearly. 'The current popularity of papers and texts, intent on distinguishing the unique characteristics of quantitative and qualitative paradigms militates against the use of the multi-method approach'. Basically, however, this thesis relies primarily on qualitative data. Shakeshaft (1981, 18) found that in the past, North American doctoral dissertations on women in education have been heavily survey-based (86 percent) and recommends that future research be more qualitative. Charters (1981, 46) supports this assertion and suggests that research on women should be empirical, focused close studies, concluding that 'empirical knowledge is built by making small accretions'. Alton-Lee (1984, 44) sums up the approach I was aiming towards as 'a more holistic conception of the research endeavour'.

### 3.1.2 Case Studies and Generalizability

I chose a case study approach as being most suited to

my purpose. In case studies the women could share their experience with other women who could then identify with the sample's response to being a minority in the educational hierarchy. In turn, I hoped women would gain some confidence and courage from this identification. Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis (1984, 96) call this 'a surrogate experience' or 'the shock of recognition' that the researcher experiences on identifying with the lives of people in the case studies.

My intention was not primarily to make generalizations from the data. Of course I had certain assumptions at the back of my mind when I framed the questionnaire and interview guide. More importantly, however, I was motivated by curiosity and I reacted to the basic data rather than attempt to predetermine the outcome by imposing any framework, or posing any hypotheses aimed at maximizing genralizability. Two researchers confirm this approach. Sapsford and Evans (1984, 263) say that, by adopting this approach, the researcher 'is more likely to become aware of important factors which did not form part of his preconceived notion of the situation, through progressive focusing in which the researcher's theoretical perspectives change or develop as the research progresses'. Burgess (1984) sees research as a complex process not a linear model. Certainly the writing of this thesis has involved a continuing process of adaptation, change and growth. It has been dynamic.

Nuthall (1974, 16) calls this process 'a mystery'. 'Surely, if the scientific enterprise means anything in the

educational context, it does not mean quick returns in research-based platitudes but a procedure for coming to understand the genuine mysteries that confront us'. The metaphor of religion rather than of science is particularly apt in the research on women and certainly my purpose was to come to 'understand the genuine mysteries'.

Certain generalizations do emerge from the data, however, to provide what Alton-Lee (1984, 82) calls 'kinds of variable clusters which might be contenders for generalizability', or what Wolcott (1985, 193) identifies as 'common patterns'. Nisbet and Watt's (1984) definition of a case study as 'a specific instance to illustrate a general principle' is particularly apt for this thesis.

Any generalizations which did emerge have not been tabulated. I preferred to collate individual comments under thematic headings, letting the women speak for themselves with the minimum of authorial intrusion. These case studies, therefore, reflect a personal, or what Adelman and Kemmis (1984, 94) would call, an 'eclectic' approach. For the process of collating, selecting, analysing and writing up, the data have been influenced throughout by the progressive development of my knowledge, in particular in feminist theory and methodology, and by the nature of the data itself.

### 3.1.3 Conflict Between Theory and Practice

The overtly subjective can have as much value as the attempts of researchers to be completely objective - what

Wolcott (1985, 189) calls 'the doctrine of immaculate perception'! Nisbet and Watt (1984, 74) recognize that, in a sense, subjectivity is objective as it is bringing 'bias out into the open'. This is the rationale for the subjective approach in Chapters One, Two, Three and Six. I intended to extend this by interweaving my own experiences with those of the respondents because my life is closely networked with theirs. Bell and Newby (1977, 12) and Roberts (1981c, 16) confirm this as a valid research technique.

The original drafts of Chapters Four and Five included many incidents from my own experience, much as Marshall (1984) does in her excellent book on women in management. However, I had to re-write these Chapters, editing out my personal references to shared experience. They sounded gauche and pretentious. Marshall's sample was anonymous and unidentifiable, whereas my sample is a group of well-known, readily identifiable women. My own comments intruded on what was essentially their story. However, despite the necessity to edit out 'the ego' I think the closeness of my relationship with the women is implicit throughout the findings. In this instance, theory could not be put into practice. However, I did retain my original intention of emphasizing the qualitative by basing my findings primarily on the women's perceptions.

### 3.1.4 Personal Consequences

Nisbet and Watt (1984, 88) refer to the personal

problems in writing a thesis of this nature - that is, based on case study research. This thesis is unique in that the members of the sample are known to each other and are my personal friends. Nisbet and Watt comment on the personal and professional risk and the feelings of anxiety. Certainly I was acutely aware of my accountability to the women throughout the writing of this thesis. I was anxious not to misinterpret comments, make errors or cause any pain or embarrassment. This made the writing of the findings a much longer process than anticipated as I was constantly checking and rechecking the data. On the positive side I deepened my relationship with sixteen very special women and worked through my own painful awareness of the inequity of the system.

Shakeshaft (1981, 26) asserts that feminists write the best research on women in education as research 'must grow out of the personal experiences, feelings and needs of the researcher' and feminist research is more valid for women as it 'is a way of seeing the world without using the yardstick that has been the measure of men in the world'. The process of writing about women for women has finally contributed to my own sense of self-worth in a man's world.

## 3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

I began by inviting twelve women to take part in this study. The respondents, with one exception (that of Ruth

Mansell), are Auckland based. Although Helen Watson is now working in Wellington our discussions on women in management began two years before I interviewed her in Wellington in her new job as Women's Officer for the PPTA. Only one woman declined on the grounds that her career had resulted in a trauma in her personal life which she did not want to discuss. The women were chosen because they were outstandingly able, at the top of their respective career structures, and also personal friends. We already had the 'trusting' relationship necessary to be able to work closely. As Nisbet and Watt (1984, 81) indicate, 'Ultimately the success or failure of your efforts will depend on your ability to develop good personal relationships... a high degree of mutual trust' must exist.

This was particularly important to me as I was aware that both for my interviewees and for myself there was an element of risk in the misinterpretation of findings and conclusions, as there is in all case study work (Nisbet and Watt, 1984). New Zealand is a small country and these women are all well-known. We decided that attempts at anonymity were pointless as their lives are so distinctive people could easily identify them anyway. As Adelman (1984, 100) points out, anonymization is no solution to the risk and it also distorts the case studies as it implies that generalization is more important than the study itself.

I consider, and researchers like Adelman confirm this, that by naming the women, I can provide for other women role models of real people they have already heard of and

respect. The careers of the sixteen women portrayed are taking place in the same world of action as that in which the readers are involved, and the research is made more democratic by the reader taking part in the process of identifying and analysing. As the writer, I am giving examples which readers can evaluate for themselves as they would a poem, a novel or a painting.

### 3.2.1 The Sample

My initial sample included one primary inspector, Puna Taua; one secondary inspector, Frances Salt, a full-time employee of NZEI (the professional organization for primary teachers), Ruth Mansell; three secondary principals of coeducational schools, Ann Gluckman, Karen Sewell, and Edna Tait; and three secondary principals of single-sex schools, Gae Griffiths, Bettina Brown and Charmaine Pountney. I subsequently added to this group two more exceptional women, Maureen Wilson, the first woman Deputy Principal of Auckland Secondary Teachers College and Noeline Alcorn the first woman Director of Continuing Education at Auckland University who had just been appointed from her position as Acting Dean of Auckland Primary Teachers College.

This was neither a random sample nor a representative sample. There are so few women in educational management, systematic sampling is pointless anyway. Because of their small numbers several of these women form the 'universe' in their areas: for example, Puna Taua is the first and only Maori woman inspector, and Frances Salt is the only woman

secondary inspector in the Auckland region. Ann Gluckman, Karen Sewell and Edna Tait are the only women in the region who are principals of coeducational secondary schools and, in fact, there are only two other women who hold that position in the whole country. Bettina Brown, Gae Griffiths and Charmaine Pountney comprise three-quarters of the principals of girls state secondary schools in the region. The only member of the original sample from outside the Auckland (that is, the Northern) Region is Ruth Mansell, the NZEI Curriculum Officer and I included her because she is one of the few women to achieve eminence in a professional organization.

This is also an 'opportunity' sample in that the longest journey I have had to make was to Whangarei to interview Edna Tait, since the rest either live in urban Auckland or, as in the case of Ruth Mansell, visit the area frequently. Although it was not set up as a representative sample, the fact that the Auckland region includes nearly half of the teachers and students in New Zealand inevitably means that it is reasonably representative of the rest of the country.

### 3.2.2 Scope of the Study

However, at the end of 1985, after collecting questionnaires and conducting interviews with each of these women, I requested permission to extend my original concept of an administrative project into a full-scale masterate thesis. Obviously discussion of this topic makes an important

addition to the literature on women in educational administration, and I felt my responsibility to the women involved because their generous response in terms of time and material meant that the more limited project was no longer a suitable vehicle. Over the year I had collected a mass of important data that needed more space and time for analysis than a one-paper project would allow.

Once the decision to enlarge the scope of the study was made, my supervisor pointed out that the sample of women needed to be extended to balance primary and secondary education. My own recent appointment to Kohia Teachers Centre, which serves teachers from early childhood level through to secondary level, highlighted for me the absence from my selection of sufficient numbers of women from the primary profession. In extending my sample, a whole new, exciting dimension was added to my work. In New Zealand, primary and secondary schools rarely work together, and we know little about each other's career structures, school structures, aims or methodology, and my decision to add three primary principals and a senior inspector from the primary service enlarged my knowledge of the primary area in a way that was stimulating and profoundly moving.

My colleague, Puna Taua, gave me advice on the choice of women and they are exceptional people. Joan Scanlan, Irene Ogden and Wallis Walker are all well-known principals, and Margaret Leaming is an acting senior inspector. Joan Scanlan was the first woman on the Auckland Principals Association Executive and has represented New Zealand

principals overseas. Wallis Walker is principal of a Grade 5 school and is on the NZEI National Executive. Irene Ogden was acting principal of a Grade 5 school and is currently in the forefront in the Auckland area for her implementation of biculturalism and the new health syllabus. She is respected as an innovative yet practical administrator. Then, as a balance to Ruth Mansell in NZEI, I chose Helen Watson who had just been appointed as the first Women's Officer to the secondary professional organization, PPTA.

By February 1986 I had a stratified sample of women comprising almost the entire 'universe' of successful women in state education in the Auckland area: three primary principals, three principals of coeducational secondary schools, three principals of single-sex girls schools, one senior inspector primary, one Maori inspector primary, one secondary inspector, one woman from each of the professional organizations, one deputy principal of a teachers college and one director of continuing education (Table 3.1).

Perhaps it should be noted here that Noeline Alcorn is included because of her continuing strong links with schools, even in her new position, and for her role in management studies, rather than as a representative of women in university education, an area which is not part of the specific focus of this thesis although noted as part of the general context of women in education.

All of the women were approached by telephone or letter (Appendix 1) and asked to take part. They all agreed with a warmth and enthusiasm that I found very encouraging.

Table 3.1

The Stratified Sample of Sixteen Women

| Position | Name |
|---|---|
| Primary Principals | Irene Ogden |
| | Joan Scanlan |
| | Wallis Walker |
| Secondary Principals (single-sex schools) | Bettina Brown |
| | Gae Griffiths |
| | Charmaine Pountney |
| Secondary Principals (coeducational schools) | Ann Gluckman |
| | Karen Sewell |
| | Edna Tait |
| Primary Inspectors | Margaret Leaming |
| | Puna Taua |
| Secondary Inspector | Frances Salt |
| Professional Organizations | Ruth Mansell[1] |
| | Helen Watson[2] |
| Tertiary Organizations | Maureen Wilson |
| | Noeline Alcorn |

[1] Primary
[2] Secondary

Several said that they were taking part because I was a friend, so that a relationship of trust, going back as many as thirty years in one instance, was the basis for their acceptance of my invitation to take part in this study.

Each woman was posted a copy of the questionnaire (Appendix 2) together with a stamped and addressed return envelope. Most replied straight away and there was the usual trickle of later replies. The questionnaire begins with biographical information and then moves to career path information. The questions are asked in a mixture of styles to stimulate interest and exploratory responses. Helen Norman, of Research and Statistics in the Department of Education, and Warwick Neville, of the Department of Geography, University of Auckland, helped with the framing of the questions for both the questionnaire and the interview guidelines. The information that is non-attitudinal was collated as a matrix and summarized in the form of tables.

### 3.2.3 Interviews

The interviews were structured around a set of guidelines (Appendix 3). However, as the interviews were mainly in the form of conversations (as discussed previously in section 3.1), the participants often anticipated later questions and the order in which the questions were answered varied considerably.

Six interviews took place in the respondents' offices at their place of work. We chose a quiet time of day,

usually about four o'clock when students had gone home. Three interviews took place in a quiet, congenial committee room at Kohia Teachers Centre, at different times of the day. In these cases the women combined a meeting at the Centre with the interview for the thesis. Four interviews were in the women's own homes either after work or at the weekend. In three cases my husband accompanied me and we were invited to lunch or afternoon tea. Two women came to my home, which is on a beachfront, and we talked as we looked out at the view. Finally, one interview took place in Rocklands Hall, a hostel where the participant was staying while attending a conference in Auckland.

As can be seen, all the interviews were relaxed and adapted to the interviewees rather than the interviewer. Several women thanked me afterwards as they said they had enjoyed the experience of talking about their lives and seeing their careers in a new perspective. In every interview, I was moved by the experience of sharing another person's life, and if I have any problem in this research it is in taking what was essentially a personal experience and making it public in a responsible and appropriate manner. Another aspect is, of course, that I serve with many of these women on committees and have worked with them or for them. This cannot help but mould and influence my thesis as the data are in the context of all our lives, not drawn from some sealed off, impersonal, antiseptic, research databank.

For this reason each interview was unique and my approach to each interview was also unique. The detailed

procedure of each interview was strongly influenced by the length of our relationship, and any attempt to disguise this fact would be to distort the findings. I followed the advice of Ann Oakley, mentioned earlier in this Chapter, to avoid being a dominating interviewer and believe, as Wragg (1984, 182) has said, that an unstructured interview 'produces information that might not otherwise emerge'.

The interviews were recorded on sixteen separate C90 audio tapes; interviewing times varied from 45 minutes to one and a half hours. As I have indicated, the rest of the information was drawn from the postal questionnaires. The tapes were not transcribed word for word, but important quotes were extracted. A complete transcription would have been both expensive and unwieldy, especially as there was a great deal of gratuitous detail in the conversational style. When the rough draft of the thesis was completed I sent each respondent a letter requesting a brief resumé and a photograph (Appendix 4). As the last step in the process, I circulated to all participants those sections of the findings pertinent to them so that they could check for accuracy and also request anonymity if a quotation was too personal or controversial. Finally, we all met and had dinner together to mark the end of the research.

This thesis comprises an integration of theory, data and their evaluation. As a feminist, I was influenced by the feminist theory of research to take a subjective, collaborative, non-hierarchical attitude to the respondents, to the data and to the way in which I analysed the data.

One of the keys to understanding managerial women is to understand their support of one another, what is often called 'networking'. It is difficult to write about the depth of the experience of sharing with my 'network' of sixteen exceptional women without sounding sentimental or insincere. However, I cannot overstate the honour and privilege I have had over the past eighteen months in deepening my relationships with the women in this study. They are all, without qualification, outstanding people in terms of their professionalism and their compassion and concern for the people in their care, both students and teachers. They are, of course, exceptional not only in Auckland, but also in New Zealand and, as some have already proved, on an international level as well. It is not possible for me to do them credit in the way that they deserve but I have endeavoured to make their skills, their strengths and their support known and accessible to other women.

Noeline **ALCORN** PhD [California], MA, Dip.Tchg., Dip.Ed.
Director, Continuing Education,
University of Auckland.
Appointed 1985.

Noeline Alcorn was born in Wellington, in 1939. She was educated at Marsden School, Victoria University of Wellington, Canterbury University and the University of California (Irvine). Noeline taught at Wellington Girls College and Sacred Heart Girls College, Christchurch, directed the remedial writing programme while at the University of California, and was Senior Lecturer, Principal Lecturer and Acting Dean at Auckland Primary Teachers College. She was President of the NZ Childrens Literature Association and has been active on a regional, national and international level with the NZ Educational Administration Society. She is also a council member of NZCER. Noeline is married with three children.

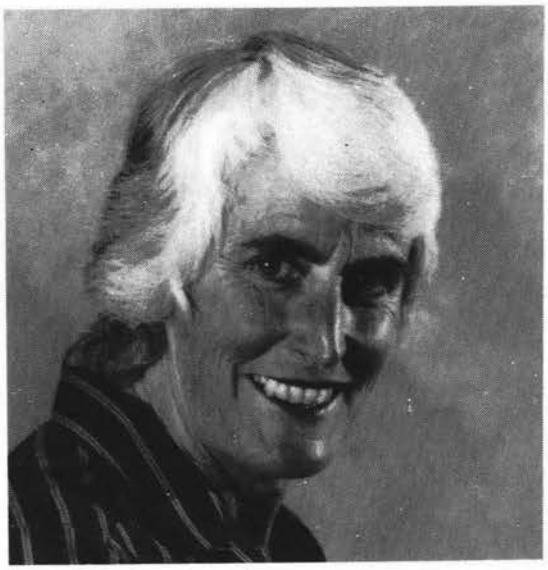
Bettina **BROWN** MA(Hons), BA, Dip.Tchg.
Principal, Kelston Girls High School, Auckland.
Appointed 1985.

Bettina Brown was born in Auckland in 1936 and educated at Avondale College and Auckland University. She has taught overseas as well as in New Zealand. Bettina taught at Mt Roskill Grammar School and has been Head of the Languages Department, Senior Mistress and Deputy Principal of Kelston Girls High School. She is married and is involved in many community activities.

Ann **GLUCKMAN** JP, MA(Hons), BA, Dip.Ed.Admin.
Principal, Nga Tapuwae College,
Auckland.
Appointed 1975.

Ann Gluckman was born in London, England, in 1927 and educated at Epsom Girls Grammar School and Auckland University. She taught at Epsom Girls Grammar School and was Senior Mistress at Seddon High School. She has held a Teaching Fellowship at Auckland University, chaired panels at national and regional level for the Post Primary Teachers Association, has been a member of the National Commission of UNESCO, and is currently a telethon trustee. Ann Gluckman is married with four children.

Gaewyn **GRIFFITHS** MA(Hons), BA, ATCL, A.I.Ed.[London], Dip.Tchg.
Headmistress, Epsom Girls Grammar School, Auckland.
Appointed 1979.



Gae Griffiths was born in Hamilton in 1939. She was educated at Hamilton High School, Hamilton Girls High School and Auckland University. Gae taught at Selwyn College where she was appointed Head of the English Department. She was Senior Mistress at Edgewater College and Deputy Principal of both Epsom Girls Grammar School and Rutherford High School. She was then appointed Inspector of Secondary Schools. She has held a New Zealand Fellowship in Education at London University.

Margaret **LEAMING** B.Ed., Dip.Tchg, Teaching Cert.
Acting Senior Inspector of Primary Schools,
Northern Region.
Appointed 1985.

Margaret Leaming was born in Waverley in 1932. She was educated at Hawera Technical High School and Massey University. She has taught at Motuti Maori School, Kaikohe Maori School and was Senior Teacher Junior Classes at Waipiro Bay Maori School and Matakana Island District High School. Margaret held the position of Senior Teacher at Bohally Intermediate School and then became Deputy Principal of Papatoetoe Intermediate, Kedgley Intermediate and Arahanga Intermediate Schools. She was Principal of Otahuhu Intermediate before she became an Inspector of Schools. She is a widow with two children.

Ruth **MANSELL** BA, Dip.Ed.Stud., Dip.Tchg.,
Teaching Cert.
Executive Officer, Curriculum, New Zealand
Educational Institute (NZEI), Wellington.
Appointed 1984.

Ruth Mansell was born in Gisborne in 1939. She was educated at Hataitai Primary School and two elementary schools in New York, Wellington East Girls College and Victoria University of Wellington. She taught at Puketiro, Petone Central and Otonga Primary Schools before becoming Deputy Principal of Brooklyn Primary School. Ruth was then seconded to the Department of Education Curriculum Development Division. Ruth is married with two sons and one daughter, and is very involved in local community activities.

Irene **OGDEN** B.Ed., Dip.Tchg., Teaching Cert.
Principal, Rutherford Primary School,
Auckland.
Appointed 1982.

Irene Ogden was born in Newcastle-under-Lyme, England, in 1937 and educated at Clayton Hall Grammar School. She has taught at Central and Matarawa Primary Schools in Tokoroa. Irene was Senior Teacher, Deputy Principal and Acting Principal at Balmoral Primary School in Tokoroa. She is on the District Senior Inspectors Social Studies Committee, Auckland. Irene is married with one child and her husband still works in Tokoroa.

Charmaine **POUNTNEY** MA(Hons), BA, Dip.Ed., Dip.Tchg.
Principal, Auckland Girls Grammar School, Auckland.
Appointed 1978.

Charmaine Pountney was born in Auckland in 1942 and educated at Cornwall Park School, Remuera Intermediate, Epsom Girls Grammar School and Auckland University. She taught at Rutherford High School and was Head of the English Department and Curriculum Coordinator at Green Bay High School. Charmaine was then appointed Deputy Principal of Rutherford High School. She has been a visiting lecturer at the Auckland Secondary Teachers College and held a Nuffield Fellowship for study in the United Kingdom in 1985. She is a member of the Auckland University Council, ACORD, Auckland Feminist Teachers, and the Bicultural Education Network.

Frances **SALT** MA(Hons), BA, Dip.Tchg.
Inspector of Secondary Schools,
Northern Regional Office, Auckland.
Appointed 1984.

Frances Salt was born in Masterton in 1945. She was educated at New Plymouth Girls High School and Auckland University. She has taught overseas as well as at Papakura High School, Wellington East Girls College, Onehunga High School and Auckland Metropolitan College. Before joining the Secondary Inspectorate in Auckland she was Director of Arney Road/Kohia Teachers Centre. She has held positions on the Post Primary Teachers Association at both regional and national levels.

Joan **SCANLAN** Teaching Cert.
Principal, Mt Roskill Primary School,
Auckland.
Appointed 1978.

Joan Scanlan was born in New Plymouth and was educated there at Sacred Heart Girls College. She first taught at Central and Fitzroy Primary Schools in New Plymouth and was then promoted to Senior Assistant Mistress at Okato District High School. As an exchange teacher to England she taught in London and upon her return taught at Mt Eden Normal School for five years in Junior, Senior and Model Country Sections of the school. Joan than taught as Senior Teacher of Junior Classes at Windy Ridge, North Shore, Auckland, where she worked for five years. From there she became a Senior Teacher at Woodlands Area School, Singapore and returning to Auckland she was placed as relieving Senior Teacher at Auckland Normal Intermediate. Joan was appointed as Principal of Mt Roskill Primary School in 1978 and worked as an Inspector of Schools in a relieving capacity during Term 3, 1986.

Karen **SEWELL** BA, Dip.Tchg.
Principal, Green Bay High School,
Auckland.
Appointed 1984.

Karen Sewell was born in Wanganui in 1944 and educated at Wanganui Girls College and Victoria University of Wellington. She has taught overseas as well as in New Zealand. She has taught at Onslow College in Wellington, Samuel Pepys Boys Secondary School in London, and Aldershot Manor Girls School in Hampshire. Karen has been Head of the English Department, Senior Mistress and Deputy Principal at Green Bay High School. She has been on National Syllabus Revision Committees for the Post Primary Teachers Association and held a Teaching Fellowship in English Language at Victoria University of Wellington. Karen was involved in the Women in Management Courses and in the New English Syllabus Committee, and spent one year as an Inspector of Secondary Schools (relieving) in the Northern Region.

Edna **TAIT** BA, Dip.Tchg., Dip.Liberal Studs.[Liverpool]
Principal, Tikipunga High School,
Whangarei.
Appointed 1982.

Edna Tait was born in Australia in 1941. She was educated at Wairarapa College and Taumarunui High School and Victoria University of Wellington. She has taught overseas as well as in New Zealand. She taught at Taumarunui High School and Mana College and was appointed Senior Mistress at Western Heights High School. She has held the position of National President of the Post Primary Teachers Association and is currently on the world executive of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. She is married and is actively involved in local politics and community activities.

Puna **TAUA** MA(Hons), BA.
Inspector of Primary Schools,
Northern Region.
Appointed 1986.

Puna Taua was born in Auckland. On her mother's side she is Ngapuhi, Sub-Tribe Ngati Hine, and on her father's side she is Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa, Sub-Tribe Ngati Kahu. She was educated at Epsom Girls Grammar School and Auckland University. She was Senior Teacher at Remuera Intermediate, Deputy Principal of Tamaki Primary School and Acting Principal of Glen Innes and Three Kings Primary Schools. She has held office at regional level for the New Zealand Educational Institute. Puna is actively involved in marae committees.

Wallis **WALKER** Teaching Cert.
Principal, Otahuhu Primary School,
Auckland.
Appointed 1983.

Wallis Walker was born in Huntly in 1942 and educated at Te Kauwhata District High School. She has taught in Auckland at Balmoral Intermediate and Tamaki Intermediate. She was Senior Teacher at Napier Street and Waikowhai Intermediate Schools. Wallis Walker was Deputy Principal at Southern Cross and Royal Oak Primary Schools and Blockhouse Intermediate School. She has held positions in the NZ Educational Institute at branch, committee of branches and national levels. She is very actively involved in defensive driving and has been President of the NZ Defensive Driving Council.

Helen **WATSON** BA, LTCL.
Women's Officer, Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA), Wellington.
Appointed 1985.

Helen Watson was born in Auckland in 1940 and attended Auckland Girls Grammar School and Auckland University. After Teachers College in Christchurch she began teaching in 1961. Helen taught at several coeducational and single-sex schools in Auckland. She was Head of the English Department and Teacher-Librarian at both Kelston Girls High School and Birkdale College. Helen was active in the Post Primary Teachers Association from 1975 onwards as a member of the Sex Equality Advisory Committee and National Executive member for three years. She was one of the founders of Auckland Feminist Teachers. Helen is divorced with one adult son.

Maureen **WILSON** MA, BA [Sydney], Dip.Ed.[Sydney], A.I.Ed.[London].
Vice Principal, School of Secondary Teacher Education, Auckland College of Education.
Appointed 1985.

Maureen Wilson was born in Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, Australia, in 1941 and educated at Mt St Mary's College, Katoomba, NSW. She has taught at junior high and secondary level in Australia, New Zealand and Canada, has been a Senior Fellow in Education at Massey University and an adviser in the Department of Education (Northern Regional Office). She held various positions at the Secondary Teachers College before becoming Vice Principal. Maureen is married to a New Zealander and has a daughter and a son.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## LIFE STYLE: WOMEN IN CONTROL*

### 4.1 FAMILY BACKGROUND

I have argued that the 'nurturing' role assigned to women by most societies results in distinctively female and male patterns of socialization. Even in the mid-1980s children cannot be raised in a completely value free society. It is inevitable, therefore, that all women at some stage in their lives, whether at home, at school, at work, in reading literature or watching television, see 'messages' that assign them 'feminine' roles. These are roles that make them passive, obedient, 'help in the kitchen', seek popularity with boys when they are teenagers, and above all, avoid threatening a boy's 'masculine' role. Women are expected to be pleased at compliments, to enjoy being protected and taken out. At school, their poor allocation of teacher time, their neglect in the literature they study and their assignment to soft option 'feminine' subjects is reiterated widely in the literature (Barrett, 1985; Burns and Sheehan, 1984; Burton, 1985; Byrne, 1978; Craven, 1985; Deem, 1978, 1980; ILEA, 1985; Middleton,

* *Italics* in this Chapter denote direct quotation of the taped responses of the sixteen women interviewed.

1984b; NATE, 1985; Spender, 1982; Spender and Sarah, 1980; Thompson, 1983). The evidence for socialization of women into 'feminine' roles is overwhelming. How can the exceptional women studied in this research have achieved 'masculine' roles in society and overcome the effects of this process of socialization?

As a person's background can often affect her life patterns I began by looking at families and schooling. Research by Hennig and Jardim (1979) and Apter (1985), reports strong patterns in the life profiles of achieving women. There is no comparable conformity in this sample although one or two aspects of family and school life do appear to be significant. Perhaps their profile of the successful woman is over simplified because, although meticulous researchers like Hennig and Jardim would certainly not intend that it should happen, the use of their elder-of-two-siblings-from-a-rural-town type profile is used glibly in many management books. Consequently a popular management book like John Wareham's (1980, 114) Secrets of a Corporate Headhunter states categorically that the top female executive 'is the eldest or only child or the only daughter and she has a strong positive identification with her father, accepting his values and becoming, in effect, his emotional clone'. This use of research data could be dangerous if it had a self-fulfilling effect on aspiring women who do not have such a family profile.

### 4.1.1 Family Size

The women in this research come from predominantly small families but the range of size in the family and the place in the sibling structure varies widely. Families range from one to seven children. One woman was the second of seven girls, another the youngest of six children (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Very few consider that their positions in their families have affected the rest of their lives. Only one in this sample mentions it specifically. Joan Scanlan believes *being an older member of a large family meant that from a very young age I had to take a lot of responsibility.*

Another woman, Edna Tait, the eldest of three, had to care for the other children and subsequently, with her sister, helped to mind a sick mother through a protracted illness until she died of cancer. *At the time you do these things - it was probably very good for us, the three of us, we've all gone on to successful careers.* The fact that the other members of her family have also been successful is significant in that in five cases where the woman included in this study is the elder or eldest, the other siblings have been successful as well. I have seen no research that investigates the relative success of other members of the family of women in management, but to have integrity this information should be included in the research design. It may be the family itself, rather than the sibling position, that affects life patterns.

What does emerge is that half of the women had

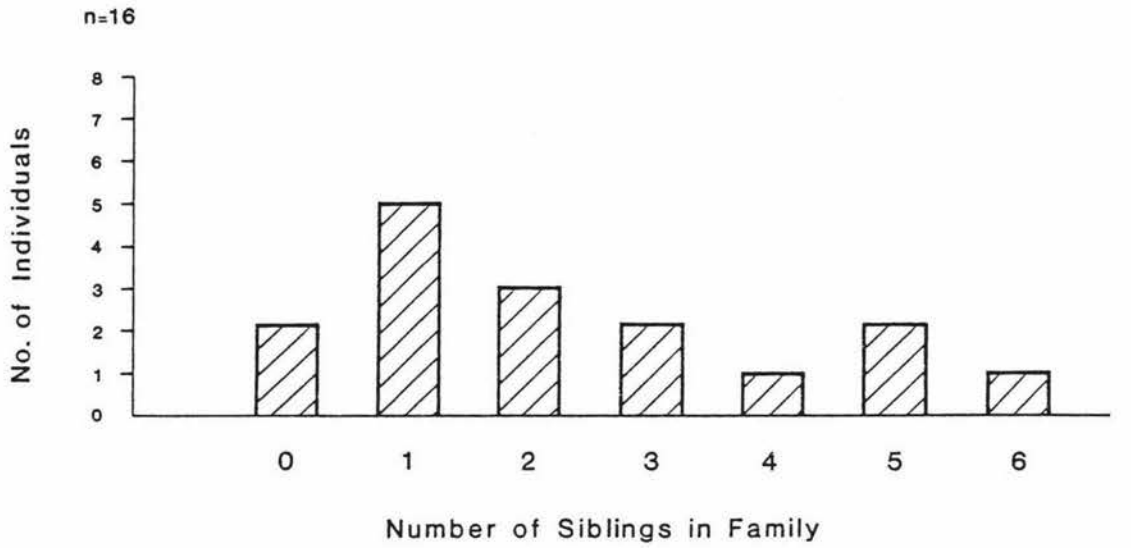



Figure 4.1 Number of Siblings in the Family

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

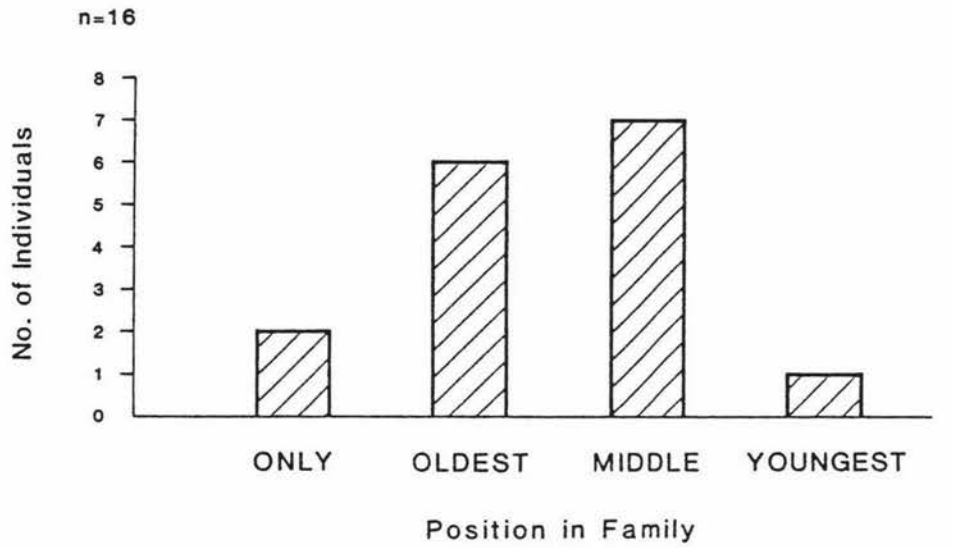



Figure 4.2 Sibling Position of Women in the Family

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

### 4.1.2 Disruptions

disruptions in their childhood that affected their life patterns. Irene Ogden's father was away fighting in the Second World War and the family did not receive his pay. *We never had a father in those early years. It caused my mother to go out work.* Her father could not adapt to a working wife. *Working class people are tighter about women working.* The consequence of this disruption was that she went to live with her grandmother, a strong matriarch who had worked in a pottery all her life and the two formed a bond that gave her strength and inspiration.

For another of the women, Maureen Wilson, the death of her mother when she was only three years of age, being sent to boarding school at four, and her father's remarriage and eventual divorce were severe disruptions. *One of the key factors in my life... when things got grim... were lots of economic hardships,* but the gentle woman who became her mother coped with courage. This strength in adversity that she so admired helps account for the fact that *both my sister and I have gone the path of economic independence and I'm sure that's an important factor in it.*

The sense of isolation of the migrant family with both parents being obviously foreign and Jewish constitutes another type of disruption, according to Ann Gluckman, as then there was *not that easy interrelationship with non-Jewish families that there certainly is now.*

For Ruth Mansell, travelling to the United States with her family when her father took up a position with the

United Nations Secretariat, was most memorable. Her father travelled extensively and was often away from home, also working in Australia for a while and visiting China. As she says, this lifestyle was *quite unusual for those days.*

None of the women showed any attitude of self-pity or regret for the disruptions in their childhood. Rather, most saw them as learning and growing experiences that have given them strength and direction. For eight of the sixteen women, life ran smoothly without any disruptions to their childhoods and of these eight, five grew up in the country or in small towns, a factor frequently observed in the research on managerial women (Hennig and Jardim, 1979; Apter, 1985).

### 4.1.3 Mothers

McIntosh (1974) found that more women who aspired to educational administration had working mothers (42.9 percent of cases) than those women who had no such aspirations (28.2 percent) and the working mothers were mainly in semi-professional positions. On the other hand, Wilson (1986) found the majority of New Zealand women academics had mothers who were employed in the home. Only four women in this research had working mothers: Charmaine Pountney's mother was a dressmaker and milliner with her own business; Irene Ogden's mother was a bus conductor during the war years and immediately after, and then later a waitress; Maureen Wilson's was a music teacher working from home at a level very secondary to domestic duties; and Ruth Mansell's

mother was a primary school teacher in the correspondence school. Only Ruth's mother pursued an active career throughout much of her life until retirement. For two women, however, their mothers were strong negative role models and one actively opposed her daughter's aspirations. Noeline Alcorn's mother was *strongly opposed... she certainly believed women's place was in the home.* In Helen Watson's experience her father raised his daughters to denigrate her mother's homemaking role, which was ironical as he depended on his wife's housekeeping to maintain his own active working and political roles.

The group is equally divided between working class families who tended to have strong aspirations for their daughters as an escape from their origins, and professional families where education was taken for granted and a university education for girls as the norm. In seven of the eight non-professional families the daughters saw their fathers become successful by a combination of sheer hard work, ability and initiative.

Cultural pride and identity still plays an important part in the lives of two women, Ann Gluckman, a prominent member of the Jewish community in New Zealand, and Puna Taua from a well-known Maori family.

Six of the women had mothers with professions, although only one continued to work after marriage, two had mothers who learned skills (as a butcher's apprentice and a dressmaker), two mothers had worked in clerical positions and one in sales. Six mothers had no training or work

experience at all.

Although these women remember their mothers with affection and sometimes with admiration, it is difficult for them to have perceived them as role models in any professional sense. On the other hand, several see their mothers, and in some cases a grandmother, as spurring them on to a career. As Joan Scanlan says, *Mother hoped we'd all do well... you could get married if you wished but should perhaps look to a career.* Similarly, Edna Tait's mother had strong aspirations for her in the civil service. Wallis Walker notes her *mother wanted all her children to do better than she did...* and recalls the poverty, but without regret: *our gym frocks were not quite the same as other girls' gym frocks... we just accepted it,* and greatly admired her mother's strength: *she probably sacrificed quite a lot to keep us at school.* In fact, Wallis has a strong recollection of *the first time I had a bought dress, I was eleven or twelve. Dad bought it and I hated the thing.*

Margaret Leaming says, *I regard my mother as perhaps one of the strongest people I've ever met,* and also remembers *gym frocks sponged down with cold tea and pressed.* For these women, the memories of mothers 'making do', of their determination that their children should do better then they had, is a very moving one. As Margaret Leaming says, we learnt admiration for a woman who somehow survived *from one wage packet to the next.*

For three women, exceptionally strong grandmothers influenced their lives. Irene Ogden lived with her

grandmother who had been a pottery worker and made the original Jasperware for the Wedgwood factory. *Grandmother is a matriarch that everyone visits on Sunday.* The older woman recognized her granddaughter's potential, encouraged her to study, and refused to let her do housework. As Irene Ogden says, *poverty is self perpetuating; it is difficult to break out.* It was the grandmother's respect, *not so much for a career, but learning* that kept her at school after all her friends had left, so that in the end she was the only girl in her 'Coronation Street' type area who went on to grammar school and tertiary education.

Maureen Wilson had two very strong grandmothers, both businesswomen and at some time in the hotel business. One went on to own a dress shop near the University of Sydney, and she would walk Maureen past the University saying, *'Now when you grow up that's where you'll go'.* They built into her life the expectation that she would do better than they had done. Her other grandmother was widowed when she had three pre-schoolers and went on *to own a hotel and live a life of self-sufficiency and survival and educate her kids.*

Bettina Brown remembers her grandmother *was considered quite eccentric because she pursued her own interests which were reading and a lot of craft work, and really she was considered quite a bad housewife in those days because she wasn't interested in that sort of thing, and she was strong minded enough to pursue her interests, so she certainly had an influence on me.*

Both mother and grandmother had a strong influence on

Charmaine Pountney's life. Her mother worked as a dressmaker and was self-employed, her grandmother lived with them for ten years and supported her in her aspirations. Her most vivid memories are of acting out role plays of teaching and the Anglican ministry with her dolls. Using communion wafers her grandmother brought home from church she rehearsed the Anglican liturgy until she knew it well - a fact that must have influenced her outstanding public speaking skills.

Karen Sewell's mother *encouraged us to go on to university... to be whatever we wanted to be. It is unusual for my contemporaries that not only did my mother go to university but all my father's sisters had been to university too...* However, there was *no pressure to fulfill other people's expectations. I came from a family where education was valued.*

Ann Gluckman's mother was a house surgeon before she married, a strong woman from a line of strong women who *has always ruled the family with a rod of iron.* Her mother did not approve of women having careers but wanted her daughter to get a scholarship in the seventh form, and despite the fact that Ann was dux of Epsom Girls Grammar School, head prefect and top of scholarship English for New Zealand, she feels her mother never forgave her for not gaining that award. Ann's biggest disappointment was that, as a woman, she was not considered suitable to take over her father's business and eventually the business was sold. Undoubtedly, her mother was the strongest influence as a role model.

For three of the women there were no women role models to encourage them to take up careers. As indicated earlier, two women were adversely affected by their mothers' roles and perceived them negatively. For Ruth Mansell, her mother's career influenced her in pursuing a career herself but it meant that *the last thing I wanted to be was a teacher.* Her mother had pioneered correspondence education for supposedly ineducable children and their parents - the multiple-handicapped and those who lived in rural areas. Ruth recalls, *All the time I was a teenager, that was what she was really doing - crusading for that and persuading people it was important. After it became established her work was recognized world wide and people from other countries came to see what was being done in New Zealand.* In the end, her mother received accolades but for fifteen years struggled along without her work being recognized. This struggle had an impact on the home although the family were proud of her achievements. Ruth has always aimed to avoid bringing home her work problems in this way. *When you did have a career you didn't talk about any problems at home and burden the family with them. I learnt what not to do.*

Puna Taua was particularly close to her mother but sees her support in *our family, our background, in that a lot of expectations were made of us.* Well-known people within Maoridom were part of her everyday life as a child, people *who had high expectations of Maori people.*

Edna Tait had no woman as a role model in her family to encourage her towards a career. It was going from the bush

to boarding school that changed her life. *I suddenly saw there were people with all manner of things that I did not have any experience of. They had a sophistication that I had to learn quickly.* Frances Salt also had no direct encouragement from a strong woman in her family to follow a career. *Well, I guess that because Mum had worked at home... that I probably grew up expecting that I would work for a little while and get married.* Her experience sums up that of many bright women in New Zealand at the time. *We went to university and we had studentships because that was a way of going to university. I went to university but not really thinking that I was heading for any career, although I had a studentship and thought I would teach.*

### 4.1.4 Fathers

The research by both Hennig and Jardim (1979) and Apter (1985) shows that successful women are strongly influenced by their fathers, and although this research does not aim at generalizability, a generalization to this effect certainly emerges for these women and their fathers. Eleven of the sixteen women were most strongly influenced or close to their fathers, compared with a further three who were most strongly influenced by women (either their mothers or their grandmothers), and the remaining two by neither in particular.

*Very close to father.*

*I've always felt closer to my father.*

*I always admired Dad and what he achieved.*

*Fonder of father... not as close a relationship [to mother];*

Gae Griffiths recalls, *Dad had been a hard working person who started with nothing and has done well - done his studying on and off.* Her father went from a clerical job in a Huntly colliery to Managing Director of a Hamilton bus company and she admired, and still admires, his achievement. Frances Salt says she was *closer to my father; we had quite a close relationship... I think he's very fond of me.*

Frances's father taught her at his school for several years and both shared a love of language. Karen Sewell remembers, *My father thought we were perfect. He expected us all to do well but he never pushed us. I didn't feel my education was less important than my brother's or anything like that. He was very supportive of us - a very loving man.*

*He thought we were wonderful. He did all the things with us [girls] that other fathers might otherwise do with the boys if you had a mixed family... He was very keen on us meeting interesting people.* Ruth Mansell goes on to say how, as a young girl, she was taken to the Institute of International Affairs where her father introduced her to people like Julius Nyerere. She adds: *he did have hopes for us.*

One woman comments sadly, *I was pretty keen on my Dad, but very disappointed with him;* and Helen Watson remembers they were close *until I got into my late teenage years and started showing an interest in boys, and that led to lots of*

*problems.*

Edna Tait is devoted to her father who now lives with her and, she says, influenced her *because of the way he talks, the way he thinks, because of his refusal to accept the obvious. He taught me to question and he most definitely taught us how to work. For my father, if you were sitting reading you were being lazy.* Like others of the women I interviewed she recalls *lots of teenage arguments.*

Noeline Alcorn remembers her father as *a very gentle person; we both tended to like reading, we both tended to like music, and he was the sort of person who was willing to listen to my ideas. That always endears people to you.*

Paludi (1983) in her definition of role models, 'people to be emulated', says that academic women choose models of the opposite sex - either relations, friends or instructors. This is supported by other recent research; for example that of McQuillen and Ivy (1985). If any conclusions were to be drawn from the experience of these women it would be that their fathers gave them career models and were exceptional in their time in having career aspirations for their daughters; they were non-sexist. Together with this, however, the dimension that cannot be measured in survey questions is a deep love for the mothers who were often denied personal career satisfaction because of the times in which they lived. As one woman said, *My mother was a rather discontented housewife.* Yet a strength shines from many of these women. They fought a war against poverty, they let

down hems, shopped in sales in auction marts. They were determined their daughters would escape the world of poverty. This is not role modelling in terms of the research (Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1984; Paludi, 1983). But although the women were generally closer to their fathers and emulated them as role models, it was their mothers who gave them the example of the sheer tenacity needed to pursue a goal when the odds were against them.

### 4.1.5 Schooling

In her article, 'College women's role model choice', Paludi (1983, 338) quotes the work of Levinson (1978) who concludes from his research that 'poor mentoring in early adulthood is the equivalent of poor parenting in childhood'. McQuillen and Ivy (1985, 8) in his research on student role model selection notes that females need female role models in male-dominated careers so that they can integrate their professional and feminine goals. Josefowitz (1980, 179) notes, 'female role models in the form of female instructors have also been shown to be an important element' in women's success in management, and refers to an analysis of the 1,500 women in Who's Who in American Women where a significant number were found to come from women's colleges. Wilson (1986, 13) found that 58.5 percent of women academics in New Zealand universities had attended single-sex girls schools.

It is important, therefore, that thirteen of the sixteen women went to single sex girls schools for anything

from one to twelve years. It is true that at that time they may not have had an alternative coeducational school to attend but the significant consequence was that they spent a substantial proportion of their time during their adolescent years in a women's environment in an institution managed by women and dominated by women. Fourteen of the sixteen women had strong role models at school even though some were alienated by their perceptions of the 'spinster' lifestyle. Several interviews began with the women saying they had had no role models, then they would pause a while, think and begin to talk about a particular woman, and a warmth would enter into their voices as they recalled the woman's strength, encouragement or ability.

Margaret Leaming even remembers her infant mistress - Miss Beamish, *a real character in the town,* and later at secondary school, Jean Sergeant her English teacher and the Senior Mistress, Miss Britland, who had *a fierce exterior with a lovely warm heart.* They were *people who spent time talking with us.*

Frances Salt gives a vivid picture of *an impressive English teacher... this English teacher at the end of our seventh form year (she was in her gown, coming down after our break-up)... said, 'You'll be in one of these soon'. I was surprised she'd taken that much interest and thought of me as a person like that.* She recalls that when the principal, Miss Allum, died, *I was surprised because I suppose I didn't believe she was mortal.* Although she does not see them as role models herself, they certainly fulfill

the model definition of some research 'exemplar', for example (Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1984, 48), 'intellect stimular' or even 'encouraged work quality'.

Ruth Mansell emphasizes that she didn't particularly 'identify' with her women teachers; then recalls a discussion with Sue Middleton after hearing her paper at a conference where *she reckoned that girls didn't have any kind of sexual models among women in girls schools, and I said 'Oh, we did, I remember this one very well'*, and she describes *one beautiful woman, recently returned from France, and she was very glamorous and very sexy and she would perch herself up on the edge of the desk and sort of swing her legs and she had tight black jerseys and wide cinch belts and full skirts... probably my style of clothes now might be influenced by her!*

Helen Watson has no reservations about the strength of her women role models at a single sex school and says she still sees the potential for girls schools as a result of her experience. She has particularly fond memories of Rua Gardner, Principal of Auckland Girls Grammar School: *She was about the only woman I can think of in my father's life who managed to deal with him!* Her father was Tom Pearce, well known for his activities in Rugby football and Chairman of the Auckland Regional Authority for three terms.

For one woman who attended a girls school run by her father's cousin she found she was used to strong women *because all the men in my childhood had been quite weak.*

Noeline Alcorn remembers her principal as being only

twenty-eight years old and resigning six years later to marry. Irene Ogden attended girls' schools and a women's training college. She remembers her hostel was referred to as 'The Virgins Retreat'. Her first job was under a woman principal in a school divided into girls' and boys' sections. She had never had to compete against men.

Gae Griffiths remembers many role models, *a great number of women teachers that I admired tremendously.* This applied to both primary and secondary schools and she still keeps in contact with one or two. She adds, *strong women have to be careful in schools* as they have so much influence. Karen Sewell recalls strong women teachers but not many who appeared than to act as role models.

Charmaine Pountney also recalls many role models at school, starting from the primary level, and recites a long list of names including a Miss Adams whose class at Remuera Intermediate was encouraging for achieving girls. In secondary school she was *immersed in an environment of strong women for five years* and recalls the only men were a part-time Latin teacher and the caretaker. Ann Gluckman, who like Charmaine Pountney and Puna Taua went to Epsom Girls Grammar School, recalls that the women staff members were living a sad life style that she did not want to emulate. Ann perceived them as the generation of women who had lost their fiancees in the war. Ann respected the teachers and admired the organizational skills of Agnes Louden, the Headmistress, but *not the life of genteel poverty and quite subtle cruelty of the girls towards the teachers.* She

remembers school as a kind of *nunnery.* The single life of the teachers was not one to emulate: *in a Jewish family, having children and a family is certainly a role I imbibed.* Like Ann Gluckman, Puna Taua could not identify with her women teachers; they were a 'negative' role model for her, and her models were *older Maori women and well-known Maori men - those were the people I admired.* Yet, despite this lack of role modelling at school she has still always wanted to be a teacher.

Edna Tait was at boarding school and she remembers the senior mistress there who *influenced me for no other reason except that she was her own woman.* She remembered that the woman had *a soft spot for us* and often invited Edna and her two friends to her cottage to play canasta.

All of these women experienced success at school. Two came from small, unstreamed rural schools and therefore had never experienced 'failure'. Maureen Wilson remembers her Australian country school as having no laboratories or kitchens. All students took much the same range of subjects and there were no specialist rooms. Each student was vital and valued, *never anybody superfluous.* Wallis Walker's experience in a New Zealand district high school was very similar. The school was not streamed, she had to take subjects for which there happened to be teachers, and only three students studied for University Entrance.

Thirteen women went right through school in the top academic stream. Irene Ogden, in an amazing way, overcame the handicap of being working class and therefore not having

the skills to pass the infamous 'eleven plus' examination to go to grammar school. However, her obvious ability resulted in the secondary modern school transferring her to the local grammar school. There she went to the top of her class. In the grammar school she was the only girl who came from a terrace house.

Several of the women also recall the lack of options offered in their schools. Bettina Brown says that in being forced to choose between maths and languages *I had to cut myself off from a whole area.* This exclusion from subjects like mathematics and science has frustrated a number of the women.

### 4.1.6 Summary

No really significant conclusions can be drawn from the data on family background in this section, and this is disappointing. There is no clear pattern of family structure, or of rural or urban home life. Three factors, however, do stand out. First, strong father role models based on men who were perceived as both achieving for themselves and encouraging of their daughters. Second, their mothers or grandmothers, although not role models in the conventional sense, on the whole did have aspirations for their daughters and supported them in following a career.

It appears, however, that the third and strongest influence came from powerful women teachers. This pattern emerges most clearly in the lives of the thirteen women who attended single-sex girls schools.

A picture emerges of very bright young women who identified with their instructors. In turn these teachers identified with their proteges whom they encouraged and nurtured. It is this kind of caring and interest that perhaps makes women almost 'accountable' to their role models to succeed.

The implications for management of coeducational schools are not the subject of this thesis. However, the importance of single-sex education in the lives of successful women continues to be documented in the 1980s when a larger proportion of girls from single-sex schools than coeducational schools enter the professional courses at university. Some support is provided for this observation by a survey of nine single sex and twenty coeducational schools for which statistics were available from the University of Auckland Liaison Office. The statistics cover the years 1981-85 and show that the proportions of women entrants to professional degree courses are consistently higher for those from single-sex schools. For example, in 1983, 44 percent of women going on to university from single-sex schools and 32 percent of those from coeducational schools entered faculties such as law, medicine, dentistry, commerce and architecture - a degree of difference which, although fluctuating from year to year, tends generally to be of that order. The trend over the five-year period for all women, however, was for enrolment in these faculties to have increased by about ten percentage points.

## 4.2 A CHOSEN LIFE STYLE

If there is one overwhelming impression of the lives of the sixteen women in this survey then it is of women in control of their own lives. This is in marked contrast to the profile of women teachers in the research. As TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 58) indicates, both primary and secondary women 'were more likely than men to identify their spouses activities as a source of constraint'; women on the whole found their family and 'their husbands' careers took priority and restricted the time and energy they could devote to their own careers'. Again the authors of TEACAPS suggest from their findings that, 'Many more women than men were unhappy with the way domestic tasks were allocated in their households'. This profile is seen in American, Australian, Canadian and British research as noted in Chapter Two. Yet TEACAPS found the same sex variables existed in career moves and promotion seeking even when women who had taken a break for childrearing were excluded from the discussion. To the authors 'it seemed that the commitment of women to their family in general might be insufficient as an explanation for their absence in senior positions' (Department of Education, 1982, 100). They go on to point out that few women in senior positions still had children at home, whereas many senior men had young children still living at home.

This apparent contradiction is, of course, rooted in the thesis behind this research - it is not childbearing

that constrains women but the allocation of the child nurturing role by society. With this role comes a whole stereotype of women as dependent not authoritative, compliant not assertive, accountable for everything instead of delegating, always 'helpful' and 'supportive', seeking approval and being nice, calm, and gentle. This perception of women results in attitudes which affect married and single women alike, not only in the way they are perceived by men but in their self-perception and aspirations.

In an amusing chart entitled 'Impressions from an office' Josefowitz (1980, 61) points out that 'he's not at his desk' implies 'he must be at a meeting'; 'she's not at her desk' implies 'she must be in the ladies room' or 'she must be shopping'. The one that has certainly often been noted by women is the, 'he's going on a business trip' which means 'it's good for his career' that for women becomes, 'she's going on a business trip', so, 'what does her husband say?'.

Women who aspire to senior positions, therefore, need to become acutely aware of the norms that are operating and make a conscious decision to change them. There is considerable evidence in the data for this research that women have been aware of these norms and each woman in her own way has resisted, changed or modified them.

### 4.2.1 Marital Status

McIntosh (1974) found that, contrary to predominant findings previous to her research, women aspiring to

promotion in educational administration were in the same ratio of married to single women as among those who had no such ambition (approximately 3:2). On starting this research I assumed most of the women would be single. However, at the time of the survey, seven were married, six had never married and three were no longer married (Figure 4.3). It is interesting to compare this with the marital status of all women in the New Zealand educational system as recorded by TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982). In TEACAPS, 64.3 percent were married compared to 43.75 percent in this group; 26.3 percent of all women had never married compared with 37.5 percent; and 9.3 percent were no longer married compared to 18.75 percent in this survey. Despite the fact that the sample group is so small, it represents the composition of a very small elite of successful women in education. On that basis it is interesting that the proportion of single women and no longer married women is higher than in the universe of women teachers as a whole.

This topic is discussed in 4.3.3, but the hypothesis one could formulate from this data is that the 'blocks' of marriage and childbearing cause some women to choose not to marry. In fact it is, as they indicate, sometimes a choice, sometimes simply a case of becoming so involved in a career, marriage was just not an option that presented itself. A major factor could also be that women do not have 'wives' to fill the nurturing role that would give them freedom to follow a career. Josefowitz (1984, 135) found that those women in higher status occupations are less likely to be married

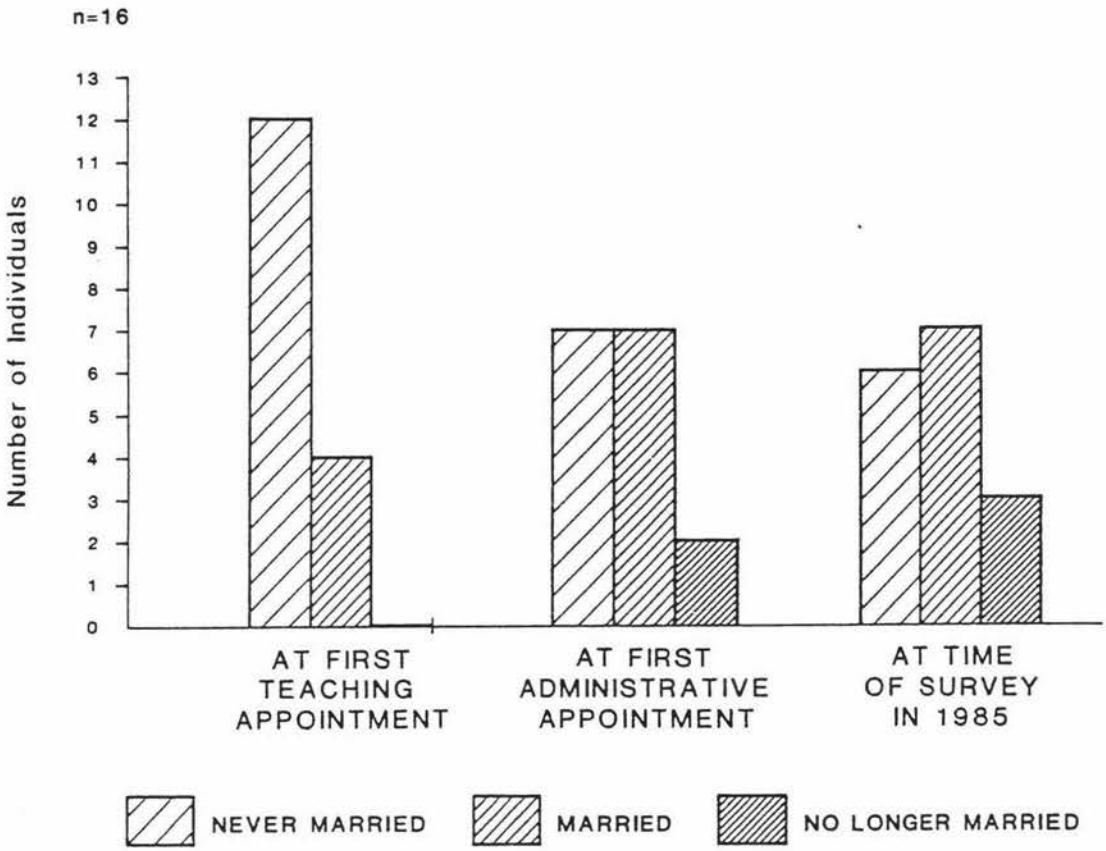



Figure 4.3 Marital Status

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

than those in lower status occupations whereas for men the reverse was true. Margaret Wilson (1986, 25-26) found that 19.6 percent of women academics lived alone compared with four percent of men. Similarly, 35.2 percent of male academics relied on wives to care for their children, whereas no female academic had ever had a partner who took a childcaring role.

### 4.2.2 Parenting

Perhaps the most significant fact, however, is that only two women have pre-teen children - both children are eleven years old and the same women also have adult families, although when Ann Gluckman was appointed to the principalship of Nga Tapuwae College she had school-aged children. Certainly parenting is seen by those with children as the single most important priority that had to be accommodated with a career. All of the women found ways to continue with their careers and raise families at the same time; only one, Helen Watson who was a solo mother, found parenting a constraint to promotion. Ruth Mansell and Ann Gluckman chose not to begin their careers in teaching until their children had started school; from that point of view they never had a childrearing break from teaching. It is significant that both Ruth and Ann entered the teaching profession later but both attained their positions with only eleven years of full-time teaching.

The concept of the 'dual-career syndrome' has become somewhat inadequate, and the term 'multi-committed woman' is a more suitable description of many successful career women. Some women have the role of mother, wife and career woman and, as noted later, thirteen of the sixteen women have also combined further studies with their careers. In fact, all the married women have completed further degrees, diplomas or degree units/papers since they started teaching and since marrying. It must also be noted that although the single women have not had parenting responsibilities a number have

an active and continuing commitment to parents and this can be a demanding role.

The ways of coping with the parenting role vary at different stages. As Noeline Alcorn says, *When the girls were little I certainly went home much earlier and worked later at night* and felt, as several of the women did that she had *more emotional responsibility* for the children. She adds, *Certainly there were lots of times when you say, 'Wouldn't it be nice if I didn't have to do this' and on the other hand you've chosen to do it, and also it is very enriching and a very humbling experience which is probably good for you.* Commenting on combining her PhD and going home to a one-year old she is typical of these women in that she saw it as creative. *I found that quite useful; it was a change of pace.* Ann Gluckman points out that *teaching is a wonderful profession for women who want a career because of the holidays... I was always home when I should have been with the children.* Like most of the other women in the sample she always had someone to turn to for help when the children were sick. Some women, like Ann, paid for house or child minding help, or had husbands whose jobs are flexible; others have supportive mothers or mothers-in-law.

Ruth Mansell remembers coming home from school promptly, bringing work home or working Saturdays and taking the children back to school with her. There is a clear pattern which emerges with several women, involving their children in their jobs. Ruth says, *I involved them a lot in my work. I got them to choose library books for me... I let*

*them know I needed their help.*

Margaret Leaming and Irene Ogden, both in the primary service, took their children to school with them. Margaret and her husband taught in country schools. She remembers taking more of the responsibility while the children were small - *I sort of enjoyed the children but you're always thinking about them to see they're safe when they're little.* She comments wryly that if women who worked in education did not try to combine teaching with childrearing *we'd probably look about fifteen years younger!* It is interesting that Margaret began to study and seek promotion only after her husband's career was established yet, as other women have also noted in their own careers, it was her husband who encouraged her to study and who supported her. *He said, 'You know you really should do some study... now I've got some papers, and you're going to enrol and I'm going to help you.*

Irene Ogden started teaching in Tokoroa when her child was only three months old. She remembers three headmasters came to her house the first weekend she was in New Zealand as they did not even have adults in front of their classes, let alone trained teachers. *My son learned to walk and talk at school.*

In one school the teachers with pre-schoolers employed a minder and were allowed to use a vacant prefab to care for the staff children. It is a sad commentary that, even when pressed to return to the teaching service, women have generally had to provide the resources for childcare

themselves despite the magnitude of their professional contribution.

Maureen Wilson has her mother-in-law available to help in an emergency but comments half seriously with tongue-in-cheek, *They are not allowed to be sick* - a feeling many working mothers share.

Helen Watson worked out of economic necessity, raising her son on her own. *Initially when I was working with a small child all I could cope with was going to school and then looking after him.* Her son and his education were her first priority and determined her choice of schools to teach in. *Definitely my parenting responsibilities curtailed my ability to undertake extra-curricular activities, to do things professionally, to consider jobs that were more important. At one point I worked myself into a state of exhaustion when I was Head of Department and trying to maintain a relationship... but was trying to become involved in PPTA and I had responsibilities for home. I got to the point of overload.* She chose to give up her HOD position and the relationship, and to leave promotion and going on refresher courses until her son was older.

Currently, those with partners to share the responsibility of the children do not feel the need to go home at a certain time each day to be with the children. As in McIntosh's (1974) research on women with aspiration these women do not on the whole feel that their job affects their home life and responsibilities. In fact, as in her research, all the women in this survey see their home life

differently from the average woman. This is seen in the way they have involved their children in their work, in taking their children to work or in gaining their partners' support in child nurturing.

The partners of all the women are, at the very least, happy for them to enjoy their careers, although one woman admits that her husband is sometimes resentful of the time and energy she devotes to her job. Three women state quite explicitly that their partners are non-competitive men who are not threatened by their wives earning more and holding higher positions.

Perhaps future research can try to determine to what extent the partners of successful women are supportive because they are self-confident and not threatened, and to what extent these women have learnt to work with and negotiate with their partners in redefining the stereotypical female role in the house.

Ten of the sixteen women perceived no family constraints on their applications for promotion. Charmaine Pountney and Edna Tait have elderly parents that to some extent restrict their mobility, especially to go overseas. Maureen Wilson, Bettina Brown and Ann Gluckman do not feel constrained but recognize that they are fortunate in having jobs in Auckland. Again, Helen Watson was constrained by arrangements for her son until he went to secondary school.

### 4.2.3 Work in the Home

After parenting, what TEACAPS (Department of Education,

1982) calls the 'allocation of domestic tasks' is probably the next most discussed aspect of women's constraints in their domestic role. Each woman has dealt with this problem in her own way, although a pattern of attitude to domestic tasks does emerge from all the case studies. Again there is the overwhelming impression that these women are in control of their homes; housework has its place but is in balance with the other aspects of their lives outside the home (Figure 4.4). None of the sixteen spoke of dissatisfaction with the allocation of tasks. Many have adapted to different situations at different times of their lives.

Helen Watson, for example, has lived at different times with her parents, her sister, shared a house with other women and then eventually bought her own home where she took full responsibility for cooking and housework - for a number of years with boarders. Several have moved in and out of flatting situations. Ironically, the assumption that married women have more homework is not always valid. As Margaret Leaming points out, until her husband died the chores were shared; now, she says, *the workload is doubled.* She now has to check the cars, banking and house repairs which her husband normally organized. Whereas before they shared the outside work she now gets the son of a neighbour to mow the lawns or her father helps her. Joan Scanlan and Puna Taua also do all the work themselves and employ someone to cut the lawns. As Joan Scanlan says of work around the house, *Sometimes I wish I didn't have to,* but like some of the others she copes by having her own strategies such as

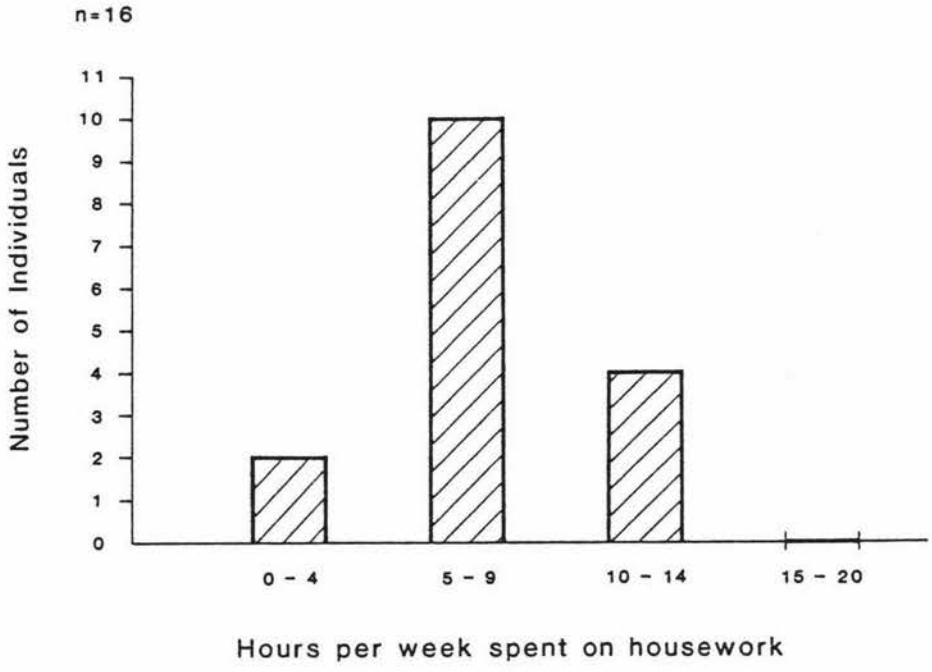



Figure 4.4 Hours Per Week Spent on Housework

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

easily cared for plants in the garden. Wallis Walker sums up the basic approach of many of the women very well. *What I did suited me: what I didn't do didn't bother me.*

Irene Ogden uses as many labour-saving devices as possible. She will not have help in the house, *as I have to clean up first.* Like other couples they tend to share the work on an inside/outside basis, particularly as her husband has a practical job and is a practical man. Currently, her husband lives in Tokoroa so the housework is a quick tidy up before he comes home for the weekend.

Ann Gluckman and Bettina Brown choose to do most of the

work in the house. It is their choice and one they do not complain about. Ann says that she has *strong feelings that women shouldn't abrogate all women's things.* She knows perfectly well she can afford help if necessary but enjoys the role of the woman in Jewish society as the homemaker. She was terribly unhappy when confined to the house without a job. Now that she has a principalship she accepts that it is *a strong Jewish characteristic that a woman's place is probably in the home and if one chooses to work outside the home then one must still manage the household, and this is what I've done.* She had a woman in to do some cleaning until six years ago but now manages on her own. It is interesting that like the others she says, *I'm not a fussy housewife.*

Edna Tait and her husband share the housework, although she admits, *It tends to be, though, that I'm more conscious of things that need to be done around the house than he is,* and as Ruth Mansell says, although she and her husband also share equally, *I still feel that I'm the one that makes sure that it all gets done.* Ruth's children also shared with jobs when they were at home and both Edna and Ruth feel fortunate that their husbands are supportive and see their wives' careers as equally important as theirs. Women who choose a different lifestyle are often alone in society and it is confirming and encouraging to find another woman who has chosen a distinctive pattern. This emerged from several interviews where, in the course of the conversational nature of this research investigation, the women enjoyed exploring

this topic with me.

Noeline Alcorn admits that the cars and garden tend to be neglected - *we both have guilty feelings we should do a bit more on it but we don't.* Over twenty-three years she and her husband shared work in different patterns. Currently she does the cooking and her husband cleans up, she shops for the children while he *does a lot of ferrying around.*

Gae Griffiths copes by being efficient and working fast; like Joan Scanlan she has worked for minimum maintenance in the garden. *I would like to think that at any time, any hour of the day, any day of the week, that anybody could walk into the house and I wouldn't think 'I wish I'd put that away'. It lets you cope.*

Flatmates Karen Sewell and Frances Salt have a strong support group. Currently, with only the two of them, they do not have a formal division of labour *but it's worked out quite well.* When anything needs to be done, the one who is there or the one who has time, does it. Karen enjoys cooking as she finds it relaxing, and usually does the gardening. Frances shares the housework and does the ironing.

Charmaine Pountney lived at home until five years ago and helped her mother nurse her incontinent grandmother. *Since I've had my own place it's really been a question of finding enough time to give support and care to my mother, and do my job, and look after my house, and care for myself as well and I've found that very fragmenting at times.*

The one factor that is true of all the women is that none of them has a 'wife'. They share, they cope on their own, they employ someone to help, but none has a partner in the role of a 'wife' as many men in management positions would have. As Irene Ogden puts it, *I hate housework. I do it because I can't bear it when it's not done... I'd like not to have to worry about it.*

Several women enjoy creative aspects of housework like gardening, cooking, building new houses and restoring furniture. There is an inherent conflict that Helen Watson expresses eloquently. *The big conflict is that because my mother was very devoted to the home and was very good at cooking, making jam, preserving... you name it, she did it... therefore, that was my model of a wife and mother... so that when I entered into those roles that was what I also tried to do... but that creates a big conflict because you can't realize that high level of domestic achievement when you're working all the time.*

She loves cooking and knitting and gets a satisfaction out of the traditional creative caring for a house; she feels it is a pity women have lost some of the satisfaction gained from creative activities. *I do have a strong conflict over what I see as the woman's role in the home but wanting to be a career woman as well.* Joan Scanlan echoes the same conflict - one either hinted at or explicitly identified by all the women; Joan's example - *I have a grubby car at the moment... that can sometimes be a bit stressful - making sure everything's done.*

### 4.2.4 Mobility

TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 100) suggests women in that survey 'generally moved to follow their partners' careers, not to pursue their own by applying for and gaining promotion.'

Of the nine women for whom the question of relocation for a partner is relevant, three have partners who relocated for them. Irene Ogden, Edna Tait and Maureen Wilson's partners all relocated for their jobs at one stage or another. In three instances the question of relocation has not arisen. Both Frances Salt and Noeline Alcorn were constrained by their partners' decisions to relocate to study overseas, but it was very early in their careers and no longer applies. Margaret Leaming says she relocated for her husband but has no doubt that he would have relocated for her. She always got into a job and really enjoyed it without thinking of promotion. However, *I wonder now if it's because I still looked to my husband to be doing what he wanted to do, because in the last three months I've been thinking about what I'm going to do with my life, if I want to change direction, trying to make some longer term plans.* She admits her husband was the one who prodded her into seeking promotion. Edna Tait says of her husband, *He's moved in every case, and moved happily... and he's been able to get work.*

Once again, although it is the traditional pattern for women to relocate for their partners, these women are developing new patterns. There is no one pattern common to

them all but each woman in her own way is consciously moving towards new ways of perceiving her life's plan.

### 4.2.5 Commitment

The commitment of respondents to their careers is remarkable. Statistically it shows up most clearly in their length of service and absences from the teaching service. In Table 4.1 it can be seen that, compared with the women surveyed by TEACAPS, they had a much higher percentage of unbroken service and none had more than five years out of teaching. Even when overseas they taught, and although three of them listed a secondment to the Department, an appointment to the inspectorate, and full-time work for the PPTA as President as 'absence from teaching', these years have not been included as absences. In terms of their careers they were still continuing in the profession, not having resigned from the education service.

It is interesting that once they had started their teaching careers none of the women with children took any time out from teaching to raise their children. Noeline Alcorn took six weeks and a couple of months leave over the Christmas period to have her children. Margaret Leaming has been teaching all the time, as has Maureen Wilson. Helen Watson took only four terms off to have her baby and then returned to work out of economic necessity. Ruth Mansell and Ann Gluckman both began their careers in teaching after their children had been born. Ann's youngest child was two when she went back to university, and Ruth's children were

Table 4.1

Women in Teaching
Length of Absence from the Teaching Service
Percentage Distribution

| | TEACAPS Survey | | Thesis Survey |
|---|---|---|---|
| Period | Primary | Secondary | Total |
| Unbroken service | 40.9 | 43.3 | 56.25 |
| Under 2 years | 19.1 | 21.4 | 6.25 |
| 2-5 years | 11.3 | 12.7 | 37.50 |
| 6-10 years | 18.1 | 13.4 | - |
| Over 10 years | 10.5 | 9.2 | - |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.00 |

Sources: Department of Education (1982);
Thesis Survey, 1985

all at primary school. For Ann Gluckman, return to study *filled a real vacuum in my life,* and from completing a BSc and then an MSc she went straight into teaching and found she loved it.

The reasons for absences from teaching for eight of the sixteen women who have had brief absences are also in different proportions from those in the TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 50) survey where the major reasons for women's absences were family dominated. Women were absent from teaching mostly to study and travel rather than to accompany a partner or to spend time in childrearing (Figure 4.5).

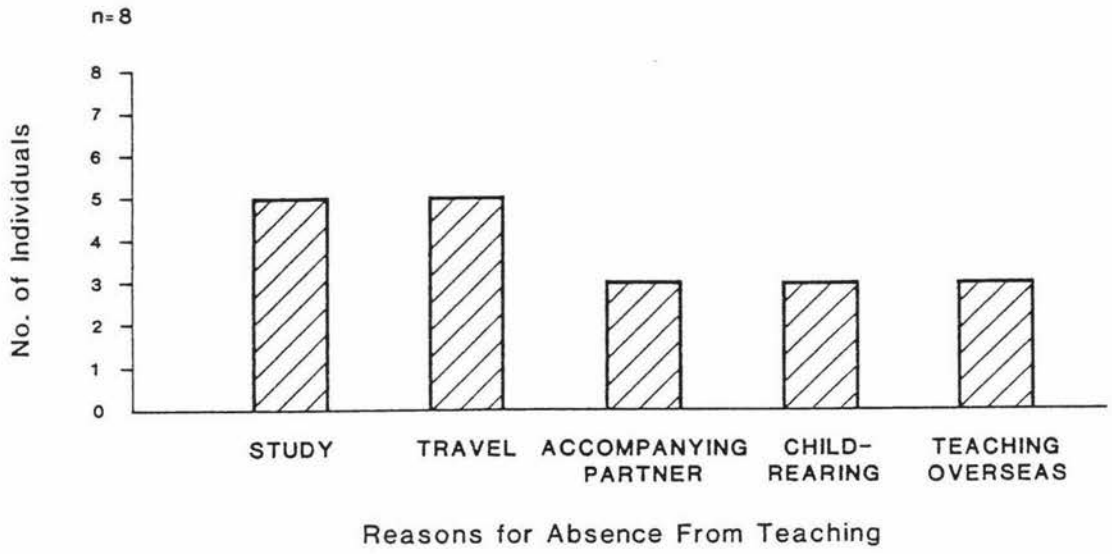



Figure 4.5 Reasons for Absence from Teaching

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

Even when they travelled they often combined travel and teaching or travel and study. Noeline Alcorn completed her PhD when accompanying her husband abroad for his further education. The study overseas included three prestigious fellowships or scholarships. Gae Griffiths was awarded a New Zealand Fellowship in Education and Charmaine Pountney a Nuffield Scholarship. Joan Scanlan went to Singapore for three years to teach in the New Zealand school and was granted a year's official teacher exchange to England. This is a remarkably gifted group of women who are completely committed to their careers.

In her article, 'Personal commitment: a prerequisite

for women aspiring to educational administration', Moore (1981, 40-41) shows how competent women are being lost to education as, in frustration at the barriers to promotion, they move to the business world. She suggests women administrators face three challenges: to work for non-sexist education, 'to be more assertive in their participation in the profession', and to 'clarify the personal commitments to education of each woman educator'. She concludes, 'The decision of what degree of commitment to make and what price to pay for advancement will have to be personal, but it should become more reasonable as women become more accepted in educational administration (Moore, 1981, 42). The women in this research have made the decision to give their complete commitment to their professions and this must have contributed to their success. The question of 'cost', the price they paid, will be discussed subsequently.

### 4.2.6 Further Study

TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 23, 52-53) shows that over half of all primary women had no tertiary qualifications on entry into teaching and about half of secondary women had a bachelors degree or a masters degree. At the same time nearly 80 percent of primary and 60 percent of secondary women teachers gained no further qualifications after entry. The data from this survey have not been tabulated in the same form as TEACAPS but the statistics show a dramatic contrast to those of TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982).

Among the women in this research, only one had no tertiary qualification on entry into teaching; at the time of the survey, these women had increased their qualifications considerably (Figure 4.6). Six women had each gained two further qualifications; a total of nine had gained further university units or credits; eleven had gained diplomas of teaching, education or educational administration, three more masters degrees, four more bachelors degrees and a doctorate.

These two figures are illustrative of the zeal of these women in pursuing their professional development and the implied cost in terms of financial and personal sacrifice must have been very substantial indeed. Both married and unmarried women, primary and secondary teachers, have completed degrees while maintaining demanding careers and in many cases also caring for families.

I had not anticipated such dramatic generalizability from the sixteen different case studies. It reveals commitment and persistence, and implies self discipline and control over their lifestyle to combine success in career with study and, as has already been seen, success in coping with domestic tasks and a wide range of family responsibilities.

Percentages become misleading when the sample is so small, but one example comparing TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) with the survey group illustrates this point: 50 percent of the primary teachers gained diplomas compared with 8.5 percent in TEACAPS; 50 percent achieved bachelors degrees compared with 2.2 percent in TEACAPS; and

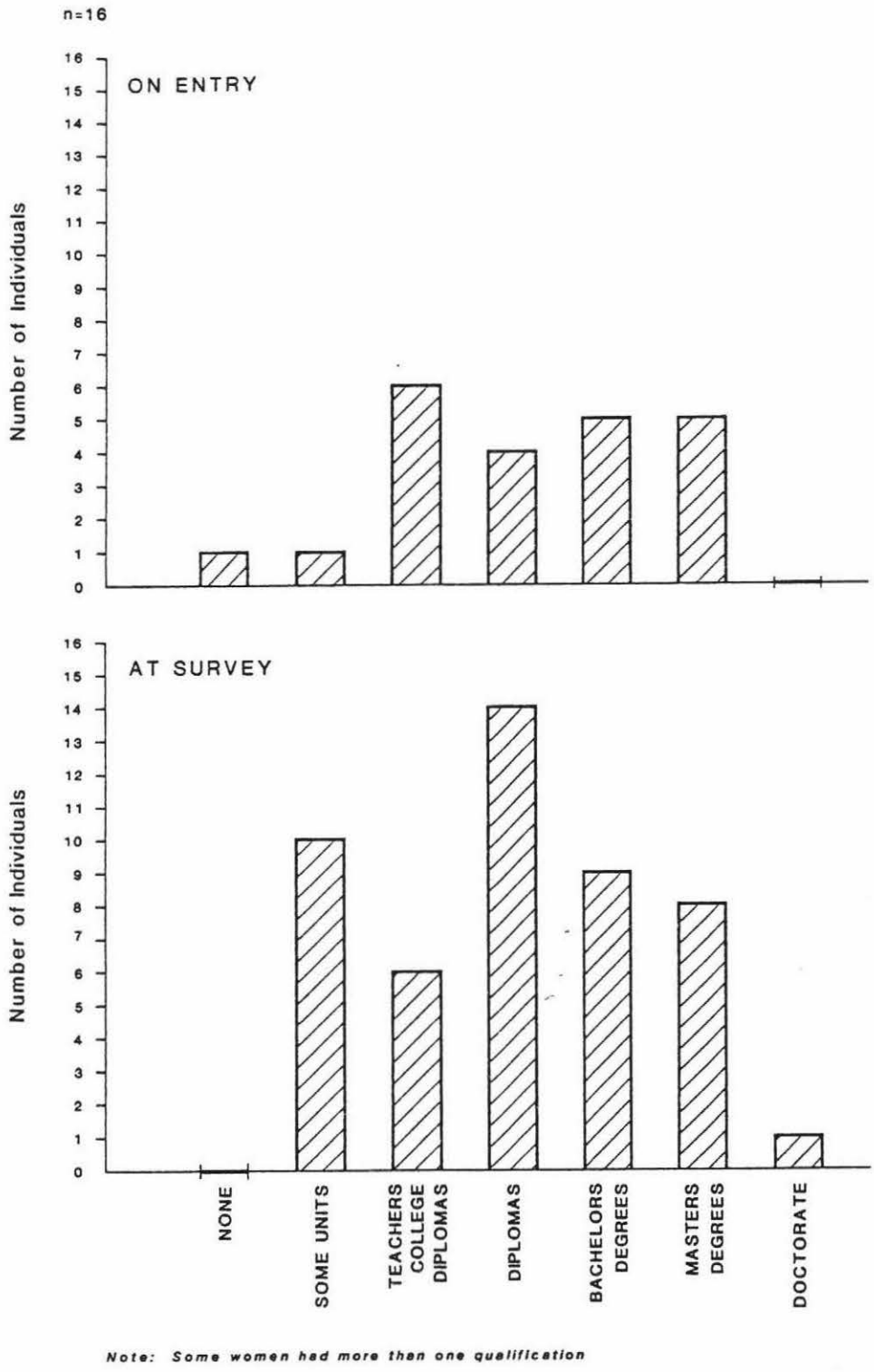



Figure 4.6 Qualifications on Entry into Teaching and at Time of Survey

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

16.7 percent obtained a masters degree compared with 0.2 percent in TEACAPS. This confirms the hypothesis put forward by McIntosh (1974) that career oriented women continue their own educational development.

### 4.2.7 Community Involvement

Another of the hypotheses tested by McIntosh (1974) was that women who have career aspirations will not regard their jobs as a nine to four commitment but will be involved in professional activities and leadership roles outside the home. She emphasizes that, particularly for married women, this implies that in placing so much value on activities outside the home she is breaking the stereotypical wife and mother role. This pattern is certainly confirmed in the sample (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).

Fourteen of the sixteen women had been involved as leaders in political, community or church organizations within the past five years. Some of the women were involved in more than one organization. Overall they have been involved in organizations as diverse as political parties, university council, the New Zealand Debating Union, local planning action groups, marae and the SPCA. Involvement in major professional organizations is depicted in Figure 4.8; this diagram does not record participation of several women in other groups such as the Primary Principals' Association, Feminist Teachers or the Wellington Institute of Educational Research. Such extensive involvement, coupled with the prestigious positions they have occupied in organizations

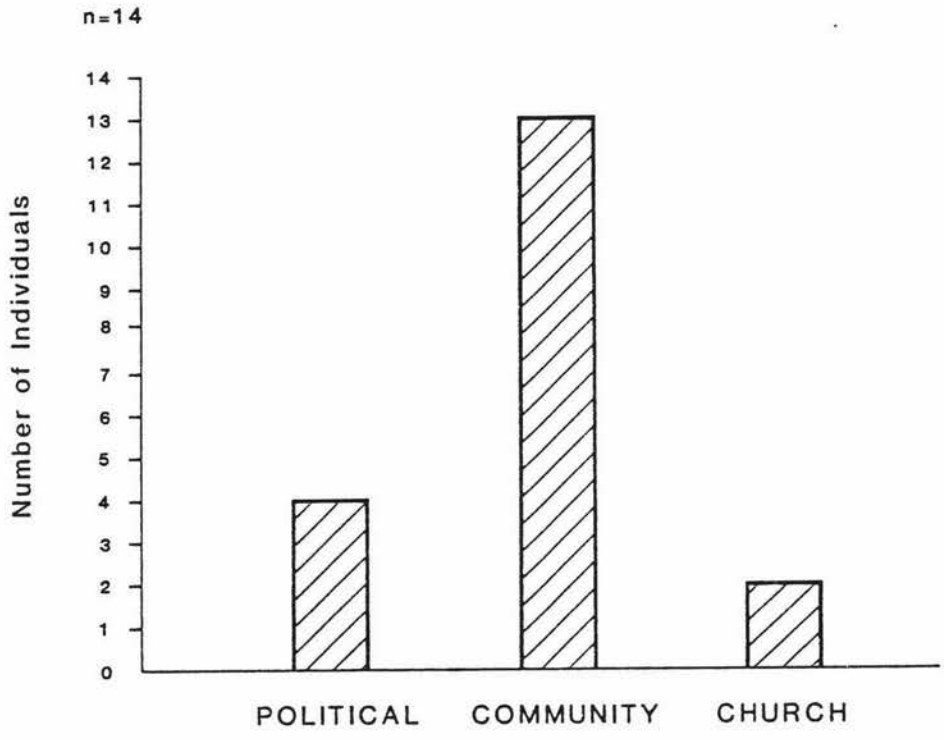



Figure 4.7 Women Holding Office in Church and Community Organizations in the Past Five Years

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

that have traditionally been dominated by men, is again remarkable.

The Auckland region has had a long history of women's involvement in professional associations, the PPTA in particular. Charmaine Pountney was regional chairperson and on the national executive as well as Helen Watson being

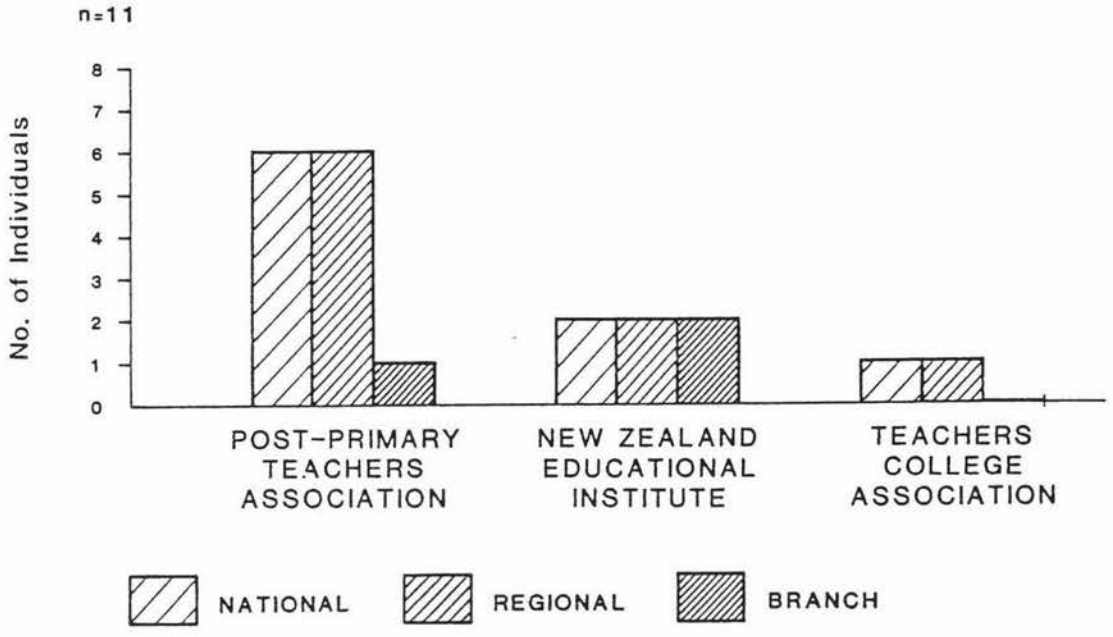



Figure 4.8 Women Active in Professional Organizations

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

women's officer; Edna Tait was the first person to be national president for two years.

In NZEI, Ruth Mansell is a permanent employee as curriculum officer on the permanent staff and Wallis Walker has served on both regional and national executives. Puna Taua was on the regional executive until her appointment to the inspectorate. Others have served on curriculum panels and at branch and regional levels of NZEI, PPTA and TCA.

### 4.2.8 Summary

In the research on women managers, Marshall (1984)

concludes that they are successful in maintaining a balanced lifestyle by using five tactics. The first, relaxing standards, has been mentioned several times by women in this research. It is the 'what I can do I do, what I can't do doesn't worry me' philosophy, mentioned by one of the women. Buying-in services is common, whether it is a neighbour's son to mow the lawns or someone to do the housework. Maintaining a boundary between work and home life is not seen in this research; nearly all the women take work home and many have in some way involved their families in their institutions. It is apparent, however, that as with Marshall's managers, the sixteen women have to have a selective social life when they are so busy. The tendency she sees in her research for people to mix with their families or with other women with the same life style, comes through quite clearly. This is particularly clear with this group of women, both married and single, primary and secondary, because they form an interwoven friendship group. They have also learnt to phase their lives. For example, as Noeline Alcorn points out, they spent fewer hours at school and took work home when the children were small. So the pattern of their life style has adapted to the different stages in their lives.

When the involvement in the community, church, professional organizations and professional development at such a high level - often with national recognition - is all put together the sum is overwhelming. It is difficult to describe in objective academic terms; it means that these

women who have succeeded, have succeeded because they are in control of their lives to such an extent that they can be outstanding, not only in their careers, but in their communities and their professional organizations as well. At the same time they have a balanced home life where nothing, and more importantly, nobody is neglected because they have learnt to delegate, to share, to place priorities on the significant and ignore the trivial. They show that it takes exceptional persistence, self discipline and outstanding character to succeed.

## 4.3 CONSCIOUS DECISION-MAKING: COUNTING THE COST

Every woman in this research considered that whatever the cost, their lives as career women had been worthwhile. Each woman had made quite conscious decisions and choices at different points in her life and lived with the consequences of these decisions. An overwhelming sense of energy and enthusiasm came through every interview. At the same time, it was noticeable, after so much research revealing the frustration of women in education, that these women were highly satisfied with their lives.

The Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Report, cited in Hoeflin and Bolsen (1985, 34), quotes Friedan (1981, 57): 'After nearly twenty years of the women's movement, it becomes clear that most women are saddled with the work they used to do in the family in

addition to their hard new 'male' jobs, at a price of fatigue and stress only superwomen can endure.' It goes on to point out that at a 1983 conference on working women, a panel of five successful women, regarded as 'superwomen', who combined mothering, wifing and career agreed that it was not easy but none wanted to change her life. They also agreed that for a married woman to be successful she needed to set priorities, organize her life and marry a supportive man (Powers, 1983). All these points apply to the married women in this research as demonstrated in section 4.2.

All of the women in this study, single and married, expressed the same view - that their lives are not easy but are very worthwhile, and any reservations expressed were minor to their overall enjoyment of their lives. However, they were aware that there had been costs. Several of the single and childless women had chosen education rather than marriage or raising a family. Although there was no sense of regret they were aware that this was a choice that had cut them off from those experiences. Some regretted not spending more time with their families, parents, brothers and sisters as well as the wider circle of relatives.

On the whole married women, all of whom worked while their children were small, wondered if their jobs had affected their children in any way. As with the domestic chores conflict there is always a niggling doubt about how the children - the children of career pioneers - would turn out. It is a topic that the women in this group often discuss with each other.

### 4.3.1 Children

Irene Ogden says she would like to have known, when she was raising her own children, what she as an educator knows now about childrearing. She regrets *the things I could have done...* and often thinks, *I should have done that.* As she says, *the role [of mother] is for a very limited time.* In relation to her husband she recalls that earlier in their marriage *he was on shift and I went out as he came home.* Yet she has an acute awareness of the fact that she worked because of the job, because she wanted to, which she feels gives more freedom whereas men have a traditional bread-winner role. *They work because they have to, and have to watch their 'Ps' and 'Qs'.*

Margaret Leaming worked in country schools where the children were at school with her or the Maori women in the community babysat for her. She comments perceptively that when people ask career women, *How can you do everything?* they are really stating, *'You can't be teaching properly'.*

Some women worked through this problem as we talked. For example, one began by musing, *I've often wondered if my son had all the mothering he should have had,* then commented on the freedom from over-mothering her children had had, making the point that she had always had *a marvellous relationship* with her children. Finally she concluded, *I don't think the kids were in any way disadvantaged because I was teaching,* and says her experience as a working mother helps her as a principal to understand both parents and

children better.

Most career women would recognize the pattern of this 'internal debate'. Ruth Mansell admits, *My first reaction is to say I don't think there's been a cost, because I think it's all been gain, but I must think carefully as to whether I'm rationalizing. I don't think so. Perhaps not as much attention to my family... You end up being self-centred, but then I rationalize it might be quite good for them not to have too much attention.* Her children had to be strong themselves.

Noeline Alcorn says, *With the children its a sort of swings and roundabouts thing. We feel close to them.* She says her daughter had a bought cake for her birthday but she accepts that fact and says, *We would hate it if you didn't work.* She also agrees there are costs. *Less time perhaps to spend with your partner than you'd like.* Yet again she sees that their marriage has nevertheless been very successful. *We certainly believe we've got a very good relationship. We would probably regard each other as our best friends.*

Although two women are divorced this happened early in their careers while they were still young women, and I have no sense of their careers in any way affecting their marriages. Something that is hard to measure yet comes through from my conversations with these women at other times as well as in the research interviews, is the continual testing of the career wife by other women and by men because they have chosen a different life style from the

norm. Their success in feeling confident and in not feeling guilt must in large part be because their husbands have chosen to be very supportive. Maureen Wilson says, *If I did not have the husband I have I probably would not have survived because he got up to the kids at night for instance.* She notes wryly that her *kids would probably like a full-time mum - they have to help in the house.*

Bettina Brown admits that for a short while her husband *found it hard to come to terms with the fact that I was a career person; he wasn't,* but now he is delighted when she gets promotion, especially when she became a principal. Ruth Mansell, Ann Gluckman, Irene Ogden, Edna Tait and Margaret Leaming all speak warmly of their husbands' help and encouragement. For Margaret Leaming especially, it comes through as the most important factor in her career. They all perceive their husbands as exceptionally supportive, and secure enough as men to be happy with women who are also strong.

### 4.3.2 Fatigue

Maureen Wilson notes that this is the major cost for her. *When the children were very small the cost was fatigue;* in fact there is still a lot of fatigue. *There's only time for two things: your family and your job and it's really only this year that I've suddenly said that I should have a bit of fun - that I should do something for myself -* instead of meetings, and rushing and scrambling around.

Noeline Alcorn makes the same point: *the cost tends to*

*be tiredness and that's less of a problem than it used to be.* Helen Watson points out that she does not see as much of her friends as she would like to do, *because to do a full-time job and look after the home and children - it is exhausting and you sometimes think 'Is this all my life is going to be?* For Helen Watson it has been *an enormous cost - but it isn't really a choice - a conscious choice; I wouldn't have been happy without a career.*

Margaret Leaming is also aware of the cost in health and looks at the women who have stayed at home and lived sheltered lives. Their *faces are virtually unlined.*

Ann Gluckman says there is *definitely a cost. One is being under continual work-related stress.* This is particularly the case in her school which, as a predominantly Polynesian school in South Auckland, is at the heart of the conflicts that are worrying the whole of New Zealand society - *Maori-pakeha relationships, ghettos.*

Frances Salt sees no cost as *I love doing what I'm doing,* but admits, *It's a very demanding job. It always has been at school. I give everything that I've got to the job. Sometimes you wish you did actually work from nine to four as you imagine most of New Zealand does but then, of course, perhaps they don't.*

Edna Tait admits there is probably the *long-term cost on my health - its not good to be cooped up in a room all day.*

**4.3.3 Choosing to be Single**

Karen Sewell says that there has to be a cost in life

to some extent whatever one does. *I was going to get married but it didn't work out. I didn't exactly decide to follow a career as an alternative to getting married and having a family but I suppose that's part of the cost in following a career in the way I have. I haven't pursued it - it happened.*

For Frances Salt, having no husband or children has meant *I haven't had to sacrifice anything.* As Charmaine Pountney says, *For me as a single woman without dependents now it has been more advantage than cost. In every way I have a rich and fulfilling and full working life... I have an enormous salary and overseas travel.* Gae Griffiths made a conscious decision in 1968 in the August holidays while sitting at a table in her parents home. She was twenty-nine at the time: *It looks to me, Gae, as if you're going to stay in a career because if you marry, the chances of your having a family would be limited by your own decision - I would have to stop at about thirty - so you'd better sit down and work out what you're going to do.*

Wallis Walker says that, *To gain the level I have in the time I have, I wouldn't have been able to do that with a family so I've probably sacrificed having a family - Yes, I'm happy with it. I'm the sort of person who says, 'Well, I made this decision and if you don't like living with it change it'.* Another principal reflects, *I suppose one feels... I have no children. It might have been lovely to have your own children.*

Having read the research on the 'Queen Bee syndrome', a

term used to describe the women who have made it to the top without affirmative action and support groups - women who have often sacrificed marriage and family to attain success (Josefowitz, 1980, 98), I listened to the single women for the 'I did not have it easy - why should she?' sentiment about the married women who are trying to be wives and mothers and professionals. I found absolutely no hint of this attitude. In fact, of course, the women in this research form a network, a supportive group, regardless of whether they are married or single. Karen Sewell, Gae Griffiths and Charmaine Pountney have mentored many married colleagues. Ruth Mansell has, as a primary teacher, mentored both primary and secondary colleagues. Pat Corston, a single woman, actively supported Bettina Brown, a married colleague and this pattern is repeated again and again. Some of the relationships are formed through Feminist Teachers, subject committees, PPTA, NZEI, or working in the same school. It appears that in education in New Zealand when women recognize commitment or energy in other women, then they give sponsorship regardless of age or marital status.

#### 4.3.4 'Time Out'

Perhaps the greatest cost that affects all women alike is lack of 'personal time' - 'time out' - time they can call their own.

Gae Griffiths said she wanted to live the life she has: *I put a lot of my energy and a lot of myself into the last*

*number of years... maximum commitment, maximum effort, maximum time and maximum enthusiasm and there aren't too many hours in the day for extra things to happen. It's so easy for this job to be all-consuming... I don't want to be consumed and think there's got to be a chance for me to become a little bit more of me rather than me that is the Epsom me, but I haven't got too much time for going to theatre, going to hear music, playing sport and those kinds of things.*

Charmaine Pountney expresses the same idea. *The cost has been in terms of developing myself as a person a little bit faster - a little bit impoverished on the emotional side... not paying proper attention to myself earlier because of putting so much time and energy into the job. It has certainly been a much bigger investment of time and energy than even a lot of men put in.* She admits she has not ever had time to stay at home and read books for a whole week, has seldom gone on holidays and has no hobbies.

Both Charmaine Pountney and Helen Watson are avid readers and the same frustration at lack of time to read comes through from Helen. *I get very very frustrated if I can't get time to myself to read or to go and do things like see films. My sister is exactly the same* (involved in feminist activities) *and we would say, 'other people don't live like this, what is there about us that we've got ourselves into this situation where we're working virtually night and day while other people are having barbecues and seeing friends and things like that?'*

Noeline Alcorn admits that *most of us look around and*

*say, 'Well, you know if I didn't have to do all this we could travel, we could do various things which there isn't time for.'* Ruth Mansell notes the fact that she is *very good at relaxing. I look after myself,* and this is very important to her survival. Edna Tait looks right back to her childhood and recalls the hours of studying *when you could be listening to records; I can't remember ever - going back to pre-school - when there was a whole day that was mine to do absolutely nothing in. There's never been a time like that,* but she has no regrets.

### 4.3.5 Financial Cost

The cost of pursuing a career in terms of money was not a topic I expected to be raised at all. I knew I had spent thousands of dollars going to conferences and doing extra degrees over the years but I had never seen it in terms of a 'cost'. Yet, of course, if women are to be 'visible', 'committed', then they must be on committees, attend conferences, and study for further degrees. Very few in education have benefitted from funded travel, study or conference attendance.

Edna Tait points out the expense of continuing university study. Margaret Leaming points out that the fees for university study, the books and the travel to and from university, all cost a great deal of money. She also realizes that cars are continually on the road and depreciate quickly, and costs are not completely recovered through travel claims. It is also true, as she suggests, that

successful women in senior positions tend to have a wardrobe of clothes that would not be needed by a woman staying at home.

Wallis Walker makes another interesting point. As she says, with her skills (and this would be true of all the women), if she had chosen another field to work in she would be *driving a Jag* or taking trips overseas. This, of course, is very true as these women were the top students in the top streams and because of their female stereotyping they entered teaching whereas their male counterparts commonly entered more lucrative professions.

### 4.3.6 Limited Career Choice

As shown above the women in this group were exceptional at school - the top of the top streams, one topping the scholarship examinations for New Zealand. At the time they entered the workforce the brightest women tended to enter teaching. Few women in the 1950s and 1960s entered the vocational faculties at university or the private sector for employment.

Now, when they have achieved status in educational administration a few are regretting their lack of opportunity to use their skills in less 'feminine' and more 'masculine' careers. As Wallis Walker has indicated, her skills would have enabled her to hold down a lucrative job in the private sector. Ruth Mansell says there is *a cost in just being in education, because you are in an expected role, you haven't really moved out of a traditional female*

*role and I sometimes wish I had done something different like law. It was possible to combine children and teaching. I'd like to have done something else.*

### 4.3.7 Friendships and Family

Puna Taua has completed both a bachelors and masters degrees since she began teaching. She feels that for her the greatest cost has been in terms of time spent with her family. *I am a very close family-oriented person... Over the time I was doing my degrees, particularly now that I look back to it - my mother died the year before I completed my bachelors degree, when she probably needed me more than before... I saw less of her.* She sees it as a grave cost in that *I enjoyed my mother, but I saw less of her than I had seen in my whole life... An extreme cost as she died suddenly.*

Puna also points out, as noted by nearly every woman in this sample, that there is a cost in friendships. As said, there is just not enough time to spend with friends. Friends just have to understand. The married women found family and job all-consuming and some noted that they did not have close friends. However, as Ann Gluckman says, it could not really be blamed on her career as she always finds time to do what she really wants to do.

There is also the problem that being seen by men as strong, assertive, a leader with a good income, means that a woman is less acceptable to men on a personal level. Many men in the age group of most of these women (40-49) still

expect to dominate and have attention focused on them and one woman says, *that has been the major problem in my life... being able to have relationships with men* who are able to *accept you as a strong and forceful person.*

### 4.3.8 Was It Worth It?

The answer is, as I suggested earlier, almost always, 'yes'.

*Yes, I'm happy with it.*

*It's certainly been worth it.*

*It has been worth it.*

*I'm still young enough to do other things.*

*It has been more advantage than cost.*

*Well, I certainly think it's worth it*

*I don't regret.*

Edna Tait says, *I think I've gained. I've gained so much from the sort of life experiences because of the effort I've put into it. Opportunities to meet people, to travel, a privilege given to so few people. The credit side outweighs the cost a hundred to one. When the secretary of a board of governors rings you and says 'Welcome to the school; you've been appointed', that's a high that's very hard to match in any other kind of life I know.* She remembers standing ovations after speeches and finishes: *I'm very lucky, there's no question about that - for a bush kid.*

### 4.3.9 Leisure: Before and After Promotion

I was interested to see, in the process of ascending

the hierarchy, whether the cost in terms of 'time out' became greater or if in fact these women gained more time and flexibility. An interesting pattern emerged.

All the primary principals found that they had more leisure than before. Irene Ogden, Joan Scanlan and Wallis Walker point out that primary teaching means *work all hours of the day and night - making, planning workbooks. Now there is no 9a.m. classroom pressure with four reading groups, four maths groups.* Irene Ogden continues by saying she now has 'glide time' to organize her day and attend meetings. As a senior teacher she had to go to meetings after school and in the evenings. As Joan Scanlan points out, *I've got more time... I don't have to spend long hours at home writing work plans and all the things I used to do.* Although Wallis Walker spends a great deal of time doing school accounts and other school related tasks at home she says, *It's pleasurable.*

Puna Taua says of leisure, *I make it happen - you can always get it done.* The different style of teaching in the primary service, with having to prepare for one class all day every day for a year, means that principalships actually release teachers from this relentless pressure of preparation.

Both Charmaine Pountney and Maureen Wilson also find the change to administration means more leisure time. As Charmaine points out, when she combined HOD English in a new school with teaching five third form classes, PPTA Executive and the National English Syllabus Committee she was far more

pressured than she is now as a principal. Maureen Wilson says that as a slow marker she found she had less time than she has now as a senior administrator without those chores.

Noeline Alcorn says, *In most jobs you do the amount of work - to some extent - you decide you're going to do,* and concludes she always works about the same. Helen Watson observes that her new job brings weekend work but the leisure time is about the same. However, the stimulus created by the change is marvellous. *I can't believe I've escaped.* Ruth Mansell has also moved to a job with more flexibility but as she also works late at night, weekends and has fewer holidays the leisure hours are about the same. Ann Gluckman feels her career *has enriched things for us, not made things worse,* and notes that *we have holidays, help the children and grandchildren.* It is her own choice to spend some of her vacation studying at Massey University.

However, all but one of the secondary principals, the inspector in the secondary inspectorate and the senior inspector in the primary inspectorate, found they have much less leisure time. Again, this is obviously due to the different style of teaching and probably also the size of school. Secondary schools commonly have over a thousand students and sixty or more members of staff, whereas primary schools would be considered large with four hundred students and twenty-five staff.

Karen Sewell admits she has less leisure time - *less for just about everything. I still think it's very important to have some and I keep thinking - next year I may have*

*a little more.* Frances Salt points out: *Every job I have, I have less leisure. I remember we used to go home after school and dig around in the garden and have people for meals during the week... I seem to get busier and busier.*

Margaret Leaming has far less leisure time in her current position. Bettina Brown is in her first year and has *far less leisure at the moment.* She finds it stimulating, however, and doesn't resent the change in life style. Edna Tait remembers as a young PR she had free weekends in the summer and as a senior mistress she only visited a few teams on Saturdays. *Now I am Principal, Saturdays go on watching kids play sport. Sundays go on my school work and Massey units.* She and her sister spend their holidays helping their father; both married late and as neither has children they are especially committed to their father's welfare.

Gae Griffiths is emphatic. *Definitely less. Much, much, much less. I didn't really realize how much less it was going to be and I'm fairly well organized and fairly well able to discipline myself in to doing things.* She concludes with a comment which sums up this section for all of the women. *Mind you, any job would be the same if you're committed and its your preparedness to be committed. While I'm here, I'm utterly prepared to be utterly committed.*

### 4.3.10 Priorities in Decision-Making

The EPDA research (Hoeflin and Bolsen, 1985, 42-43) highlights the need to evaluate the priorities which women use in making the decisions that affect their whole

life-pattern development. They suggest education, work, marriage, family planning. childrearing, religious beliefs and location issues are the main priorities in decision making.

For the purpose of this study two points were taken in the women's lives, the first on completing their initial qualifications and entering teaching, the second on attaining their first position of responsibility. In the EPDA research, marriage, education and work were the categories in which most women made their life decisions. The women in this research found it difficult to keep to these categories and added priorities of their own, notably ethnic priorities, and what I will call the priority of accepting a challenge.

As the EPDA survey takes different points in the women's lives any comparison can be only very general and certainly not rigorous. However, whereas for all the educated women in Hoeflin and Bolsen's research, marriage, education and work dominated, for the sixteen women in this survey, education, work and location dominated. Marriage was not a priority influence in decision-making except for one woman out of the sixteen. There is also a certain unity and continuity of influence in decision-making throughout their careers.

Eight women were on teaching studentships which enabled them to go to university so their first decision was made for them. As Bettina Brown says, *When I came through high school, if you were bright you either went teaching or*

*nursing and that was about it.* The same held for Noeline Alcorn, Gae Griffiths, Charmaine Pountney, Frances Salt, Karen Sewell, Helen Watson and Maureen Wilson. Noeline, like Bettina, says that a studentship was *inevitable* as there wasn't much choice and it was the *only way you could afford to go to university.* Helen Watson had a studentship but her priority was to pay off her bond and to travel. Marriage and a child changed her plans. Frances Salt went back to do her masterate, Ann Gluckman would have gone on to a PhD but discovered she enjoyed teaching. Work and education were also the priorities of Margaret Leaming. Irene Ogden always wanted to teach. Karen Sewell remembers she wanted to work: *I wanted to go out and do something.*

Both Ruth Mansell and Edna Tait were interested in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Edna found that after a year she was *deemed to be a security risk,* perhaps because she had been involved with Helen Sutch and the 'No Maoris, No Tour' protest. She says she was *angry because I was deemed unworthy to represent New Zealand overseas. I had a sneaking suspicion it was because I was working class and still had rough edges. I had no money and my dress reflected it.* In anger she rang the Department of Education and in a few minutes she had a job. Ruth began a career in Foreign Affairs but *marriage and babies interrupted it... my priority was to have an interesting life... an idea of service, satisfying, useful, to contribute something.*

For several primary teachers location was important. Joan Scanlan went to New Plymouth to help her mother with

the family; Wallis Walker wanted to work in an Auckland location where she could continue her involvement in NZEI.

Puna Taua has two priorities that interrelated and which have dominated her career. First, she saw *people who were in my opinion less capable than myself in those positions. That was what made me apply for positions.* Her overwhelming purpose in entering teaching and applying for promotion *is my commitment, my personal commitment, to Maori education, to Maori people, to the philosophy of Maoritanga.*

Puna's acknowledgment that people 'less capable' were holding positions of seniority has been a factor in the decision of other women to apply for promotion. It is obvious, as noted in Chapter Two, that although many women have poor self-esteem, accept the stereotypes and do not have professional aspirations, these women have succeeded because they have recognized that they have as much as, or more, ability than men. As Helen Watson says, *I wanted to get into a position of control over my working life because I was sick and tired of being in departments where I considered the HOD incompetent. I wanted to get in charge of a department myself so that I wouldn't have to put up with these incompetent people.* Maureen Wilson makes a similar point. She applied for promotion because *I thought I was as good as the other people who were applying.* Edna Tait accepted promotion and returned to Mana College at the request of the principal. Ann Gluckman also found the PR *sort of came upon me.*

For some women the main impetus behind their move to

their first promotion was location, but location in order to be involved in a particular style of education. Frances Salt went to Metropolitan College and an alternative type of education. She was about to leave teaching as she was not happy with what she was doing. *I wanted a completely different style. It was really interesting for me that moving into alternative education was the first step in a career.*

This educational commitment is seen in Karen Sewell's decision to leave Onslow College where the HOD position was set up for a man and her application had been regarded as something of a joke and as a nuisance. Realizing Wellington did not offer a wide choice of co-educational schools she moved to Auckland where she *later realized another kind of choice had been made to a particular kind of education* - liberal, without uniforms or corporal punishment - to Green Bay High School.

Location was also important for Joan Scanlan who had to fulfill the country service requirement and went to a district high school. Bettina Brown wanted to get back to Kelston Girls High School. Wallis Walker, heavily involved in the Auckland Branch of the NZEI made a case for country service in a school in Auckland which was recognized as half country service; this enabled her to retain her presidency of the Auckland Branch of NZEI. Margaret Leaming chose her job at Otahuhu College because she was keen on the locality, the village atmosphere, combining old families and the newer Island residents.

Gae Griffiths had a clear plan. As mentioned earlier,

she sat down at her parents home at the age of 29 and decided on a career path. *I worked it out for myself: a feeling I had to plan. I decided I was going to stay in education. I might as well have a masters degree... and then I was ready to go back to Selwyn and the HOD English was now vacant.* She then moved on to senior mistress, deputy principal, the inspectorate and principal. *It was consciously planned which is probably a little different from many people my age.*

Ruth Mansell, Noeline Alcorn and Charmaine Pountney applied for promotion in order to bring about change in what was happening to children in schools. Ruth wanted *to be able to do more; to be able to have more responsibility; to be able to take on a leadership role.* Like the other women she saw less competent people above her: *I'll apply for a job like that, I know I can do it,* and in this way she could avoid working for people she did not respect and at the same time *pursue the ideas and objectives I wanted to. The more responsibility you got the more you were able to do that.* Like several other women she wanted finally to *avoid being under a principal whose educational objectives clashed with mine.* Noeline Alcorn feels, *I did have some ambition. It wasn't an either/or thing. Wanting to be able to influence things and do things and be in a position where you can have some influence and have an impact on things.*

For Charmaine Pountney this challenge to change the system has dominated her priorities throughout her working life. *It was always the challenge of wanting to do a bit*

*more, of having reached the limits of what I could achieve within the particular framework and wanting to move. It's actually a power thing. Having reached the point of feeling powerless and wanting to move to the next step to where I could change things that mattered. Its wanting to be a change agent that is of vital importance to me. The whole of my life is a commitment to make a difference to the world, to making the world a better place - to put it in quite banal terms.*

She remembers late nights, smoky rooms and endless columns of figures. *I want to change the country as a whole.* Has any of it made a difference at all? *Yes! What I have done is one of the threads that has woven a present that is very different from what we had twenty years ago.*

**4.3.11 Summary**

As Gae Griffiths indicated, it was unusual for women of her generation to plan their careers, to make conscious choices and decisions. There is clear evidence from the data in this section that all the women were aware of the 'cost' of pursuing a career, whether in terms of family, leisure, finance, in foregoing friendships, marriage or children. Yet, quite categorically, I heard no sense of regret at the decisions they had made, either in their words or their attitudes. They were able to make a decision on the evidence before them and then live with that decision. In fact there comes through again and again an energy, an excitement and enthusiasm which reveals not only great

satisfaction but exhilaration with the lives they lead at home, at work and in the community.

If any generalization can be drawn from such varied lives it is that successful women are utterly committed to education, to work and above all to the challenge of changing education in New Zealand. This recognition of the need for change and the inadequacy of the people who have held and who, in some cases, still hold influential positions in the hierarchy has been a strong motivating force in their lives. They hope that by reaching positions of influence they can substitute competence for incompetence and constructively reallocate power.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## CAREERS: WOMEN IN POWER*

### 5.1 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Interpersonal relationships and their effect on women's career paths are seen as a crucial issue in the careers of achieving women. The concept of educational institutions as neutral systems has been under attack for a number of years now. The work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), the phenomenologists and critical theorists (Giroux, 1981; Clark, 1983) have suggested that schools are in fact 'cultural artifacts' (Bates, 1980) which serve the interests of the dominant culture in society. Theorists like Bourdieu (1971) point out that 'failure' is often the result of the 'cultural capital' of the individual not being accepted by the prevailing ethos of the institution. Consequently, terms like 'hidden agenda' or 'hidden curriculum' are widely recognized and their validity accepted. The recognition of the theory that schools are not perfectly balanced interconnecting systems but that there are formal and informal systems within the school, and also what Weick (1976) would call 'loose coupling', gives tremendous advantages to the dominant culture which can appear to be operating in one way at a formal level - for, example, equal opportunities for minorities -

* *Italics* in this Chapter denote direct quotation of the taped responses of the sixteen women interviewed.

yet be manipulating and subverting this official policy through the 'old boys' network on an informal level.

This oversimplified summary leads into the whole concept of the informal networks that operate in schools and which work to the disadvantage of minority groups like women. Kanter's theory needs to be reiterated here although it was raised earlier in Chapter Two.

In her book, Men and Women of the Corporation, Kanter (1977) points out that women are disadvantaged for three reasons: low opportunity, powerlessness and relative numbers, and that all these bring with them prevalent responses and reactions from both men and women. The relevant concept here is her notion of relative numbers. Her thesis (Marshall, 1984, 99) is that 'groups with varying proportions of people of different social types differ qualitatively in dynamics and process' and she identifies four groups. The first is a uniform group, one hundred percent homogeneous, the group members are all one class, race or sex. The second is in the ratio of 85:15 and is called skewed; the third, tilted, is in the ratio of 65:35, and finally, the balanced group, at 50:50.

Obviously in an education system where women predominate in numbers (see Chapters Two and Three) the ideal is what Kanter calls balanced or even tilted, where the minority in terms of power has some influence. Unfortunately, however, in New Zealand the distribution in administration is skewed - that is, women comprise about 15 percent of the total. In such a case, Kanter theorizes, the

women are called tokens and are largely symbolic in role. They are, according to Kanter, disadvantaged by being highly visible and are often attacked as being 'aggressive', and their mistakes exaggerated. Some women are said to avoid success for this reason. Secondly, the dominant group maintains the boundaries by exaggerating the differences between the two groups - hence sexual innuendo, or women being asked by men if they can swear or talk about football. Often tokens are encouraged to denigrate or laugh at their own group. If they join in the dominant group behaviour, other women perceive them as alienated and are hostile to them. Finally, dominant groups distort the token's behaviour to fit commonly held stereotypes (Kanter, 1977, 102) - hence women managers are mistaken for secretaries and given women's nurturing roles in 'velvet ghettos'. Kanter says there are four popular roles women are given: mother, seductress, pet and iron maiden. The worst, and a fifth role, is that of 'women's libber', for a woman who does not fit any other of the roles.

These relationships are not in any legislation or in school or departmental policy; they are part of the day-to-day frustrations token women have to face. Discussion of the constraints the women in this group perceived for themselves and others confirms a great deal of Kanter's research. On the other hand, several denied any form of constraint at all - there were wide-ranging responses. The possible reasons for this variance are discussed later.

### 5.1.1 Constraints

Two major questions were asked in relation to this aspect of administration and it is important to include them in the text at this point. The first was, 'Are there any major constraints on you, as a woman, in the performance of your executive function?', and the second, 'Are there any special problems or frustrations that women face in leadership positions?' - questions posed by Malcolm (1978) in her suggestions for further research. There had to be a distinction between personal constraints and general problems for women, as three women were from girls schools where gender would not make them 'visible' in the sense that Kanter uses the term in her research. There is also a fine line which did not come out in all the interviews, between perceived constraints in doing one's job and being effective, and what might be regarded as merely bothersome and frustrating. Several factors determined the way the respondents answered the questions, the most important being their own interpretation of what the question meant. The definitions of words like 'barriers', 'constraints' and 'frustration' should have been defined for the women. The research on mentors and sponsors contains similar confusion and recently whole articles have been devoted to defining the terms (McQuillen and Ivy, 1985; Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1984). For this reason the answers overlap and it is better to let the women speak for themselves.

Joan Scanlan answers the telephone, responding to the request: *I want to speak to the principal... I am Joan*

*Scanlan... No, I want to speak to the principal, the man that's the principal.* Irene Ogden faces the same problem, *that nobody believes that you can actually be the principal and so you have to get over this aura of disbelief... from all levels, including the Education Board, who should know better.* People telephone her from the Board *and because they hear a woman's voice say, 'Could I speak to the Principal, please'... I am the principal... and they so 'No, I want the principal, the headmaster'.* Wallis Walker related identical incidents; she says people *ask to see the principal; I'm the principal... and there's a sort of 'Oh!' reaction.*

All three women had problems with Board architects or building supervisors being unable to accept that they could handle building problems. Irene Ogden recalls a day last term when the Board architect went into the staffroom, looked around the all female staff, *saw the caretaker and went straight to him because he was the only male present.* She says that both men and women *assume I am the teachers' aide or secretary, never the principal.* As Joan says, *Architects and people like that... they don't think you know what you're talking about... you have to get down to being very, very direct and they don't like that. That can bring you stress.* Wallis is very aware that at first the Board thought, *Oh, not another woman who can't sort out a building problem,* but says their attitude has since changed.

Secondary principals face similar problems. Although Charmaine Pountney does not perceive this type of behaviour

as a 'constraint', she does see it as a general frustration *constantly being treated as though you're not a professional or an executive in all sorts of little and petty ways, which can be big and unpleasant for some women, and for all of us are a nuisance.* She, as do several other women, objects to the endless letters addressed to 'Dear Sir'. She makes the point that *even if you're not aware of it - and some aren't - it gets to you.* Her examples are very telling, and her conclusion is that *sexist language is a constant shrivelling of a woman's spirit.* At Principal's meetings and Rotary, *time and again, the principal, he, he, he, he... until you feel like saying, I'm here, notice me!* For five years her Board Chairman *addressed a group of eighteen people, of whom seven were women, as 'gentlemen'.* She challenges the educational literature, as I have heard her challenge lecturers like Richard Bates, where *the principal is 'he' and the teacher 'she', especially if she's incompetent and needing help.* Like Irene, Wallis and Joan, she resents the *plumbers and builders and drainlayers and even sometimes Department of Education officers* who do not take women principals seriously. *With every male that operates within the ambit of the school I have to negotiate a territorial struggle. It's not that I want to be boss; I want to be treated seriously when I need to. It must be much worse for women in a coeducational environment.*

It is. As Ruth Mansell suggests if is difficult to be *constantly having to prove to people that you can be hard-headed and tough.* She finds it difficult being stereotyped

into 'soft roles' with assumptions made about her inability to cope with or lack of interest in budgeting even though she had included economics in her degree. Noeline Alcorn shares this sense of problem: I *think there are a number of people, both male and female, who are unaccustomed to female leadership and therefore resent it - stereotypes who don't feel you're going to know anything about handling money, which is a problem, sometimes, for women who go into leadership positions.* She sees the problem as exacerbated by a lack of openness in discussing these attitudes: *they mutter behind their hands.*

Ann Gluckman is aware that she has two images. *I've got two different images: the 'iron lady', as hard as nails, very strong and pushy; and the other, being weak as putty, can be pushed around, and hasn't a mind of her own and subject to the whims of male deputy principals or something.* She's aware that a group of men wonder - *'How the hell did she get there?'* or, *'She's very clever'*, and asks herself whether these are compliments or insults. She realizes, as Kanter's research has confirmed, that *men have to categorize one in that sort of way.*

Like Edna Tait, Ann Gluckman is aware that the woman principal has to stand back and ask, *How much is because I'm a woman, and how much is my own personality?* As Edna says, sometimes she will come home after a hectic Board meeting and kick a few things *and swear they were done because I was a woman - but I'm wary of that because I know that men go through these things too.*

Like Charmaine Pountney, Bettina Brown feels no real constraint but mentions her frustration with a Board member who insists on calling her 'dear'. It is what Puna Taua calls *the little girl syndrome.*

Margaret Leaming sees that it is inevitable that for some time, initially, a woman principal will have a period when the staff are not in *boots and all.* Like several other women, including Edna Tait, she recognizes that women too can find it difficult to adjust to working for a woman administrator.

### 5.1.2 Polarization

Both Karen Sewell and Helen Watson address the problem of a woman administrator being a threat to some on the staff. As Karen says, *I'm not insensitive, or aggressive,* but she eventually realized that *I shouldn't have to put a lot more energy into the men rather than the women I work with.* She admits she used to spend a lot of time *trying to make them feel better about the fact that I was a woman,* but now sees it is not her problem; but *for some people who observe me - they still have a problem.* Helen is relatively new in her position and feels constrained in her role as women's officer. *The fact that I'm a woman articulating a different vision for women... means I've got to be extremely careful that I don't antagonize when it is going to be counter productive. I have to attempt to be as unthreatening as possible; my very existence is deeply threatening to very many people.* She echoes what nearly every other woman

mentions at some time in her interview. *You are constantly having to assert your right to be taken seriously - you definitely do.*

This refusal to take a woman seriously simply because she is a woman is a source of frustration to Maureen Wilson. She says it occurs mostly with strangers, not people she works with regularly - a fact that comes through other interviews. It is necessary, she finds, *to have to prove yourself a bit more than seems justifiable. I'm used to people listening to me if I say something. If you're out in a gathering they don't expect you to say something worthwhile.*

This extra effort needed by women to have to prove themselves is mentioned by others. Joan Scanlan says, *I'm inclined to think that if a man's a chauvinist, or whatever, you've got to fight twice as hard as a man would.* When she first joined the executive of the New Zealand Principal's Federation she had to make every effort but now feels respected and accepted.

Karen Sewell points out that *there are still people around that think that you won't be able to do things because you're a woman, but I think the only thing in terms of seeing yourself as an administrator, is that probably you feel under a compulsion to do it even better than administrators because you know if you don't people will say it's because you're a woman not because you're a person.*

### 5.1.3 Visibility

It is being continually perceived as a woman rather than as a person that disturbs many of the women, even those that claim that this is still not a 'constraint' in doing their job. For example, Frances Salt sees no constraints in performing her job as an inspector but admits: *I'm aware I'm a woman all the time because when we move en bloc there are so few of us. So I'm aware all the time that I'm representing women and that I have to do a good job. There are so few of us really. A lot of people are expecting a lot of me because I'm a woman. I don't know whether that's a constraint but it's something... I find quite a heavy burden really...*

Puna Taua reinforces this concept of what Kanter calls 'visibility'. *You are a minority in all the things that it means to be a minority... just to walk into a Principal's Association meeting... the majority are at different stages of development which makes it hard... from the ignorant, to the people who know what it's all about, to the large mass who are aware of it but not really interested.* As Irene Ogden points out, *gender assumptions are made before they've met me,* and she comments wryly on a secondary school principal who spoke at a recent principals' meeting she attended who said in public that he was surprised to find *'some women really good organizers'.*

Frances Salt sees this as a kind of loneliness. *Not having enough other women at the same level. Really it's just the fact that you feel on your own. My job would be*

*easier if there were more women in there with me and I think all women in leadership positions must find this.*

Again, Karen Sewell sees being a member of such a small group a responsibility. *I feel constantly under an obligation to speak for women and from a woman's perspective.* As she says, she would do this anyway, but when she is often the only woman in a group of eighteen or twenty, *you feel not only obliged to put your own viewpoint but to say to them, 'Look! Equal opportunity! Where are all the others?',* and she sees some of the men back away, *and their eyes go narrow, and their lips go tight and they get a glazed look and they say, they're not sexist... and of course, they are... they don't face up and acknowledge the discrepancies - like the course for new principals on which there are only four women to nineteen men... where no woman was invited to speak about anything during the whole week.* Irene Ogden sees a danger in that *when you're in very small numbers you could be involved in tokenism because you're the only one there.*

Maureen Wilson also sees isolation as a burden. *I'm almost invariably outnumbered and that means I often talk too much.* This is because she often has a different viewpoint and there is a responsibility on her to share it. She finds it significant *that in the main, women come to me. There are some men who rarely see me if they want something - even if its legitimate.* She gets tired of being asked what the women's view is, *not just for yourself or for all the women on the campus, but the women of New Zealand and*

*the world if you're not careful.* When she asks men, *Will you tell me what all the men think?, then they are unable to do so.*

### 5.1.4 Style

As Maureen Wilson says, *The constraint is perhaps being female;* then adds, *more importantly the constraint is trying to do the job differently from how other people perceive it should be done,* and she is sensitive to the fact that they might think she cannot do it any other way, rather than that she has chosen a different style.

Ruth Mansell faces the same constraint on style. She sees it as, *in general, being able to retain what's good about being a woman and not falling into the trap of being more like men than they are. Finding your style and finding your role is sometimes difficult.* Helen Watson approaches the same problem from a different angle. *Women have been sold a whole lot of myths - that they don't have the ability to be tough, that they're emotional or personalize... so that they are analysing their own performances all the time. 'Did I get too worked up in that situation?'.* Wallis Walker sees that it means *acceptance of a different pattern that women professionals use. Now people are more accepting - consensus decisions are very common in meetings now.* Irene Ogden refuses to accept the *male way of thinking - hierarchical. I don't fit into that at all, so I get into very nice arguments on what rights the staff have, because they are professional people and they may be all women but*

*you don't treat them as though you were their father.*

Once women are well-known they are aware that they are treated differently. Charmaine Pountney has no constraints at school but is aware of ambivalent and inappropriate behaviour at times but *not very often because I'm very well known and men are very careful how they treat me.* Probably, and this is my own interpretation, this is the reason that Edna Tait sees other women in impossible situations, but *I've never struck that, ever.* She sees people as much more conscious now *to watch out for the things they have to watch out for* - like having women on committees.

### 5.1.5 Cultural Factors

Two of the several women who have worked in predominantly Polynesian schools at some time, mention the problem of being a woman leader where there are cultures even more reluctant than white males to accept their role. It is seen by one woman as shyness to accept a woman as 'boss' and she says the boys in these cultures carry the same problem. Another woman says it is a problem of power-sharing which cannot be resolved at the moment.

Helen Watson sums up the whole situation. *One of the difficulties is that women are not traditionally meant to be leaders, so that, when they set themselves up in leadership positions they are subject to a great amount of criticism by men who don't want women there anyway, and from women who are so unused to seeing women in leadership positions that they are made very uneasy by it. Therefore they will tend*

*to be very critical of other women because if they have chosen a very conventional female life, the fact that they see other women stepping outside that calls into account their choices and they don't want to do this.*

### 5.1.6 Espoused Theories and Reality

What must be addressed here is that six women did not see any of this behaviour as a 'constraint' to their effectiveness in their schools, although they recognized that there are many frustrations for women. At the same time two principals deny that gender enters into interpersonal relationships. Edna Tait asserts: *There are constraints, but I've never struck that ever. Not once has my sex ever stopped me from doing anything I wanted,* in fact *there are some times women are very generously helped because of the work of the pioneer feminists.* Gae Griffiths has confronted no constraints and perceives none for other women; *but then, I'm looking at it from my own perspective. I guess I've been extraordinarily lucky in my career and the people in all the schools I've worked in.* Although she has never felt a second class citizen in any way she recognizes other women might feel like that, *but I think it's a little bit to do with your self-image.* Like Bettina Brown, she is aware that senior mistresses in some coeducational schools get involved *with girls and girls' things.*

The most helpful research on this aspect of women in management is by Marshall (1984). In her interviews she also found a great deal of conflicting data. She saw this

as the differing responses that individuals make to the stress of being 'tokens' in a male dominated world. This process, she sees, is a process of controlling one's own awareness of gender in the workplace. She identifies three categories of women (Marshall, 150-153): those with little awareness of gender; those who are acutely aware and have to work out coping devices for their dilemma; and those who accept and face the fact that they are at a disadvantage and build their 'identity and approach to employment on this foundation' (Marshall, 1984, 150).

These are very general categories and my main purpose is not to force generalizations. However, it is quite clear that each of the sixteen women has either consciously or unconsciously faced this situation in her own way and succeeded because of her ability to negotiate these problems. The data above illustrate a range of responses from a painful awareness of gender issues to unawareness of gender as a consideration at all, and this is a remarkable contrast in such a small group of women in one employment group in one region of a small country. It validates the need for qualitative feminist research, especially if Marshall is correct in asserting, 'the presence of a few tokens does not pave the way for others'. The political question is, of course, should it be just exceptional women who can negotiate these problems? If this is the case then social and political change is vital.

### 5.1.7 'Stuck' Roles

One way that the dominant group can 'assimilate' capable women without destroying the homogeneity with which they are familiar is to assign exceptional women to 'feminine' roles. As indicated in Chapter Two, there is a wealth of research on women in 'staff' positions, fulfilling 'nurturing roles' (Norman, 1985; Sargeant, 1985; Reilly, 1984; Manchester, 1983; Schmuck and Spencer, 1981; Stockard and Johnson, 1981; Tyack and Strober, 1981). They are also more often given 'regraded' positions (Department of Education, 1982) and 'appointive' positions (Schmuck and Spencer, 1981, 84) rather than widely advertised positions. Margaret Wheatley (1981), again using Kanter's research, calls these positions 'stuck', not leading to promotion, compared to 'moving' positions with 'moving' roles that are 'masculine' and do lead to promotion.

Judith Manchester's unpublished paper (1983) is invaluable here. She surveys the administrative roles of deputy principals, senior masters and senior mistresses throughout the Central Region. She found that 'male SMs tend to have jobs where there is more of a balance between interpersonal tasks and traditional administrative tasks than female SMs do. They will therefore be better equipped for promotion' (Manchester, 1983, 4). Using the format of Judith Manchester's questionnaire, I was able to compare the way the sixteen women in this research compared with the women in her survey with regard to the administrative task they had performed as DPs and SMs or in comparable positions

(Table 5.1).

There is obviously very limited validity in comparing primary teachers with secondary, and a sample of 191 with a sample of 16. However, I think that a general conclusion can be drawn from Table 5.1. Exceptional women have not accepted the traditional 'stuck' or' feminine' roles in their schools - roles often described as 'tea and tampax' or 'velvet ghetto' roles. The women have also broken through what Malcolm (1978) calls women's 'affiliative needs' to take roles which other women do not see as traditional, and beyond where so many women are content to operate in educational institutions.

### 5.1.8 Working With Women Administrators

TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 87-88) found that fewer men than women favour women in senior positions. Those aged over 56 were most conservative in the secondary service, but in both primary and secondary schools younger men were not in favour of working for women. In the primary service the most opposed were aged 35-44. On the whole, in both services women were much more in favour of working for women, and the more senior the women respondents, the more they were in favour of working with senior women administrators (90 percent of senior women; 73 percent of all women).

Only four women in this study favour working for a woman; most categorically state that they work <u>with</u> people not for them, and consequently gender is not important but

Table 5.1

Comparative Percentage Distribution of Women and Men in Performance of Traditional Administrative Roles

| | 1983 Study | | 1985 Study |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Female SMs | Male SMs | Survey Women |
| Timetable | 11 | 30 | 68.75 |
| Buildings | 0 | 27 | 31.25 |
| Returns | 22 | 24 | 68.75 |

Sources: Manchester (1983); Thesis Survey, 1985

rather the calibre of the person. In answer to a question as to their perceptions of men's favouring working for a woman their answers were more varied.

Edna Tait says, *It seems to me that men and women work well with those of the opposite sex for reasons such as ability, compatibility and common goals.* Gae Griffiths echoes this: *I believe men are quite happy working for women administrators if the woman administrator is capable at her job.* As Helen Watson says *it depends on the woman.*

Ann Gluckman, Karen Sewell, Frances Salt, Margaret Leaming, Joan Scanlan and Ruth Mansell recognize there is often initial resistance generally, or resistance from older

men, but proven competence, or more women in the hierarchy makes for greater acceptance. Wallis Walker draws an interesting distinction between fellow professionals, who are mainly accepting, compared with non-professional men who dislike working for a woman. Some women had no opinion and others like Charmaine Pountney feel that *only a few really enjoy* working for women. *Most are profoundly sexist in their guts.*

### 5.1.9 Role Models, Mentors and Sponsors

Recent findings on role modelling, mentoring and sponsoring (Hall and Sandler, 1983; Paludi, 1983; Aguila-Gaxiola, 1984; McQuillen and Ivy, 1985; Willis, 1986) continue to emphasize the importance of mentoring found in earlier works like Levinson (1978) and Hennig and Jardim (1979).

Levinson (1978, 338) went as far as to say 'poor mentoring in early adulthood is the equivalent of poor parenting in childhood. As I indicated earlier, it is within the informal systems of management which are male dominated that advancement in the institution and important decisions are made. Because women are largely excluded from this old boys network they have to form their own systems of role models, mentors and sponsors. As Hall and Sandler say (1983, 2), 'Success depends often not only on hard work, but also on encouragement, guidance, support and advocacy from those who are already in the system.' Not surprisingly, it has been found by one researcher that mentors are still 83 percent

male (Paludi, 1983, 14), and in Willis's (1986) research 55 percent male, since men still dominate organizational structures.

Aguilar-Gaxiola (1984) defines mentor to include every role including sponsor and role model. I will use the terms as used by Josefowitz (1980) who defines mentor as a wise and trusted teacher, and a sponsor as 'one who vouches for the suitability of a candidate for admission'. In this sense a role model differs in being an example, a person to copy or emulate. What is certain is that women need women to fulfill these roles as well as men, as they often need female role models to help them face and make decisions in their personal as well as professional lives. Current research in New Zealand (Whitcombe, 1979a, 19) shows that women 'could identify a mentor who had given encouragement and this mentor was usually male'.

To a question as to whether they had had professional role models, eight women answered with a categorical 'no', and eight confirmed they had had role models, and this 50 percent figure can be compared to a 41 percent figure for the 113 administrators surveyed by Willis and Dodgson (1986, 2).

Maureen Wilson makes a clear statement about mentoring and sponsoring. *Now that I'm in the position I'm in, I think no one ever gets anywhere without someone sponsoring them. It's only a very limited number of people, or an individual, who make the decision, particularly in terms of promotion.* She says she applied for jobs *off my own bat,*

but now realizes *there has to be someone doing that [sponsoring] or you don't get anywhere.*

Maureen has thought a great deal about sponsoring and discusses two other important aspects. First, she pays tribute to her women colleagues: *a significant number of the women on the staff became very important to me as a support group, encouraging me to apply, putting me through interviews, checking out what I wore... quite extraordinary the degrees to which they went.* Secondly, *the other thing that I've done is that I've discovered very quickly that there were a group of women on this staff whom they [men administrators] knew nothing about... because the women didn't have an avenue... I would almost say, by decree, there has to be a woman in a position of authority in a school situation because I believe that those with goodwill are often ignorant* of the strengths of the women in their institution.

Maureen has, therefore, become a sponsor herself and all sixteen women in this research, like Maureen, sponsor others as they have been sponsored. For Maureen sponsorship and support groups have been more recent but for some of the women there is a strong network of mentoring and sponsoring over most of their careers. These include, Charmaine Pountney, Frances Salt, Ruth Mansell, Karen Sewell and to a lesser extent Ann Gluckman, Gae Griffiths, Wallis Walker, Irene Ogden and Joan Scanlan.

Charmaine Pountney has had, by her own admission, *a meteoric rise through the teaching structure* and she

attributes this to strong women role models, sponsors, both male and female, and a support group of women. Because her career path has been so close to the TEACAPS model for a secondary principal, and this is unusual, particularly for women (Department of Education, 1982, 19), it is important to examine this experience more closely. She says of her career, *I feel ashamed it's so atypical. When I realize how easy it's been and how hard it is for many women, what I'm ashamed of is how long it took me to perceive the difference and how unsupportive I was to other women early on.*

Charmaine began teaching in a coeducational school. *There was a very strong senior mistress in the school who was quite definitely responsible for supporting, encouraging and guiding me. She acted in a mentor role quite consciously and deliberately. She was a policy senior mistress not a decoration one or just a pastoral one.* This woman, Pat Corston, or Eric Clark, the Senior Mistress and Principal respectively at Rutherford High School, are also mentioned by other women in this survey. Through Pat Corston Charmaine became involved in PPTA. *It was moving out of the bounds of one school into the public arena. Any woman who worked with Pat Corston who showed an interest in the profession was given that kind of support and challenge.*

Her second role model was Helen Ryburn who *took me under her wing,* included her in the drinks and social life of PPTA. She worked with Helen for seven years *with her influencing me profoundly in the way I viewed the operations of PPTA, how women performed, how men performed.* Charmaine

learnt about meeting procedure, about politics and about strategy. *So I simply learnt in a one to one relationship. It's such a privileged background.* Then followed years on the English Syllabus Committee with women like Joan Holland and Ann O'Rourke. Meeting Helen Watson changed her perceptions of women, her concept *that men and women could succeed if they wanted to. She sat down at dinner one day in Wellington [and asked], Why aren't you married? Why don't you have children? Why are you strong in your professional development? Why do you have an unbroken career pattern unlike the rest of us? Ask yourself, why?* Charmaine did ask herself and concluded: *An incredible degree of privilege, being an only child, strong women role models which is an immense privilege for a woman wanting to move into a man's circle because it actually trained me to behave like a man, very competently; language skills, dominance skills, the whole thing... It was that dominance game I learnt.* She admits she looked right - *feminine, and played the feminine games as well,* which was another strand in her promotion as men were attracted to her competence. *I played the right games as a woman. It was that particular combination that enabled me to rise meteorically through the career structure.* She became one of the youngest heads of department, PR4s and then principals in the country.

Her main emotional support, however, has always come from other women - through relationships that are *sharing* and *enriching*. Increasingly career women are realizing that this emotional support of other women is essential - this

nurturing and caring for each other in the isolated positions they hold and this comes through several interviews.

It is a subject I have raised with Ruth Mansell, although not in our official interview - the fact that New Zealand is a small country, that we all know each other, and can readily 'network' by telephone or letter whenever we need to.

Bettina Brown realizes now that she lacked a support group at the time she probably needed one. *There was a long period of about ten years when if there had been someone there giving me a prod I may well have applied for other positions.* She thinks that if there had been support groups at that time she may well have moved faster. She was fortunate in that, like Charmaine, she had Pat Corston to encourage her. Bettina ponders on the whole issue of applying for promotion. *I wonder whether perhaps the men just simply apply because, in a way they're geared to this power thing, that they apply for all sorts of jobs whether they're appropriate or not... whereas women tend to be, and I suppose that's built into us, we're more reticent.* She is concerned that there have been occasions when no women have applied for vacant HOD positions at her school, a girls school, and assumes it is lack of confidence on the part of women. She says, *There haven't been people pushing us along and saying, 'Of course you can do it',* which is why it is *very common for men to be appointed principals about the age of 36-42, that period, whereas it seems to be, with one or two exceptions - it's much later for women.*

Pat Corston is again a source of encouragement to another woman in this group: Gae Griffiths. *Pat Corston often used to say, 'Why don't you apply for a job at Rutherford?'.* Like Charmaine, Gae was fortunate in having an excellent senior mistress at her first school, Selwyn College, *a really important person... she encouraged me.* Gae was acting senior mistress for Laurie Evans when she went overseas and this again helped her career.

Colleagues also played an important mentor role in Karen Sewell's career. *There have been a few people who at different times and in different places have really been mentors in my career.* She mentions Lenore Webster, Gwenda Martin and Pat Sleeman as mentors, but on the whole, *the first people, apart from Lenore, who suggested I could apply for promotion were men, Peter Goddard and Russell Aitken. Peter Goddard, in particular, has been someone who's been around and who I've been able to talk to about things and he's really supportive of me.* Peter Goddard was also mentioned by Charmaine, as was Rae Munro. Karen's colleagues, Andy Begg, Frances Salt and Charmaine Pountney, have also been important. Like Charmaine, Karen was also on the English Syllabus committee. Des Mann, also well-known as acting as a sponsor for women, was her principal at Green Bay High School, together with other *people at Green Bay, people like Heather Macdonald, Charlene Scotti and Shona Hearn... my mother's very supportive and so are my sister and brother.*

Ann Gluckman had no mentors but an important sponsor,

Dick Oliver, the inspector for Geography in the secondary inspectorate. *He was responsible for the Fellowship in Geography. He got me involved in Liberal Studies and as Chairperson of the Curriculum Panel on Human Development and Relationships, and on the Nuffield programme.* Dick Oliver then encouraged her to apply for senior mistresses jobs at other schools. Later he encouraged her to apply for Nga Tapuwae. With her usual modesty she says, *If I was appointed it was because it was the first year of the Decade for Women.*

Frances Salt, like most of the other secondary trained women, had tremendous support from colleagues and mentors, Andy Begg and Karen Sewell in particular. Early in her career she did not have a mentor but *since 1977 when I went to Metropolitan, when Andy, who was used to considering his career, gave me encouragement. He used to bring up the Gazette with things underlined and that's how, of course, I applied for Arney Road, because he said, 'This is the job for you', and it would never have occurred to me. There are also people at the Department - Tony Cross.*

### 5.1.10 Family

A major source of support and mentoring comes from family, as Karen Sewell indicated earlier. Ruth Mansell. Margaret Leaming, Noeline Alcorn, Edna Tait and Wallis Walker mention the strong support of partners. For Puna Taua, the only mentors have been her family. *My family have been my support group... I really don't want the support of*

*other people... My needs are to have my family and really good friends. I stand alone... except my sisters and friends are my support; my three sisters and specific friends are what nobody else could be - my support group.* For this reason, she says, no one else encouraged or sponsored her in job applications. *Nobody suggested I apply for anything I applied for... I did it myself.*

Margaret Leaming says, *I just cannot see that I would have looked or applied for the opportunities that have been there if my husband hadn't pushed me;* and she also remembers the encouragement of her mother and father. *I think men who get on have mentors - support people, too. If you look at the whole power structure, and it is in teaching, and you look at people who are identified as someone to go somewhere... With women it was not done with people up there... whereas for the men, someone up there decides they're going somewhere whether it's in business or education.*

Like Puna, Helen Watson's main support and mentoring has come from the family. *I was brought up in a very achievement oriented atmosphere, and as children my sister and I were expected to achieve anything that our father considered significant, which was academically - and sporting things. I started thinking 'Where am I going here?',* so she went to a girls school as there would be better opportunities for promotion and this proved to be true. However, *my career decisions are self-determined;* her political role model was her father and her female role models, Helen

Ryburn and Charmaine Pountney. Some of her encouragement came from a man, Russell Hodge, once she became involved in PPTA. Both Helen Watson and Maureen Wilson had deputy principals who said, 'Have a look in the next Gazette'; Helen got the job but Maureen, at that stage, did not. Maureen, like Helen, says *I probably decided myself to apply.* This is probably because *I've come to think the others who apply are not going to be any better than me.*

Like Helen Watson, Bettina Brown and Edna Tait's first promotions were not applied for; *I was simply told I was getting a PR2.* Then she was told to 'have a go' at the SMs job in her school. When she did not get it, *my appetite was whetted to see if I could get one. It wasn't because I wanted it - it was the challenge of chasing it... a challenge to get the PPTA President... I'm a bit like a dog that chases cars and then once I've caught it I've got to find out what I'm going to do with it. You have a go at something and, lo and behold, you get it.*

### 5.1.11 Inspectors

If there is any general pattern among primary principals it is that of sponsoring by inspectors; there seems to have been no support system comparable to that in the secondary service.

For Ruth Mansell the sponsor came early in her career from a woman principal, but her major mentor and sponsor was Jack Ennis in the primary inspectorate. He *talked about what I could do, encouraged me, and kept on telling me, 'You*

*can do it; you've got to make the most of yourself. You can do it at least as well as those people and better than those old men up there. You've got to do it. Don't feel reluctant, don't feel inadequate, you've got a lot to offer.' He kept on saying these things over and over again to me. He showed me how to use the system and not to let the system limit what you want to do.* Her other support was the team of people who wrote the Schools Without Failure kits. *We were in tune... it's not by chance you have a group like that; I built that group up... Jack and I did that. A lot of effort went into that support group and maintaining it.*

Irene Ogden, Joan Scanlan and Wallis Walker were mostly sponsored by inspectors, usually men, who gave them, as Irene says, *paper grades that made it possible to apply, by saying, 'Go and use it'. They gave me the wherewithal and the desire.* She remembers the help of Kelvin Smythe in particular. Joan Scanlan was encouraged by the support of several inspectors, all men, and Jack Lee in particular. *I don't think in any of this, though, that I was ever a person that was 'ambitious'; I just enjoyed the work and I thought, when the next step comes I'll apply. I wasn't thinking, 'Well, one day I'll be principal'.* Her moves from one job to another have been largely self-motivated. As she says, when *my contribution to that school has been made* she moves on. Wallis Walker has also mainly been sponsored by men although no one has ever told her to apply for a particular job. That step was self-motivated.

### 5.1.12 Discouragement

None of the women in secondary or tertiary positions have been discouraged from applying for jobs. Only the primary women have faced any discouragement and it says a great deal for their capability to absorb negativity that they do not regard any of these incidents as 'discouragement' in applying for jobs. For example, Irene Ogden's promotion to acting principal of a Grade 5 school for two and a half years was challenged by male deputy principals and principals. Male principals asked, *'Why should a woman have that salary?'*, especially as it was a *second income.* In her own style, which is down-to-earth and modest, Irene deprecates her success and, like many women, attributes it to chance. *The biggest factor in mine is chance.* Because of the rapid growth of the school roll in Tokoroa *they kept promoting me internally within the school.*

Wallis Walker remembers an application for a job in a rural area which she withdrew from in order to stay in Auckland. In a strange telephone call the School Committee gave her a 'put-off' as she was a woman. They asked, *'Did I know the school didn't have a caretaker... How did I feel about coaching boys' sport?'.* Margaret Leaming vividly remembers a particular grading where she asked the inspector, *You will compare me with all the people you've graded this year, men and women alike?* To which he replied, *'Well, not really, if it comes down to a choice between you, a married woman teacher, and a man with a family, no!' I nearly had apoplexy.* She remembers this as the only time

her gender affected her grading and *I was graded by chauvinists of the first order.*

### 5.1.13 Summary

There is obviously some generalizability from the data on role models, mentors and sponsors. Several of the secondary women, especially those like Charmaine Pountney and Gae Griffiths who achieved their status relatively young, had strong women role models in coeducational schools where the role models did not conform to the 'nurturing' feminine stereotype.

On the whole, secondary women, including secondary teachers college staff, have built up a strong support group of women who act as mentors. This is increasingly developing into a national network, particularly since the first PPTA Womens Conference. Primary women, and a few secondary women, depend a great deal on families and partners for this mentoring support. Sponsors, in terms of vouching for a person's capabilities in a job, are largely men in all educational sectors and this is obviously because men hold the senior positions in the education service. The men mentioned in this research are to be admired for, as Marshall (1984, 107) points out, 'By giving personal approval for women's appointments to senior jobs, sponsors reduce the organization's felt risk by taking responsibility on themselves... a risky strategy' because women are from a lower status category. The 'risk takers' are men like Eric Clark, Peter Goddard, Andy Begg, Russell Hodge, Russell

Aitken, Jack Ennis, Des Mann and Rae Munro. Several run, or ran, what one called 'lighthouse' institutions, like Green Bay High School and Rutherford High School, schools that have been at the cutting edge of educational change. Then there are the women who have succeeded and are willing to help others in turn, women like Pat Corston, Helen Ryburn and now, of course, Gae Griffiths, Ruth Mansell, Charmaine Pountney, Frances Salt, Karen Sewell, Helen Watson and indeed - all the women in this study have become well known role models, mentors and sponsors themselves.

Above all, however, one strong theme comes through all the interviews. Self-motivation: strong women with courage who made their own decisions; women with internal motivation that has over-ridden the comparative lack of role models, mentors and sponsors traditional to the male dominated career structure. It is this quality that attracted the sponsorship that has helped them succeed. As the TEACAPS Survey (Department of Education, 1982, 101) found: 'in both services those women who had attained senior positions reported receiving more encouragement than women generally, and than men in such positions'. They have earned it.

## 5.2 OVERCOMING ORGANIZATIONAL ROADBLOCKS

Josefowitz (1980, 5) summarizes what she calls 'roadblocks to women's power' in an excellent diagram - succinct but comprehensive (Figure 5.1).

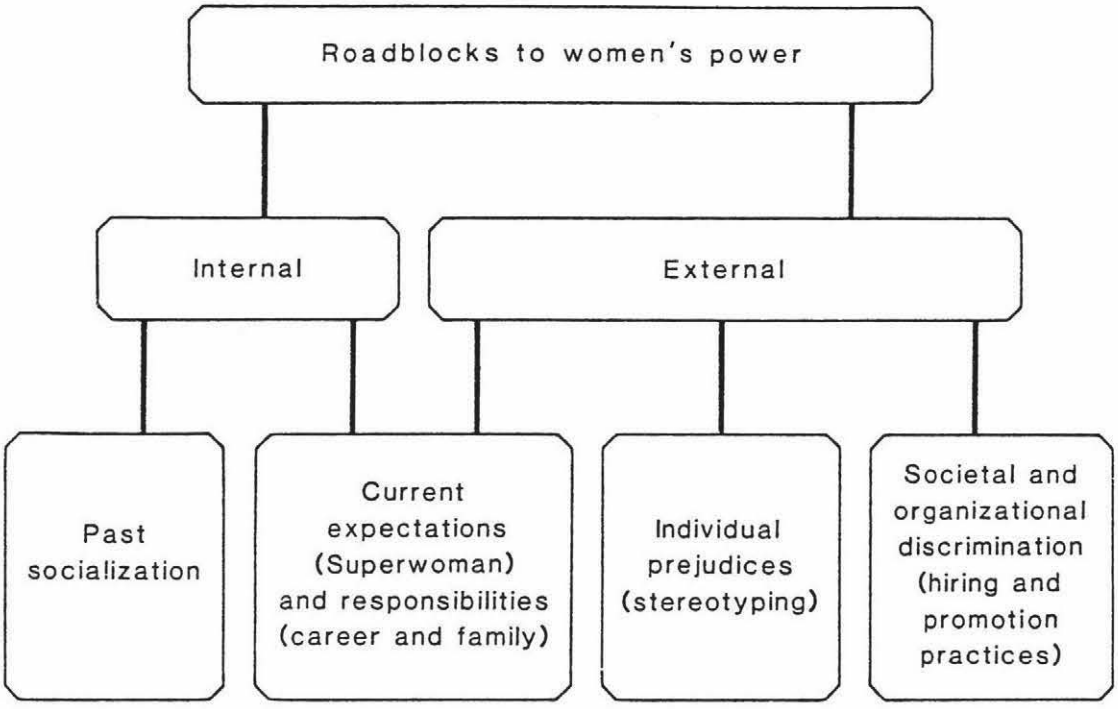



Figure 5.1 Roadblocks to Women's Power

Source: After Josefowitz (1980, 5)

Chapter Four covered the blocks of past socialization, current expectations, career and family. The first section of this Chapter has discussed the stereotyping of women in the institution. This section will deal with those aspects of the structures of organizations that act as blocks to the career path of a woman aspiring to leadership in education.

This is the most difficult aspect of this study as

there are, as TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 13, 20) puts it, 'major complicating factors' in trying to construct a theoretical model for training, assessment and promotion for either male of female teachers, the primary or secondary services.

In the primary service a teacher may be bonded for one or two years as a probationary appointment then apply for a limited or tenured Scale A position. The teacher must stay in a permanent Scale A position for two years. In about their sixth year of teaching, primary teachers can apply for a Division B report and, if they gain one, apply for a Division B senior teacher's position. After twelve years of service, aged about 32, the teacher can apply for a Division C report and position, and after another three years, for a Division D report and position. Such a principal will then be approximately 40 years of age.

In secondary schools, teachers leave teachers college for a List A position. After two years they can apply for classification to List B. Three years in List B makes them eligible for a PR1 or PR2 position, five years for a PR3 or PR4 position. After seven years they can apply for a senior mistress/master position or a deputy principal's position. Such a principal would then be about 35 years old but, as TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 19) indicates, the age is usually considerably older; that is, closer to 40, like the primary principal.

Primary teachers are 'graded' by inspectors and appointed by education boards. Secondary teachers are

appointed by boards of governors of individual schools. As previously indicated, there are numerous complicating factors to these theoretical models. They are: the country service bar; re-entry; retraining; maternity leave; immobility; overseas teaching experience; part-time and relieving positions; and falling rolls. On the whole it is women who, because of their childbearing and nurturing roles and their tendency to move to follow their husbands' careers, are most affected by these 'complicating factors'.

In Chapter Four, the issues of mobility, childrearing and time out of teaching were dealt with, and it was found that the women in this research took less time away from teaching than those in TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 26, 38). At the same time they had more mobility and, in fact, husbands had moved for their wives' careers. Consequently, these women differ considerably from the average experience of the 'universe of women' described in the TEACAPS survey.

As this is primarily within-group research it is important to continue to make comparisons with women teachers in New Zealand surveyed by TEACAPS with particular emphasis here on actual career structure. The comparisons can only be tentative as the basis for the selection of the samples differed. However, a study of the TEACAPS report (Department of Education, 1982) reveals how untypical these women's career structures have proved to be, even with the diversity seen in the TEACAPS study. Paddock (1981, 193) found that women also spend longer as classroom teachers

than men, that they re-entered later and had shorter careers. What is also interesting is that once they re-enter they have a similar career structure to men's and this can be seen in two women, Ruth Mansell and Ann Gluckman, in this research.

### 5.2.1 Time Taken to Attain a Principalship or Equivalent

Figure 5.2 indicates the number of years in the profession it has taken the respondents to reach their present positions. The horizontal line is only a suggestion by TEACAPS (as outlined above) for the minimum number of years needed to attain a principal's position. It has already been noted that it is unusual to achieve a principal's position within the periods specified as minimal. The results of the comparison are dramatic.

It can be seen that five of the secondary women and two of the primary women in this study achieved their positions within three years of the minimum possible time. What is even more interesting is that two of the seven women were late entering the teaching profession, after they had had their children. Only three of the women conform to the generally held expectation that women attain senior positions later than men. Of these three women, only one, Helen Watson, was held back by childrearing. Bettina Brown acknowledges that she was content to remain at HOD level for a number of years. Margaret Leaming was also not interested in actively seeking promotion until her husband convinced her she should move towards a principalship.

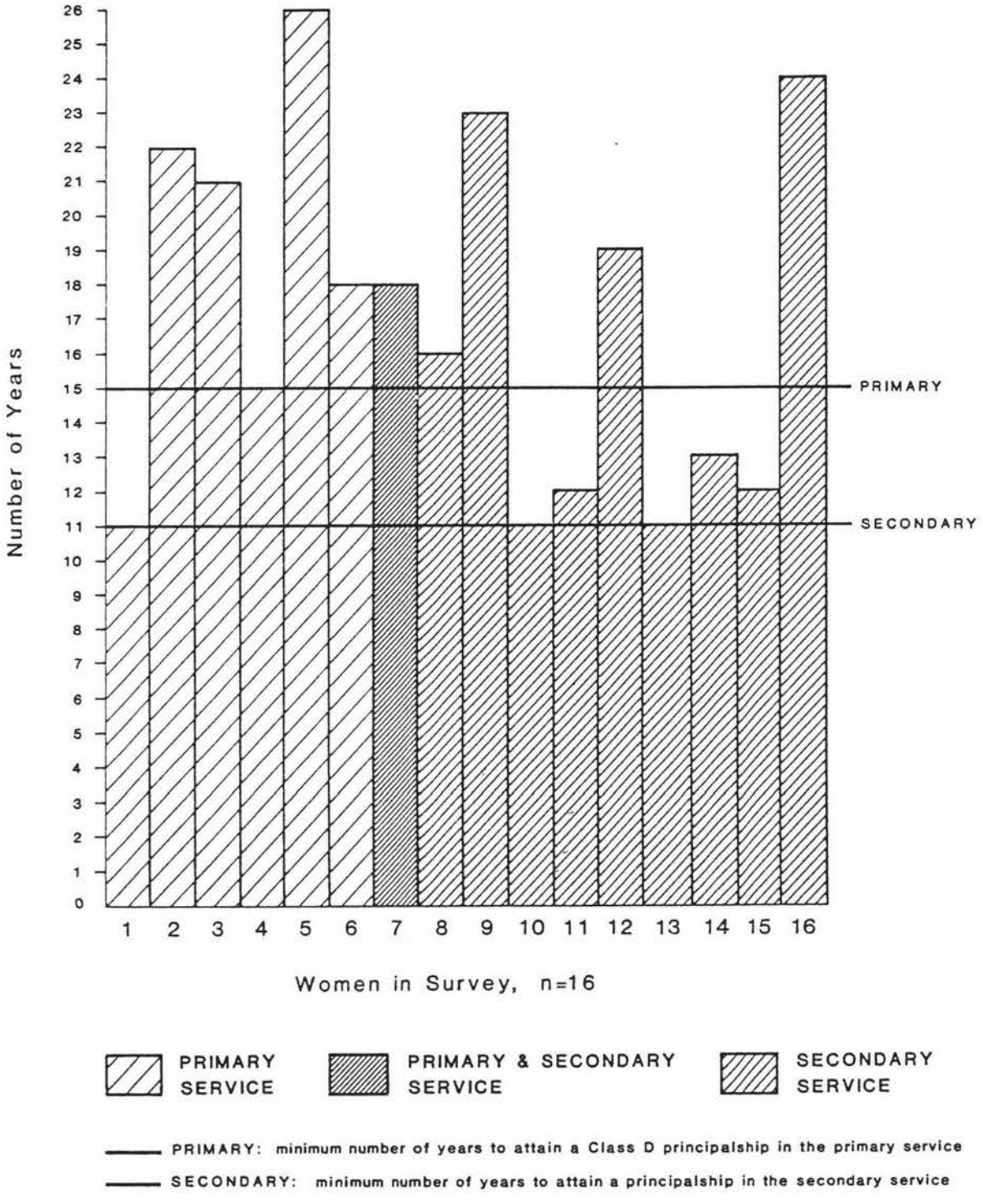



Figure 5.2 Years Taken to Attain a Principalship or Its Equivalent

Source: Thesis Survey, 1985

Even taking into account Ruth Mansell and Ann Gluckman entering the education service after childbearing, the age at which the women achieved their appointments is also unusually young. There are no data, as far as I am aware, on the age at which people become principals, so I can make no statistical comparison. However, all of these women were between thirty-five and their mid-forties when they reached a principalship or its equivalent. In terms of Paddock's (1981, 193) research they have career patterns that compare with the most successful men principals, rather than having simply a 'similar' career pattern to men's. No within-group comparison can be made here as this group represents a large proportion of women in these positions in New Zealand, and almost the total 'universe' of such women in the Auckland area.

In other words, it can be hypothesized that women who achieve these positions in New Zealand are so exceptional that they achieve them in an unusually short time.

### 5.2.2 Aspirations

One of the reasons for this rapid progression to senior positions could be strong aspirations. Again, a comparison with other women in the service highlights this point. Table 5.2 shows the rates of promotion application for women in this survey and in the TEACAPS survey.

Just as the rate of application is higher for men than women, so the rate of application for successful women is higher than that of those in the TEACAPS (Department of

Table 5.2

Rates of Application for Promotion

| | TEACAPS Survey | | Women in |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Primary Women | Secondary Women | Thesis Survey |
| Never | 51.0 | 56.0 | - |
| Once | 16.0 | 18.8 | 6.25 |
| 2- 5 times | 19.3 | 21.0 | 43.75 |
| 6-10 times | 6.8 | 3.1 | 31.25 |
| 11-20 times | 3.4 | 0.2 | 12.50 |
| 21-30 times | 1.3 | 0.7 | - |
| 31-50 times | 1.0 | - | 6.25 |

Sources: Department of Education (1982, 32, 44);
Thesis Survey, 1985

Education, 1982) survey. Fifty percent of the women in this research have applied for promotion more than six times, whereas only 12.5 percent of the sample of all women in the primary service and four percent of secondary women applied for promotion more than six times. Over 50 percent of women in both services had never applied for promotion. Of course, all comparisons between the sample and the women surveyed by TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) must be qualified because one is a very select group of women who have reached the height of their careers whereas TEACAPS, includes women of all ages many of whom will not have been

teaching long enough to apply for promotion, let alone attain senior levels. This caveat needs to be kept in mind in any comparison between the thesis survey sample and the findings of the TEACAPS studies.

A further comparison provides interesting results, and this is the number of times promotion has been gained. The sixteen women in this study are again compared with the women in the TEACAPS survey (Department of Education, 1982, 33, 44) (Table 5.3). Table 5.3 depicts a notable difference between successful women and the wider group of women teachers. Approximately 68 percent and 61 percent of primary and secondary women respectively had not gained promotion at all whereas, of the sixteen women 62.5 percent had succeeded in gaining promotion four times or more.

The same pattern is seen in the number of moves made in their careers. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 26, 39) showed that more men than women moved schools at each step in the career structure and again senior women had moved schools more often than other women. For example, 27 percent of senior women had moved more than four times and eleven percent of senior women in the secondary service had moved more than four times. All women principals in the secondary service had moved schools whereas nine male and three deputy principals had never moved. Table 5.4 compares the women in this survey with primary and secondary women as a whole. It can be seen that they have all moved three times or more, 25 percent of them more than eight times. On the other hand only 21 percent of primary women and 32.8 per

Table 5.3

Number of Times Promotion Gained

| | TEACAPS Survey | | Women in |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Primary Women | Secondary Women | Thesis Survey |
| Never | 68.0 | 61.0 | - |
| Once | 17.1 | 20.0 | 6.25 |
| Twice | 8.4 | 9.9 | - |
| Three times | 4.2 | 5.6 | 31.25 |
| Four times | 1.2 | 2.7 | 31.25 |
| Five times | 0.9 | 0.7 | 12.50 |
| Six times | - | - | 12.50 |
| Seven times | - | - | 6.25 |
| > Seven times | - | - | - |

Sources: Department of Education (1982);
Thesis Survey, 1985

cent of secondary women had moved three times or more. A comparison of these figures with the information on the reasons for their absence from the service and rates of application for promotion would suggest a group of highly motivated women, mobile and willing to move schools to gain promotion. Research has suggested (Malcolm, 1978; Josefowitz, 1980) that women have affiliative needs that mean they are reluctant to move schools or apply for promotion. This obviously has not acted as a block for these women.

Table 5.4

Number of Moves

| | TEACAPS Survey | | Women in Thesis Survey |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Primary Women | Secondary Women | |
| No moves | 32.5 | 23.0 | - |
| One move | 25.9 | 25.7 | - |
| Two moves | 20.7 | 18.5 | - |
| Three moves | 8.8 | 13.8 | 12.50 |
| Four moves | 7.3 | 9.3 | - |
| Five moves | 3.3 | 5.7 | 43.75 |
| Six moves | 1.3 | 3.0 | 18.75 |
| Seven moves | - | 0.5 | - |
| Eight moves | 0.3 | 0.5 | 25.00 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.00 |
| Mean moves | 2.0 | 1.5 | 5.00 |

Sources: Department of Education (1982);
Thesis Survey, 1985

Another aspect of the career paths of women is their participation in the relieving and part-time work force. It is a fact that is deplored by feminist writers and researchers who see women as forming the bulk of an exploited 'floating pool' of workers without tenure. The political implications are, of course, that this pool is deliberately

maintained so that it can be tapped by the employing authorities at will. Women form 98 percent of the part-time teachers in the primary service and 82 percent of the part-time teachers in the secondary service. They also form the bulk of the relieving work force: 86 percent of the primary and 69 percent of the secondary services respectively.

Only one of the sixteen women has ever held a relieving position and only two have worked part-time and then on only one occasion. All of them have chosen permanent tenure and the associated rights and rewards, such as the possibility of promotion, as well as the ability to be part of and influence the system that permanent tenure implies. It could also be argued that they have been able to work full-time and many women do not have that option. However, Helen Watson, in particular, is an example of a woman who, despite being a solo mother, still managed to keep teaching full-time. In interviewing these women and knowing many of them as friends, I have an overwhelming impression of people with tremendous drive and determination who have, and would have, the energy and commitment to overcome any obstacles and blocks confronting them.

The research in the literature review (Chapter Two), refers to the 'cloning effect' in institutions (Schmuck and Spencer, 1981, 79). This means that men who are already in the majority in the hierarchy tend to appoint other men as they are more comfortable with them. Men perceive men as more suitable because they are not associated with all the negative stereotypes of the nurturing role that women

attract like being unreliable, over emotional, not committed and so on. This is a circular process as subordinates also prefer male superordinates (Department of Education, 1982), probably because they prefer being linked to the ability to confer power as a masculine not a feminine attribute (Marshall, 1980, 99). As Helen Watson has often indicated, women in New Zealand complain that they feel discriminated against in the selection process.

The women in this survey were asked how many times they had applied for promotions and also the number of times a male applicant was preferred. A very high proportion - six out of sixteen - had never had a male applicant appointed instead of them. A further 25 percent had very rarely had a male applicant preferred - a ratio of one to eight. For 25 percent of the women it was only one in four, for only two women was it as high a ratio as three out of four occasions. There are no national statistics with which to make any valid comparison. However, simply by comparing the number of women who have succeeded in gaining promotion in both services (14 percent in primary and six percent in secondary), it is obvious that these women have been very unusual in that, very few times in their careers, if at all, have men been the preferred applicants. As only three of the women are in single sex schools, this is remarkable.

Another area where male and female career structures vary is related to external and internal promotion. As in previous years the TEACAPS (Donn, 1986, 17) promotion statistics for 1985 showed that 'Women were more likely than

men to be appointed internally.' For example, in 1985, 82 percent of women's promotions were internal, not external. The statistics for internal promotions from this research are longitudinal and those for TEACAPS, 1985 (Donn, 1986) are cross-sectional (annual), but it is interesting to see the ratio of internal to external promotions. In TEACAPS, the ratio has been approximately four internal out of every five promotions. In the thesis survey only two out of the sixteen women had more internal than external promotions. One had an equal ratio of internal to external, three had half internal promotions, three a third internal promotions, one a quarter and one a sixth. Four women had never had an internal promotion.

This is a marked deviation from, and indeed a complete reversal of, the findings for women as a whole. The fact women tend to be promoted internally could be attributed to the idea that women perceive to be true, but which has not been substantiated by research, and that is that men are promoted on their potential and women have had to prove themselves (Edson, 1981, 178). In other words, men promote women within the school where they are known or 'proven' and no 'risk' is involved. On the other hand it could be due to the relative immobility of most women which may mean that they tend to want to stay in a school and therefore apply predominantly for internal positions. These aspects of internal promotion could be the subject of further research.

The way in which women differ from a so-called male 'norm' is not a topic that has been highlighted in what is

essentially within-group research. However, for the problems faced by women in interviewing for senior positions, there are no within-group data and it is between-group factors that dominate. Both Pitner (1981, 292) and Renwick (1977, 11) have discussed this issue. As Pitner points out, men set the norm for everyone and women are classified as 'the others'. It is obvious that women are aware of this problem because of the many assertiveness courses and books on how to dress for and behave at interviews. The research on the more tentative language of women is discussed in Chapter Two. Josefowitz (1980, 79) also mentions the research that finds that women are interrupted in conversation more than men and that topics introduced by men succeed 96 percent of the time, those of women 36 percent of the time. This means that, as many of the women indicated in their answers to questions on constraints: *'Women must be better'.*

Certainly these women were faced with the problem all women face in interviews: predominantly male interviewing panels. Two-thirds had male dominated panels at interviews, both for previous positions and for their current positions. Only one woman said that she had had a predominantly female panel and only two had experienced a balance of men and women in a panel for previous or current position interviews. The fact that several of the women are nationally known speakers at conferences, on television or radio, indicates that they would be confident and able in interview situations. Charmaine Pountney has indicated

earlier in this thesis how her political experience gave her training in this area and, of course, this also holds true for several other women in the group. Six have been prominent English teachers, trained to be articulate. These factors must contribute to their ability to hold their own in an interview situation where men still dominate in numbers.

Perhaps the most important factor to emerge from all the data on promotion is the persistence of these women in seeking advancement. This persistence is reflected in the number of applications, the number of moves, and the number of external promotions. It also implies that they are not overwhelmed by facing innumerable situations where they do not conform to 'the norm', where they are 'the others', as in interviews, in politics, in aspiring to senior positions at all.

### 5.2.3 Knowledge is Power

#### 5.2.3.1 Career Path

Part of this persistence comes from a strength derived from knowledge, for lack of knowledge results in perceiving an inhibiting mystique around administrative positions (Marshall, 1984, 96-98; Dee, 1978, 3-18; Josefowitz, 1980, 79). Although TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) addresses the questions as to the source of teachers' knowledge about regulations, this investigation addresses the problem of whether the women had knowledge of the career path. This is because research has indicated that many

women have neither career aspirations (Department of Education, 1982, 93) nor knowledge about the regulations regarding promotion.

Several women were not aware of the regulations when they began their careers. As Ruth Mansell says of her first school when she was on an all-woman staff: *It just wasn't 'the thing' to be ambitious... it just wasn't done.* Which, of course, reflects the stereotype that it is 'natural' for a man to be ambitious but not for a woman. She adds, *It wasn't until I got to know Jack Ennis that he would explain to me what I could do.* Ann Gluckman had no knowledge about the promotion steps and qualifications needed to apply; in fact she says, *I doubt if I had eleven years when I was appointed to Nga Tapuwae.*

Bettina Brown never found it necessary to find out. *I was told, 'We're advertising your job as a PR3' or whatever,* and she had no idea of the *'finer points'.* Puna Taua admits it is *only in the last eight years I've looked at teaching as a career.* When she did, in 1976, she decided to *do things that put you ahead of others* and studied for her BA and MA. When promotion came to her it was in a rush: *the things began to happen to me, just began to happen without even my control.* Edna Tait had no knowledge about the regulations, neither did Gae Griffiths. Both became aware of regulations after their careers were launched. In fact, according to Gae Griffiths, the current regulations did not come in until the mid-1970s anyway, and by then she had already gained a senior position. Like Karen Sewell, she

had to familiarize herself with the regulations when she was in the inspectorate. Irene Ogden relied on her gradings to determine the sequence of her career path, *green for B jobs - yellow for C jobs.*

Of those who did know the regulations the majority learnt through being active members of their professional organizations. Wallis Walker says, not only did she learn through NZEI but *actually finding that I could take part in writing those or influencing the decisions* in making new regulations. In fact, she had the satisfaction of *finding that an idea that you had floated [came to fruition]... even if I had to wait five years - but you actually saw it happen... if you stuck with it.* As she says, an idea defeated is no use; it is better to ease off and wait awhile. Charmaine Pountney is another astute politician who learnt about regulations by being on the National Executive of the PPTA. She also attributes a great deal of her knowledge to Eric Clark who *believed in training staff.* Helen Watson also gained her knowledge through PPTA although she says if she needed to know anything *I would have looked it up in the green manual.*

Joan Scanlan was also familiar with the green departmental manuals. *I made sure I read the books. I made sure I knew.* Frances Salt knew the structure and knew she was actually ineligible for her first promotion. She also knew there could be dispensations so applied anyway.

Margaret Leaming learnt *by osmosis* from a successful husband already in the hierarchy. For two women, those in

the Teachers Colleges, the regulations differed. Maureen Wilson admits she jumped more than three steps on the salary scale and did not realize that she was not permitted to do so. Fortunately she did not know or she would not have applied for the job - to which she was appointed. Noeline Alcorn was aware that regulations would have prevented her going back into teaching if she had wanted to do so.

Karen Sewell is acutely aware that knowledge of the regulations is power. Like three other women, she was appointed to her position with less than the minimum requirement, and had not done country service, so she had to wait a year to actually receive her PR salary. However, as an SM and a DP, she became familiar with the regulations *because other people would ask me things and I've always believed that if you can read you can find out most things.* She was concerned for the staff at Green Bay High School but also because it is *important for teachers to find out about things like that... just as I think it's important for women in particular to understand things like staffing, positions of responsibility and senior administrative time allowances.* However, her concern for women did not make her unsympathetic to men in a similar position: *I've got men colleagues to whom I gave the same information.* She firmly believes knowledge of this kind must be made open as a protection. *I mean, it's true that potentially principals have a lot of power but what is even more true is that everybody else lets them have it. For instance, teachers in a school ought to work out that there are eleven and a half*

*days senior administrative time allowance* and ask how it is allocated.

For half of the women this type of knowledge is important for its power and has been influential in their own careers. Even for the others it is important now as an essential and integral part of being an administrator.

**5.2.3.2 Management Training**

Another type of knowledge valued currently is management training. In my opinion, it is not merely the content of the knowledge gained on administration courses that is valuable, but more particularly their contribution to demolishing the 'mystique' which surrounds management. As indicated earlier, research has shown this 'mystique' to be particularly inhibiting to women who are not traditionally seen as management material. It is also perhaps for this reason that they are still in a minority on departmental courses on management. In the late 1970s, as a response to the 1975 United Nations focus on women, the Department of Education set up a series of Women in Management Courses and a number of these women were involved either in taking the courses or contributing to them. It was considered that women's lack of management training was a factor in their failure to achieve promotion.

Helen Watson went to a course, as well as a refresher course on management, and represented PPTA on a course on Educational Management Education. She says the statistics from the Department on the success rate of women who went on the courses showed that *only 50 percent achieved promotion*

*and I suspect they would have achieved promotion anyway.* Rather cynically Wallis Walker observes that the year of Women in Management courses increased the number of women in official residential in-service courses and the numbers have declined again since. Bettina Brown ran two courses for the Women in Management programme and attended two courses. She attended two other official courses with predominantly male participants. She has also run middle management courses for women. Frances Salt and Karen Sewell also attended the Women in Management courses and have themselves run management courses.

In the primary service Irene Ogden, Joan Scanlan and Puna Taua have all attended principals' courses and Irene has had a total of four weeks in a full-time course with the Hamilton and Auckland Education Boards. Joan Scanlan feels that most value came from *my experience on the job,* and Wallis Walker, from *that which good principals I've worked with have given me.* Margaret Leaming gained most of her knowledge from being a DP in the school of which her husband was principal. She says that he always saw staff training as an important function for the principal.

Similarly, Maureen Wilson believes that *you learn on the job* and a lot of what she has read on administration is *garbage.* The educational administrators, she feels, have made a *science of something which anyone who's been bringing up a family, living on a farm and teaching full-time and all that kind of thing* knows already.

Charmaine Pountney remembers only one course that had

value for her as a principal and that was the principals' course on Whaiora Marae - and that was critical in moving her to biculturalism. She calls herself a *little upstart* because she ran HOD courses before she was an HOD, and has lectured at many new principals' courses since her second year as a principal without actually being on one herself. Ann Gluckman sees no value in these principals' courses; they are, she considers, very much *join the old boys, and not aimed at women at all,* and thinks *one would have been better to have had a few months on the job before joining the principals' course.* She adds, *I soon learnt by doing it.* She is the only woman, among the sixteen, to have completed the Dip.Ed.Admin. from Massey University, but feels it was too theoretical and had too few secondary participants at the time she did the course. Noeline Alcorn has done a Massey University paper - *one very bad paper* - but has done a lot of work on her own. She has taught in the field of educational administration and been supported by the teachers college in attending conferences (on the topic of educational administration) in Australia.

Gae Griffiths has been deeply involved in educational administration. She remembers excellent SM Association meetings in the early 1970s. When she went into the inspectorate, management *became the 'in' word. It's always been something that I've been fascinated with - organization and working with systems and ideas and planning and so on.* She was awarded a Commonwealth Fellowship to the University of London where she wrote a thesis on 'Effective Leadership

and Management in Secondary Schools'. Like several other women, she says, *I guess I was not so much officially 'being trained' as 'doing the training of' - but in doing it I was learning too.*

Most of the women have had some sort of management training but Gae's last statement really sums up their experience. Recognized as capable administrators they were selected to train others, theoretical knowledge aside. As will be seen in the next section, the fact that ten out of the sixteen were selected for official courses is significant in that attendance at so many of these courses is predominantly male.

### 5.2.4 Visibility is Power

Wheatley (1981), TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982) and Marshall (1984) discuss the potential of being 'visible' as an aid to promotion. TEACAPS measures the 'high profile' quality in terms of attendance at residential in-service courses and holding positions in NZEI and PPTA. Wheatley (1981, 264) says the visibility can be inside the school and outside in the community, within the school and in relation to regional or central offices.

#### 5.2.4.1 Residential In-Service Courses

Being invited on an in-service course is a recognition of 'visibility' in the school and also 'visibility' to the departmental officers who decide who is to attend the course. TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 75) found 15 percent of primary women and 25 percent of secondary

women had attended a residential course. They do not indicate the number of courses attended. It would seem reasonable to hypothesize that several courses would increase the 'visibility' of the teacher. All of the sixteen women had attended residential in-service courses. Six had attended more than ten, and two had lost count. Ruth Mansell estimates that in her position in Curriculum Development and in her current position of Curriculum Officer in NZEI she has participated in the leadership of over a hundred courses! This is exceptional 'visibility'.

Another reason why these in-service courses are valued in relation to promotion is that they are recognized as part of the 'reward' system within education. In a system that cannot give bonuses or other monetary rewards, scholarships, fellowships and in-service course places are seen as 'perks'. They are what those with power have to offer the people they favour to succeed them. In a system where women occupy the lower status positions with less earning power and less rewarding power, the women in this research have attained outstanding recognition in terms of scholarships, fellowships and attendance at courses.

The nature of the courses is also interesting. By far the largest number attended (nearly half) relate to curriculum, a quarter to management, and a tenth to philosophy of education and 'educational issues'. Other topics included the areas of staff development, resources and buildings. Resources and buildings in particular are responsibilities often regarded as 'masculine areas'

(Manchester, 1983) that lead to promotion.

**5.2.4.2 Professional Organizations**

To what extent did being a leader in a professional organization help in their careers - one of the measures of 'visibility' used by TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982)? Ten of the women are quite emphatic that it did not contribute to their promotion. Gae Griffiths *deliberately* did not seek office in the PPTA but has always been a *conscientious branch member.* Ruth Mansell sees no direct relationship with promotion: *I was more interested in the classroom, the school and my family.* One of the ten women who feel it did not contribute directly, Joan Scanlan, made an interesting observation about those who have been prominent in the unions - *people like Charmaine - I think she would have made it anyway.*

Wallis Walker, as indicated earlier, learnt about regulations and how to influence new policy. Puna Taua had only one motive in joining NZEI, *my commitment to Maori people...* she saw it as *a vehicle to do something... that I knew needed to be done for Maori education.* She admits that later *NZEI did open up lots of things because they offered me positions. She became an office bearer of the Auckland Branch. The only thing that helped me as far as my position would be that I met lots of people I wouldn't have had the opportunity to meet... so that made me recognizable.*

Edna Tait, Charmaine Pountney and Karen Sewell see their involvement as highly significant. Edna Tait says, *I think because I was involved in PPTA for many years I was*

*more aware of a lot of things that other people were not aware of. I was part of the group that wrote the Secondary Staffing Report. I could recite that backwards even now. I was part of the group that helped to bash out classification procedures...* Charmaine saw there were two strands in helping her career. The first involved being branch chairperson at the time of staffing action and the publicity it drew. The second was her involvement in English Curriculum and the English panel. Karen Sewell has held various branch positions and sees her involvement on curriculum panels as important. She did not have *a high political profile but have always made political statements about English and English teaching, about women and, with less authority, about the place of Maori people in the system... My involvement has been positive.*

On the other hand, Helen Watson sees that involvement in PPTA has affected her career *quite drastically in a negative way. Involvement at a national level is not always an advantage as far as getting promotion [is concerned], and particularly for me since I have been strongly identified with things to do with women.* She feels PPTA and PPTA militant action, and her involvement in women's politics *has branded me as an outspoken, trouble making person who was not an acceptable person* [for senior administrative positions]. Certainly, however, this 'visibility' would have been a major factor in gaining her present position as a full-time Women's Officer for PPTA.

#### 5.2.4.3 Country Service

Another indirect aspect of 'visibility' is country service. Early in thinking about this topic I considered the possibility that women, because of their relative immobility, could not do country service and consequently were held back in their careers. The country service bar both in primary and secondary services was to encourage teachers to work in rural schools, and in primary schools it prevented a movement into Division B, and in secondary into the PR structure before the age of thirty. The bar was abolished in 1980, but in some way must have affected all the respondents in the thesis survey.

Joan Scanlan did country service, as did Margaret Leaming who taught with her husband in several country schools. No one else taught at rural schools, and in a way this has mainly been an advantage rather than a disadvantage. For example, Wallis Walker taught an 'equivalent school' for country service that meant she could stay in the city and play a major role in NZEI. Karen Sewell had not completed country service and so had to wait a year before receiving her PR allowance. Ann Gluckman and Ruth Mansell would already have passed the age bar as they entered the service later. For the Teachers College lecturers the bar is irrelevant. Puna Taua, Bettina Brown, Gae Griffiths, Edna Tait and Frances Salt all stayed in urban areas. Consequently they remained in areas where they were 'visible' and where there were a large number of schools to choose from.

For Wallis Walker and Karen Sewell it was a conscious choice: one for political reasons, the other in order to teach in an alternative style school. I have no data on the other women as to how they avoided the country service bar. It is most likely that they did not achieve promotion until after the age of thirty, or their urban schools were close to rural areas and could be rated as 'equivalent' in some way. The result is not what I expected, and I can only hypothesize on the impact on a career path of remaining in a large city.

#### 5.2.4.4 Single-Sex Girls Schools

A final aspect of 'visibility' is promotion for women through a girls school. Both Helen Watson and Bettina Brown recognize this fact. Bettina says, *It is much easier to get promotion in a girls school.* Consequently many able women, frustrated at the lack of opportunities in coeducational schools have moved to single-sex girls schools. Both Charmaine Pountney and Gae Griffiths had held DPs positions in large coeducational schools before becoming principals of girls schools. At the time they were appointed there was only one woman principal of a coeducational school in Auckland - Ann Gluckman. However, with the change of climate in the last few years it is highly likely that all three of these principals of girls schools could have become principals of coeducational schools. At the time the women were surveyed there were only five women in New Zealand who were principals of coeducational secondary schools, so there is no doubt that girls schools have given an alternative

career path for exceptional women faced by an amazingly sexist block of discrimination.

The presence of such outstanding women and staff acts as a positive discrimination for the girls who attend these schools. As Bettina Brown says, *I'm totally committed to girls education and I feel that they get better opportunities in a girls school.* Gae Griffiths considered both coeducation and girls schools, *but so much of what we read in research, so much of what we know anyway from our first-hand experience, is that girls do better in girls schools. Well, if I'm going to be responsible for a school where we want young women to be successful then I want to be in a girls school doing that.* Charmaine Pountney has the same view: *I love it, such lovely people, girls and staff. Girls schools are better places for young women.*

### 5.2.5 Summary

As Tyack and Strober in their article on 'Jobs and gender: a history of the structuring of educational employment by sex' (1981, 132) suggest, the historical background of male and female participation in the economy and the development of cultural norms for women's behaviour are reinforced in the family and organizations like schools. They argue that structure by gender crosses divisions of class, race and age and 'is so pervasive it is taken for granted'.

It is this 'taken-for-granted' attitude that all sixteen women have had to face in being a minority group in the

structures. By careful career planning, determination and persistence in applying for jobs and, if necessary, making personal sacrifices in doing so, they have moved up the hierarchy. They have certainly shown the 'visibility' and the possession of a pioneering and innovative spirit, especially in entering masculine fields like management, that Wheatley (1981) suggests are essential to accession to real power in the structures of organizations. In no way do they conform to the stereotypical role of being 'protected' by men (Schmuck, 1981a, 228), nor have they shown the response attributed to most women to a low opportunity powerless state, that is lack of confidence, lack of aspirations and persistence, or conservatism. They are, conversely, women who are self-confident, committed, energetic, independent, challenging and innovative. In the next section I will examine the fact that this has not been at the cost of their sense of womanhood.

## 5.3 LEADERSHIP STYLE

The literature has shown that there is a recognizable women's leadership style (Dee, 1978; Stockard and Johnson, 1981; Wheatley, 1981; Nash and Sungaila, 1984). This section of the Chapter is concerned with women's perceptions of their leadership style and the ideals they are moving towards.

Pitner's (1981, 291-293) research on men and women

educational administrators found that women were more informal, encouraged their subordinates to first name them, and were more flexible in agendas for meetings. They do less desk work and were out visiting classrooms and teachers. They sponsored other women. Josefowitz (1980, 203) also found women had a different style and quotes from Sanzgiri's (1977) study of professional women:

> 'The majority of [women] leaders seemed overtly humanistic, and directed to the wholeness of the human experience... They seemed intolerant of meetings for the sake of meetings or meaningless paper work which interfered with their commitment to professional excellence.'

Josefowitz says that the best managers often have both masculine and feminine styles and the two do not have to be at odds. She also points out that with a changing society a new leadership style is needed and the change in values is actually shifting towards a women's orientation (Josefowitz, 1980, 209). Like Moore (1981), she makes the point that 'women have already arrived where most men are just beginning to get to!' In changing values she mentions the new emphasis on collaborative decision-making, trust, sharing power, authenticity in avoiding playing games, seeing people as whole persons, accepting individual differences, and showing that they too are whole people with many personality facets.

Wheatley (1981) and Marshall emphasize that women must

retain this type of power but extend their power base to include other more traditional skills to be effective. Wheatley (1981, 264) says power is visible, is relevant in being able to cope with crisis situations, is pioneering and non-routine. Power, she emphasizes, affects behaviour and good leaders are able to delegate, promote subordinates and sponsor. In addition, Josefowitz mentions the attributes of courage and good decision-making.

Marshall (1984, 108) has an excellent diagram of the four dimensions of power, reproduced here as Figure 5.3. Marshall suggests women are often restricted by stereotype to using power through and with others and also to using expert power, and recommends that they expand into the areas of personal and structural power.

This long discussion is relevant here as the women in this survey were quite clear in their interviews about their ideal style, and they show a remarkable combination of traditional skills, such as ability to make decisions, and a pioneering courage with the particular skills that women bring to management - people skills. Some were aware that people skills are now the current trend and one was quite explicit: *Everyone says they like to work <u>with</u> people, but I really enjoy working <u>with</u>, I really like people.*

Rather than take each woman's philosophy of leadership separately, I shall isolate the qualities they see as most important and select the key quotations from their interviews on these topics.

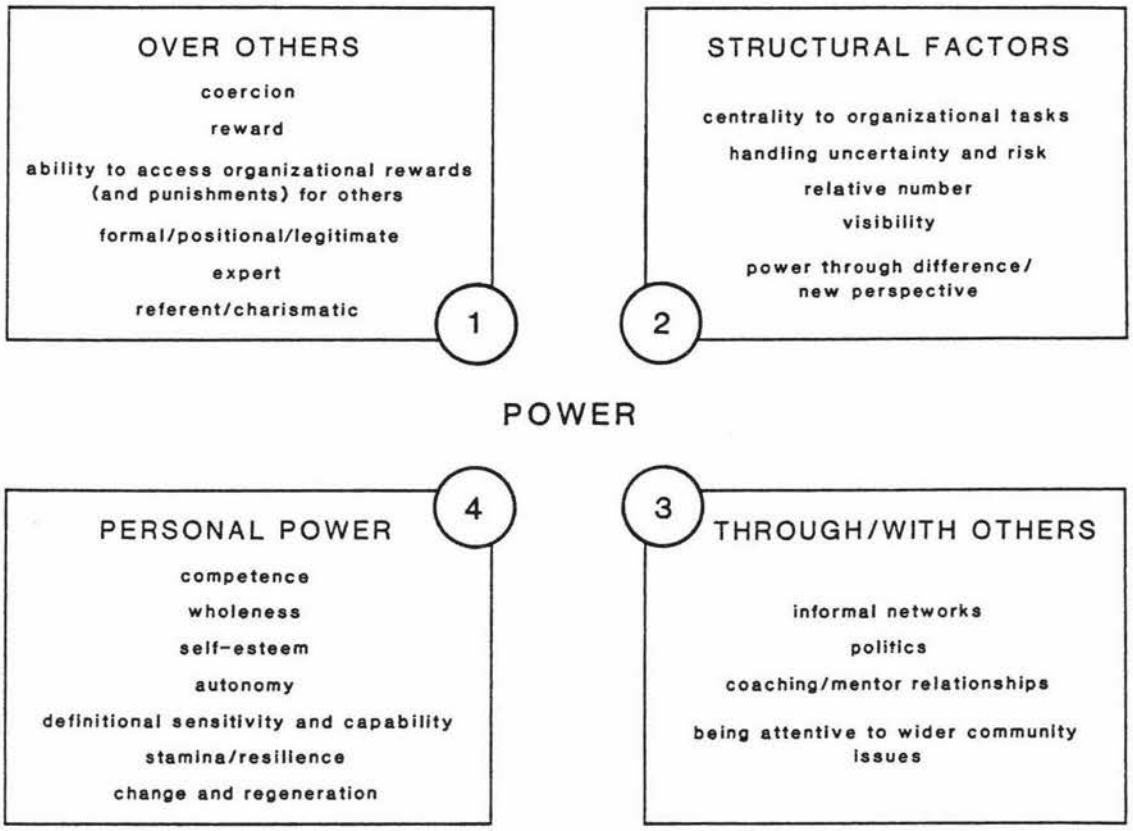



Figure 5.3 Four Dimensions of Power

Source: After Marshall (1984, 108)

### 5.3.1 Goals: Leaders Have a Vision

Helen Watson says: *I have well-defined views on leadership which are determined by people whom I have admired as leaders. I think that a person who is going to be a leader has to have a fairly strong philosophy of education. They need to have vision and philosophy and they need to be able to communicate it. To me a leader needs to be an inspiring person... who has experience, who has*

*thought things through on a philosophic level, who has the ability to convey that in an interesting and dynamic way and to bring other people with them.*

Ruth Mansell expresses the same view. *A good leader, especially in somewhere like a school, needs to have a vision of what you want the school to be doing - of what education can give... persuade other people that this is a vision worth working for, and that's what gets people working hard. The really good schools are where teachers are working bloody hard because they all believe in something, and what they believe in is usually something to do with what the principal is like.*

Ann Gluckman has this concept of goals. *I'll dig in fairly firmly over things I believe to be right... I'd like to be remembered as someone who had the guts to stick by something she believed in.* So does Maureen Wilson: *I want to have ideas. Trying things that may improve the job we do here is really important to me.*

Like Maureen Wilson, Noeline Alcorn combines this concept with creativity. *To continue to have lots of ideas so that things do change. I'm not suggesting you should have all the ideas yourself: it's not entrepreneurial but inventive, taking risks.* Margaret Leaming recognizes *you do have power if you want to use it, so you have to be careful what you do with it... but I would like them to think 'She's got some goals which we know about and that's where we're all heading'. I find it difficult working with or for people where I'm not sure of their philosophy or goals.*

*They simply go along doing mundane things.*

### 5.3.2 Sharing Power With Others

Margaret Leaming emphasizes the concept of sharing. *I'm not at ease being a leader with everyone coming along behind.* Karen Sewell has the same aspiration. *I've wanted to be collaborative - that's something that takes time to work towards... I think that the only way we'll effectively make change in the school is by sharing the decisions that need to be made, because if we don't share making them we're not going to share putting them into practice... Much harder than a unilateral decision.*

Gae Griffiths calls this process *collegial and consultative. Involving a lot of people in the work associated with decision-making.* Noeline Alcorn feels that *it's very important to be democratic in one's leadership style and to consult widely to accept other people's ideas. Particularly as this is a small organization it has been easy to work as a team whenever it is possible and to make a number of decisions collectively.* For Frances Salt it is her most important objective: *I always want to see people as the most important. I never want to think that anything I know about efficiency will come in between that and the fact that when you are managing it is for the good of people and they've got to come first. I would like to be wise in dealing with people and know how best I can help them, more than anything else; and that may seem inefficient in terms of time and energy but it's the most important thing.*

Bettina Brown, like Edna Tait, Margaret Leaming, Irene Ogden and Joan Scanlan sees that finally the responsibility of leadership is hers. As Bettina puts it: *I would like to think it was basically consensus decision-making but I still think there is a point when someone has to take responsibility and make the ultimate decision - consensus but not carried to the extreme. There has to be efficiency and total consensus could be totally ineffective if carried too far.* She believes in the teachers as a tremendous resource. *Many of them are more innovative and creative than I am. We've got this pool of resources that we've got to get working together... and create a climate in which people do feel free to put their ideas forward.*

Maureen Wilson put the idea in slightly different terms. She believes she has to *maintain contact with students. I teach. I want to say I'm one of the people; I join the choir, I lead a non-distanced, non-ostentatious role, so a lot of people don't know who you are, which is quite interesting.*

For Charmaine Pountney, sharing power is something that does not come naturally to her but is something she is working towards. *I don't always bother telling people what I'm doing and what's happening... While I'm skilled at operating as an individual, I am not good as a member of a group.* She admits, *a person who is skilled on her own is not what is needed but working <u>with</u>. I've begun to learn the skills of working with, because working with women is important.* She is working on the skills of working with a group *not feeling*

*obliged to contribute, to be 'the best'.* However, she says, *it isn't the same as the male dominance of actually exercising power over others - it's actually a half-way step. What I've grown up with is power as energy, but energy being used in a dominant way, not coercively. Half way between power as dominance over and power as energy shared.*

Like Charmaine, Edna Tait sees sharing power as her major aspiration. *The leadership style I aspire to I've never actually seen in operation so I don't even know if it's possible. But I aspire to a school where the staff make all decisions on a consensus basis, where my view counts along with theirs, no more and no less. Where I make the hard decisions when you can't get a consensus. Then, I'm paid to make the hard ones.*

Puna Taua sees this concept as a respect for individual differences. *Where everyone can get on with the job, have their points of view which may be different but have the perspective of thinking... not just themselves but for the good of the whole. Everybody to have their opinion, however different, but to come out with what is good for the whole group.*

### 5.3.3 Empowering Others

This is a traditional leadership concept, to realize that being in a responsible position places an onus on the leader to train and empower others. Within this aspect of power are areas like delegation, facilitating, sponsoring and promoting.

To Wallis Walker this is the most important aspect of leadership. *I'm a strong advocate of strengthening the people around you so that they eventually say they did it themselves. The strength of the organization is the strength of the people in it. I have accepted as being a professional person that I can strengthen the people around me to the extent that I may be - eventually - where I may be in competition with them for a job, and I can accept it. I have assisted them in an advocacy role.* She states quite categorically: *I have no need to feel power or dominance over another person.*

Both Wallis Walker and Irene Ogden see themselves as facilitators. Irene says she does not make all the decisions. *I suppose that I'm the facilitator, the catalyst that helps other people.* Margaret Leaming uses the same term: *You want to facilitate things.* She says to staff, *Go ahead, but keep me informed,* and she encourages delegation.

Ann Gluckman and Gae Griffiths see the importance of recognizing strengths in their staffs. Ann says, *I think a very important thing in leadership is to be aware of others' strengths, and their weaknesses, and to work to their strengths.* Gae confirms this attitude. *There are a lot of strengths in any group of human beings and I think it's very important that those strengths are allowed to develop and are recognized - it's facilitative.*

Ruth Mansell sees this role as vital. *My idea of good leadership is a leader empowers other people. Not a passive thing. Draw out from people all their strengths and enable*

*them to grow.* Karen Sewell sees herself with this role. *I think what I hope for kids I hope for staff, that they will be given a chance to improve as teachers - to care for kids.*

### 5.3.4 Courage and Risk Taking

Another aspect of power that breaks the stereotype of 'protected' women is the ability to take risks. Ann Gluckman believes that leadership is having the *courage to know what is important. I've learnt there's nothing wrong in admitting there's been a mistake and shifting one's stance.* Noeline Alcorn sees this aspect as *taking risks and putting your money where your mouth is; for example, support for Women's Studies must be followed through in action.* Joan Scanlan says, *You've got to be brave enough to do something you believe to be right.*

It is an important part of management for Helen Watson. *Being prepared to stand up front and do the fighting, the struggle on behalf of other people... an articulate, forceful person* so that people know *this person is going to take us somewhere.* Charmaine Pountney sees this quality as *flexibility to adapt to the unknown almost immediately.* She realizes she has the ability to *cope with rapid change* but conversely she tends to *slide off to doing too many things at once.* However, this 'pioneering' quality is an important quality of good leadership. Maureen Wilson is aware that her chosen style is not a traditional one but takes the risk of being misunderstood. *I want to show I'm competent, and I get sad sometimes because I'm not competent in the things I*

*don't believe are important but that other people think are very important, so that's a dilemma.*

Karen Sewell is a well-known 'pioneer' in educational circles. For her, management means changing the educational system. *I also think time's running out in terms of secondary schools in New Zealand, or Auckland anyway. Meeting the challenges that are there in terms of things like bicultural education and a system that doesn't meet the needs of the vast majority of kids in it no matter what their colour or ability for that matter. We've got to make changes now.* She's aware that many schools are not adapting. *I was in schools in 1982, where I couldn't tell the difference between that and my education twenty years before. The world we live in is not only different but the world the kids are moving towards is incomprehensible.* She emphasizes: *First you are teaching people and must hope that they will be able to leave school as strong and capable as they can be, aware of their own abilities, believing that they are individuals with the potential for forming unique and valuable relationships, and who will be able to contribute to their communities; and I don't think our present curriculum or structure actually faces that.*

As has been seen in other sections of this thesis, other women - Ann Gluckman, Charmaine Pountney, Puna Taua - feel their most important task is to implement change.

### 5.3.5 Educative Function

The motive, made explicit by some but implicit in all

the interviews, is to improve education for children, for students. Karen Sewell wants to make things better *for kids.* Joan Scanlan wants *the highest standard* from teachers because *I'm first of all an educator.* As Charmaine Pountney states: *Most of what I do in my job is educative.* This function is important to Wallis Walker and encourages teachers and students to grow. *Teachers grow when they realize they have a child in the class brighter than they are and they become the facilitators of learning - they bloom.*

Edna Tait has similar aims. *I aspire to have a school where all staff are encouraged to work really hard for kids... I aspire to a school where the job is done well, not just for its own sake, but because if you do well the kids are going to benefit.* She wants to *break down the horizontal and vertical divisions that exist in every school.*

It is interesting that at least two of these women, having gained positions where they can free themselves from the teaching load, have actually decided to stay in the classroom. Karen Sewell still has a form class to tutor every day and Maureen Wilson has chosen to continue some lecturing on top of her administrative duties. Both are making a strong statement about the importance of teaching to the other people they work with as well as to their students.

### 5.3.6 Coping With Trivia

Maureen Wilson's stand in taking a new look at manage-

ment is true of several of the women. She says, *I don't like meetings, the formality, the pretence, the way people rarely say what they really want to say and you skirt round the issue... I'm a lousy filer... because most of the things that are really important are in my head, I believe. I don't believe you have to have all the answers.* Charmaine Pountney feels the same. She says, *I don't value those aspects [numbers and clerical tasks] very highly and have made errors.*

Other women are aware of this problem and place an emphasis on getting through their paper work. Edna Tait says it is her aim *to move paper work through the school quickly.* Noeline Alcorn sees that *efficiency is important. To be able to use your support staff effectively and not to do everything oneself - a danger some women tend to fall into more easily than men because they're not used to having people around to help.*

In other words the traditional role of supporter and nurturer allocated to women makes them reluctant to cast others in the role - as research shows, they feel guilty at doing so. As Josefowitz (1980, 15) says, 'Men are in charge, women at best merely help'. She goes on, 'I know women managers who have difficulty asking their secretaries to do things that are perfectly legitimate'.

### 5.3.7 Classroom Teaching and Management

Margaret Malcolm (1978, 129) in one of her recommendations, suggests that leadership styles, both male

and female, should be researched. She assumes the career path in schools is from capable teacher to capable administrator because teachers move through the grades to leadership, in which case many capable women involved in the organization of a classroom and responsible to other teachers are not receiving recognition. As Malcolm says, 'The capabilities of a teacher, therefore, cannot be regarded as at the opposite end of a continuum from the capabilities of an administrator.'

Certainly, research shows that women spend longer than men in the classroom (Paddock, 1981, 193). Does this mean that they are regarded as good classroom teachers but not suitable for promotion? Again, the question arises of whether women, because they are a minority, have affiliative needs that make them prefer the classroom and colleagues rather than the relative isolation of administration.

As all the women went through the career structure from capable classroom teacher to capable administrator, I asked them if they thought there was any relationship between skills they needed in the classroom and skills needed as an administrator. All agreed without hesitation that the classroom skills they had used were as applicable in running an institution. They valued people skills, the ability to plan, facilitating learning, analysing, evaluating, seeing what needs to be done and doing it. Their answers overlapped considerably, but each expressed it in her own way.

*All the things that were important to me in my classroom like being non-confrontatory, being supportive and*

*caring about individuals - they are the basis of me as an administrator as I was a classroom teacher.* Karen Sewell.

*I believe I was a good competent teacher because I was well organized. I have a good eye for detail. I'm very fond of checking and re-checking, and I was the leader in the room without doing it in an autocratic or bullying way.* Edna Tait.

Bettina Brown sees that the organizing of a curriculum for the classroom carries over to timetabling and curriculum for the school, as does flexibility in relation to staff and students. Margaret Leaming uses the same formula - what she calls the ADA - in the classroom and in her current job: *analysing, diagnosing and taking action.*

Gae Griffiths mentions similar attributes. *If you're a capable classroom teacher you'll be able to plan, you'll be able to evaluate, you'll be able to deal with people, you'll be able to use resources, you'll be able to handle all sorts of trivia that one has to handle in the classroom... People often say, 'If you're successful in the classroom you're not likely to be successful as an administrator'. Well, that doesn't have to be so.*

Puna Taua says she looks at management *as being the total school, the staff, the children and everything else. In that sense, being a classroom teacher helped me be an administrator.* Like Gae Griffiths, Maureen Wilson says, *I believe... particularly in a teachers college and I would say also in a school, that your best teachers should be your administrators... Good teachers have got a bit of sparkle,*

*they like people, are prepared to try something, they're not unduly caught up in records, facts and figures.* Noeline Alcorn agrees: *I've always argued with people who are in courses that I teach that a lot of the organizational skills that people learn in the classroom are valuable in administration.*

Helen Watson applies this particularly to her subject, English. *To be a reasonably successful classroom teacher you've got to be a good administrator, particularly in a subject like English which involves a great number of resources and a variety of activities.* As Ruth Mansell points out: *You've got to be a good organizer with both... Being interested in people, that's really the centre of it. I don't think anyone can be a good administrator who doesn't enjoy people.*

Wallis Walker also sees both areas as *people based,* and adds, *It's not what you're doing that's important, it's what others are doing... Women are the facilitators in learning.* Ann Gluckman places the same emphasis on people. *I was a good classroom teacher because I think I was ahead of my time in treating children as people and forming a caring relationship with children.*

Both Charmaine Pountney and Irene Ogden see the strong relationship between classroom and management, but as Irene says, the *mindless paper war* is not part of the classroom. However, she sees the importance of the *ability to motivate children, to motivate people* as very similar. Charmaine believes *there is no separation between the two. Most of*

*what I do in my job as principal is educative. I am teaching and learning, and I stress both... The main difference is that my life as a classroom teacher was much more orderly because I could predict what was likely to happen from day to day.* Frances Salt sums up for all the women when she says, *The things that you think are important in the classroom are still important in administration, and that is just a natural progression really.*

### 5.3.8 Summary

Leadership style raises some of the most controversial questions to do with women in the hierarchy, including:

1. To what extent are women leaders influenced by their womanhood?
2. Is a 'feminine' style a function of status in society? In other words, is the style a negotiating one because women are from an oppressed minority or is 'femininity' innate?
3. Does change of status affect style?
4. Why do women carry over a 'feminine' style when their status changes?
5. Are there inherent female characteristics or do women leaders act differently because they are feminist?
6. Are women leaders at the masculine or feminine end of a continuum?
7. Is conditioning so powerful it cannot be erased by individual status?

Some of these questions are unanswerable at the moment.

For example, far more research needs to be done on the 'innate' qualities in men and women. Recent research (Josefowitz, 1980, 13; McGuinness and Pribram, n.d.) has indicated that women have some innate qualities that make them more sensitive to their environment and the feelings of others but the overwhelming research findings still point to women being moulded by the role allocated to them by society.

In this regard, as I have indicated throughout this thesis, a 'feminine' style is, in part, a product of being a minority with low-opportunity status so being forced to be negotiating and placatory.

To some extent status does change style, because as we have seen, women who have power have to take on a new role which involves the ability to delegate, to sponsor, to be able to take risks. Yet all the women in this survey are emphatic about the necessity to retain their sense of gender and to take their love and care of people into their managerial roles. Some perceive themselves as feminist, but others were at pains to point out that they are not feminist in any way.

The question as to whether they are at the masculine or feminine ends of the continuum cannot be answered from this research. These women talk only about themselves and their own ideals. It would be interesting for future research to triangulate these perceptions against those of colleagues.

Finally, is conditioning so powerful that it cannot be erased by individual status? The answer is 'yes'. Until

women are in sufficient numbers to create new 'norms' they will continue to be 'tokens'.

However, the appointment of these women and their visible success has perhaps paved the way for others. Certainly in the past year, in the Auckland area, there have been several appointments of women to deputy principal and principal's positions. To some extent it could be hypothesized that, in the Auckland area at least, the success of their leadership style has paved the way for other women to move into administration.

### 5.3.9 The Future

TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982, 95) analysed teachers' future career intentions. It was found that as both men and women ascended the hierarchy they were more committed to a future in teaching, men being more committed than women. It is significant that secondary women principals were 100 percent uncertain about their future, whereas only 40 percent of secondary men principals were uncertain.

The lack of confidence about where they will be in future does not show through in this survey. The older women will continue at their schools until retirement. Eight of the women will continue in education until they retire; five are not sure but have strong alternatives, and three are quite sure that, as they have been appointed young, they will look for a change from education before they reach retirement age. At least one has decided to

retire early.

Interestingly, several women found that taking part in this research made them take stock - to review their lives and think about planning for the future. Obviously some of those who have been in their jobs for only one or two years are absorbed with their work and are not really ready to think about where they will go next.

Edna Tait does not want to work as a principal until she retires as it would be *very bad for me and equally bad for the school.* She sees no point in changing schools as *I've run this particular race. I've climbed this mountain - I'm half way up it.* She would consider working in the Department of Education, or maybe an international job connected with the world executive of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP). She has thought about politics and would take a safe seat if it were offered to her; *I am quite clear about that. It's a pretty exciting world actually. Everybody's got a book in them, everybody's got a painting in them.*

Ruth Mansell would like to *find ways to help teachers become better teachers... Ultimately to find the cracks in the system that fail some children... the inequities.* Maureen Wilson has *this great desire to do something significant - to make a contribution.* Noeline Alcorn has a similar aspiration. *I would like to do a lot more writing... You've got a chance to write about education and influence things that are going on because you can prove that things are as you say they are.*

Joan Scanlan and Irene Ogden would, in the future, like bigger schools, although Irene is also happy to go back to the classroom. Joan Scanlan wants to be sure it is the right school just as Frances Salt says it is important that any changes in her life *do seem right.* Like Edna Tait, Karen Sewell is aware that she cannot spend the rest of her working life in the same school. *I guess I'll do something else. I'm sure it will be in education.* Ann Gluckman does not have long to go until retirement when she hopes to study for a doctorate, or help older people get a third or fourth chance at education.

Charmaine Pountney has a very clear idea of what she would like to do. *The education system as I see it is marginally better than most other systems in spite of the fact it is set up to coerce and to serve a social filter mechanism role; in spite of that a lot of learning does happen inside it... I think within the education system there are more genuinely open people in positions of authority than there are in most government departments. So there's more feeling that what you are doing may have an effect in the end.* She would like, therefore, to work *very definitely in the area of moving towards equity, of changing Maori and pakeha power structures. And the other way of going about that would be by dismantling the whole exam structure... dismantling that part of the system would actually transform the whole power structure.* Charmaine does not see herself as ambitious any longer; rather, *I want to be part of a network for social transformation.*

The women in these case studies look to the future with excitement and confidence. Many of them will stay in the education system until they retire. Both now and in the future they are utterly committed to acting as agents of change to make schools better places for young people. For every woman, the children, and young men and women, come first because they are in education and helping young people to grow is their first priority.

## CHAPTER SIX

## IMPLICATIONS: WOMEN MUST BE SUPERWOMEN

A strong personal interest in researching the topic of women in educational management was confirmed by reading the recommendations for further research by Malcolm (1978) and TEACAPS (Department of Education, 1982). This thesis has examined sixteen case studies of successful women in education. The purpose was partly to give other women role models, and partly to determine, if possible, how these women have overcome the formidable barriers women face in entering the hierarchy.

I realize that the definition of success which is taken to mean women in at least a principal's position in a school or its equivalent in another area of the education service is a definition that many might question. It is, however, a practical definition for this thesis and there has been an attempt within this research to correlate success in the hierarchy with satisfaction with life style.

Chapter One raised the key issues to be addressed: the influence of the family, of role models, mentors and sponsors and support groups. The question of the multi-committed woman, the leadership style of women managers,as well as the way they overcame the traditional 'feminine' or 'stuck roles' and the many interpersonal and organizational barriers.

Chapter Two gave a detailed background to the research

making the point that most of the research has been between-group and quantitative. The issue of a feminist approach with an emphasis on subjectivity and qualitative data was discussed in Chapter Three.

The sixteen women whose interviews are discussed in Chapters Four and Five come from a wide variety of cultural and social backgrounds. The aim of this thesis was to preserve the individuality and avoid generalizations from the data. However, as the data were transcribed, collated and analysed, patterns began to emerge. They were not the patterns related to sibling structure, urban or rural upbringing, as seen in some research (Hennig and Jardim, 1979) but rather in the outstanding quality of their characters.

For this reason, this conclusion takes the form of a profile of the successful woman administrator. Obviously this is generalized and no one woman would identify with every aspect.

## 6.1 A PROFILE OF THE SUCCESSFUL WOMAN ADMINISTRATOR IN EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

No generalizations can be made about her religion, social class, position in the family or the size of town in which she was born. She will most likely, but not necessarily, be pakeha.

In her childhood, she will have had high expectations

of her from her family, and in some cases severe family disruption will have engendered in her a strength to overcome obstacles. Her father will have been her role model for professional development, a man whom she perceives as achieving and to be admired. Although she loves her mother, she feels closer, on the whole, to her father. Her mother will be non-professional and have stayed at home, but either her mother or grandmother will have had an influence because of her strength and determination in the face of difficulties.

The woman manager in education was always at the top of the top stream at school, almost always in a single-sex school. At school she was surrounded by excellent women teachers working under capable administrators. She never had a sense that women could not achieve these positions.

She could have chosen a single or a married life style but either way she is in control of her life. If she married she was almost certain to have had children but did not take time off from her career for child rearing. She achieved a balance between home and career by involving her children in her job, buying-in services, using labour-saving devices and avoiding a feeling of 'guilt' about neglected household chores. Her husband may or may not earn less than her and have less seniority, he will however, be a gentle supportive man pleased for his wife to have a career. He will share household tasks and even move to accompany his wife if she gets promotion in another town. She has learnt to 'phase' her life, adjusting continually to the differing

demands of career and home. Therefore, when the children were small for example, she left work earlier and took more work home.

The single woman administrator has a similar attitude to housework, buying-in services and 'phasing' life to include extra studies or participation in professional organizations. Whether she is married or single the successful woman has little leisure and this is tending to decrease as she ascends the hierarchy. She has no person to act as a 'wife' to take the load at home so she is often fatigued and very rarely takes a holiday.

Much of her non-working time is spent in leading in the community as she has spent her day leading in her institution. She could be a branch secretary of the Labour or National Parties, or on a national executive for a group like SPCA, or Defensive Driving. She will almost certainly be in local politics or on action committees of some sort.

At the same time she is quite likely to have been on a local, regional or national executive of her professional organization. It is in these positions that she not not only gave her time and energy but received training in meeting, speaking and political skills.

She has always chosen to continue reading in her subject or in areas like management in education. She is up-to-date in educational theory and will have gained one or two further qualifications since entering the teaching profession.

Despite this very busy life her personal and family

life is not neglected, she has a sense of balance and control. This is probably the most important factor in her feeling satisfied with her life. Although she is aware that at crucial points throughout her life she has made sacrifices, she does not see these as a 'cost', and looks back on her life as overwhelmingly worthwhile and exciting. She has redefined the role of women in society and is aware of the fact, although she may or may not have made this a conscious part of every decision she has faced.

She is, of course, a 'token' in administration and this results in differing behaviours from her peers and subordinates, as well as with the non-professionals with whom she has to deal every day. On the whole it is the non-professionals, the plumbers, architects and even some parents who have most difficulty in accepting that she is the principal. They often mistake her for a teacher's aide or a secretary.

After a while the men on the staff accept her, especially the younger men, but at first there is likely to be resistance. There are also some women who find it difficult to work for a woman. There is a tendency to cast her in a stereotyped role such as 'the iron lady' or 'the duchess'. She tends to feel very visible at principals' meetings, even a little lonely. Sometimes she will be cross that she has to take responsibility for speaking for women all the time but does so because she feels accountable to other women. She is aware that because she is often the only female at an important meeting, she has to put the

woman's point of view. However, she sees an irony in the fact that she is expected to speak for all women when men do not have to speak for all men. She is always aware that she must work twice as hard as a man and try not to make a mistake because it would be attributed to the fact that she is a woman rather than to her as a person. She would like to be perceived as a person not as a token woman.

Her major achievement has been to avoid the 'stuck' female roles in institutions, the nurturing caring roles that do not lead to promotion. She was always involved in relief, buildings, staff development, finances and departmental returns.

Her outstanding qualities have been her persistence in applying for promotion, her willingness to move to gain the job for which she is aspiring and her total commitment to the institution for which she is currently working. This commitment attracts sponsorship - mostly from men and these men are innovative, well-known principals and inspectors. At the same time she is part of a network of women who know and support each other because they share the same job and problems. Other women teachers give her their loyalty and the successful woman in turn sponsors others.

She is an innovative, perceptive woman who sees the problems facing New Zealand schools especially in the Auckland area. Her school is at the 'cutting edge' of change: a 'lighthouse' institution. She has a clear idea of her goals and leadership style. She had planned her career and gradually developed a knowledge of the career path.

In leadership she combines the best of masculine and feminine styles or what could better be termed traditional and more people-oriented styles. So, she has a vision and knows her own and her school's philosophy, she may or may not be charismatic but she has the confidence and clarity that ensure her the support of her staff. She sets very high standards for everyone because she wants the best education possible for the students. She has the courage to take risks and make difficult decisions. She does not, on the whole, enjoy paper work and meetings, but deals with them efficiently. People are, however, more important to her than power or efficiency and her strength is in her caring for her colleagues and students. She is a genuinely collaborative leader, sharing her power. Because she is confident she is able to delegate effectively and believes that training and empowering others is one of her most important tasks.

She will almost certainly stay in education until she retires and her major aim is to change the education system so that all children, whatever their class, race or sex, are prepared at school to be strong, independent and self-confident. If any leader can help society move towards equity and prepare young people for the unknown and the unknowable this woman can.

## 6.2 IMPLICATIONS

This profile of a successful woman in educational administration is encouraging to women in that it provides a role model that is inspiring. On the other hand, it is also very discouraging in that it shows that only a few very exceptional women have access to power in a man's world. I am grateful that my friend, Linda Hardy (1986), of Victoria University of Wellington, challenged me on this issue which cannot be avoided.

The implications from this research are, therefore, not encouraging for the majority of women. It shows that women have to remain single, childless, re-enter the workforce after childbearing, 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.

Career women will also have to face 'going it alone' - even supportive husbands are not full-time 'wives'. The most recent research still gives no evidence of husbands taking the nurturing role in the family to enable wives to follow their careers.

Such women will have to fight against being 'protected' by men not only at home but in their institutions. They will have to combine traditional 'agentic' skills with their 'communion' skills, taking risks, facing the fact that they may not have as many friends as they ascend the hierarchy.

They will face loneliness, stereotyping, loss of leisure, and fewer holidays. The effort required is prodigious, and the cost is fatigue and stress because they have to take the role of administrator and the role of nurturer as well.

What is even more serious is the fact that only the very brightest women (as measured by academic achievement) succeed. In a profession where the average woman teacher is more able academically than the average man teacher anyway, the ordinary capable woman teacher is quite realistic in not having any aspirations for promotion. Achieving women must also learn that as they reach top positions they have to have courage and be more 'thick-skinned'. Administrators cannot be liked by everyone.

A further implication is that women need sponsors and not many of those in power are prepared to sponsor them - as realized by the few women on residential in-service courses and in senior positions. In fact, many quite well-meaning men have no idea of the capabilities of their women staff as no 'old-boys network' operates to include the women. Career women then need to create their own networks and actively find sponsors.

What is also obvious from this research is the extra effort required by women to convince those on interview panels and appointment committees that they are capable of holding management positions. In order to overcome centuries of perceiving these roles as a male preserve, to overcome the deeply embedded image of masculine leadership, they must be on national committees, and professional and

community executives to gain the kind of visibility and expertise required.

The effort is far more than required by men in these positions because there is no natural 'tap on the shoulder' process operating for women. I would be more optimistic if I felt that all the current talk about equity sprang from deep conviction. However, what is not seen in the rhetoric or the research, but what I hear in staffrooms, on committees, at conferences and at social gatherings, is a deeply-held antipathy to women in management positions. Only a radical social change will alter this.

This thesis does not make any explicit recommendations for changing society or institutions. This is being done in the political arena by groups like the PPTA's Sex Equality Advisory Committee which made nineteen recommendations on sex equality to the PPTA Conference in 1985. All recommendations were passed. It is through the unions that women teachers have gained most power and, I believe, they must continue to work through their unions.

At the same time, they themselves must change and challenge the stereotypes in their own homes and in their classroom practice.

## 6.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

The following themes are suggestions for further research in this area of investigation.

1. Detailed case study research on socialization within the families of women in management.
2. The relative success of other members of the families of successful women to determine whether it is the sibling position or the nature of the family that promotes 'success'.
3. A study of the partners of successful women. Are they naturally supportive people or have the women been skilled in negotiating shared roles?
4. An investigation as to whether a 'feminine' style of management is negotiative in style because it is innate in women or because of their being a minority.
5. Research which not only investigates the perceived style of women administrators but also triangulates this against the perceptions of their colleagues.
6. The influence of coeducational and single-sex schools on women's success in educational management.
7. Longitudinal research on women in educational management.
8. The importance of role models, mentoring and sponsoring in the careers of women in educational management.
9. The influence of women's support groups and networks in the success of women in management.
10. An investigation into the reason for the differing reactions of women in administration to their positions as 'tokens' in the hierarchy.
11. A comparative study of successful women in administration with those who have applied for promotion and not succeeded.

## REFERENCES


Acker, J. and D. Van Houton (1974) Differential recruitment and control: the sex structuring of organizations, Administrative Science Quarterly, 19, 152-162.

Acker, Sandra (1983) Women and teaching: a semi-detached sociology of a semi-profession, in S. Walker and L Barton (eds), Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Adelman, G., D. Jenkins and S. Kemmis (1984) Rethinking case study, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Aguilar-Gaxiola, S. et al. (1984) The roles of mentors in the lives of graduate students. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans. [ERIC Database]

Aitken, Judith and Rosslyn Noonan (1981) The politics of resource allocation in education: the implications for New Zealand women, in Margaret Clark (ed) The Politics of Education in New Zealand, Wellington: NZCER.

Alcorn, Noeline (1985) Learning to manage educational institutions: some theoretical considerations, Delta, 35, 3-17.

Alexander, Ruth (1975) Women and the educational establishment, Journal of Teaching, 26, 4.

Alton-Lee, Adrianne (1984) Understanding Learning and Teaching: An Investigation of Pupil Experience of Content in Relation to Immediate and Long-Term Learning, unpublished PhD thesis, Education, University of Canterbury.

Anyon, Jean (1983) Intersections of gender and class: accommodation and resistance by working-class and affluent females to contradictory sex-role ideologies, in S. Walker and L. Barton (eds) Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Apple, M.W. (1983) Work, class and teaching, in S. Walker and L. Barton (eds) Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Apter, Terri (1985) Why Women Don't Have Wives: Professional Success and Motherhood, Hampshire, England: Macmillan.

Bach, Louise (1976) Of women, school administration and discipline, Phi Delta Kappan, March, 463-465.

Baldock, Cora V. and Bettina Cass (eds) (1983) Women, Social Welfare and the State, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Baldridge, J.V. and T. Deal (eds) Managing Change in Educational Organizations, Berkeley, California: McCrutchan Publishing.

Barrett, Pat (1985) Structuring stereotyping, in NATE, Alice in Genderland: Reflections on Language, Power and Control, London: NATE.

Bassey, M. (1984) Pedagogic research, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Bates, R. (1980) Educational administration, the sociology of science and the management of knowledge, Educational Administration Quarterly, 16, 2, 1-20.

Bates, R. (1982) Towards A Critical Practice of Educational Administration, London: Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration, Studies in Educational Administration No. 27.

Baughart, F.W. and A. Trull (1973) Educational Planning, New York: Macmillan.

Becker, H. (1971) Sociological Work, London: Allen Lane.

Bell, C. and H. Newby (eds) (1977) Doing Sociological Research, London: Allen and Unwin.

Bell, Judith et al. (eds) (1984) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Blaska, Betty (1976) Women in Academe - the need for support groups, Journal of NAWDAC, 40, Summer, 175.

Bourdieu, P. (1971) Systems of education and systems of thought, in M. Young (ed) Knowledge and Control, London: Collier Macmillan.

Bowles, S. and H. Gintis (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books.

Brice, P. (1986) Acting Director-General of Education, Department of Education, Wellington; personal communication dated 16 September.

Briggs, Dora K. and P.W. O'Brien (1984) Women as candidates for educational administration, in R. Burns and B. Sheehan (eds) Women and Education, La Trobe University, Victoria: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society.

Bryant, M. (1979) The Unexpected Revolution, University of London, Institute of Education: Studies in Education, 10.

Bunkle, Phillida (1975) Women in the New Zealand education profession, Education, 24, 9.

Bunkle, Phillida and Beryl Hughes (1980) Women in New Zealand Society, Auckland: Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, R.G. (ed) (1984) The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies, London: Falmer Press.

Burns, R. and B. Sheehan (eds) (1984) Women and Education, La Trobe University, Victoria: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society.

Burton, Clare (1985) Subordination, Feminism and Social Theory, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Byrne, Eileen (1978) Women and Education, London: Tavistock Publications.

Carlson, R.O. and Patricia A. Schmuck (1981) The sex dimension of careers in educational management, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Castle, L.V. (1974) Criteria for allocating resources to education, in W.L. Renwick and C.J. Ingham (eds) Educational Planning in New Zealand, Wellington: Government Printer.

Charters, W.W. (1981) Sex equity in educational policies and practices, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Cirincione-Coles, Kathryn (1975) The administrator: male or female, Journal of Teacher Education, 26, 4.

Clark, J. (1983) Towards a critical theory of educational administration, NZEAS Newsletter, 11, 23-26.

Clark, Margaret (ed) (1981) The Politics of Education in New Zealand, Wellington: NZCER.

Clarricoates, Katherine (1980) All in a day's work, in Dale Spender and Elizabeth Sarah (eds) Learning to Lose: Sexism in Education, London: The Women's Press.

Codd, J. et al. (eds) (1985) Political Issues in New Zealand Education, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Coleman, D. (1978) Special abilities of the sexes: do they begin in the brain? Psychology Today, November.

Cooper, Jan (1983) Women as leaders, The Practising Administrator, 5, 1, 20.

Craven, Candis et al. (1985) Women's Studies: A New Zealand Handbook, Auckland: New Women's Press.

Culley, Lorraine and J. Demaine (1983) Social theory, social relations and education, in S. Walker and L. Barton (eds) Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Daly, M. (1973) Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Boston: Beacon Press.

Davidson, Marilyn (1985) Reach for the Top, London: Judy Piatkus.

Dee, Joan M. (1978) The Managerial Mystique: Obstacle or Opportunity?, Research Report. [ERIC Database]

Deem, Rosemary (1978) Women and Schooling, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Deem, Rosemary (1980) Schooling for Women's Work, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Department of Education (1982) Teacher Career and Promotion Study, Wellington.

Department of Education (1986) March 1st Staff Returns, 1985, Wellington.

Donn, Mary (1986) The Position of Women in Education, 1985, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Dror, Y. (1968) Policy Making Re-Examined, Pennsylvania: Chandler.

Edson, Sakre K. (1981) 'If they can, I can': women aspirants to administrative positions in public schools, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Eichler, M. (1977) Sociology of feminist research in Canada, Signs, 3, 2, 409-422.

Fennema, E. (1976) Women and girls and public schools: defeat or liberation, in J. Roberts (ed) Beyond Intellectual Sexism, New York: David McKay.

Finegan M.W. (1979) The Influence of Sex Ratio on Group Process in Small Professional Work Settings, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oregon.

Fogarty, M.P., Rhona Rapaport and R. Rapaport (1971) Sex, Career and Family, London: Allen and Unwin.

Frasher, J.M. and Ramona S. Frasher (1980) Sex bids in the evaluation of administration, Journal of Educational Administration, 18, 2.

Friedan, Betty (1981) The Second Stage, New York: Summit Books.

Gaertner, Karen N. (1981) Administrative careers in public school organizations, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Giroux, H.A. (1981) Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Goode, W.J. and P.K. Hatt (1952) Methods in Social Research, New York: McGraw Hill.

Grambs, J.D. (1976) Women and administration: confrontation or accommodation, Theory into Practice, 15, 4, 293-300.

Gray, H.I. (ed) (1982) The Management of Educational Institutions, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Greenfield, T.B. (1975) Theory about organization: a new perspective and its implications for schools, in V. Houghton et al. (eds) Management in Education, London: Open University Press.

Grose, N. and A. Trask (1976) The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools, New York: Wiley.

Gupta, Nina (1983) Barriers to the Advancement of Women in Educational Administration: Sources and Remedies, Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. [ERIC Database]

Habermas, J. (1976) Legitimation Crisis, (translated by Thomas McCarthy), London: Heinemann.

Hall, Roberta M. and Bernice R. Sandler (1983) Academic Monitoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead, Washington, D.C.: Women's Educational Equity Program. [ERIC Database]

Hammett, Christine (1986) Entry to University Degree Courses from Single-Sex and Coeducational Schools, 1981-85, University of Auckland Liaison Office: personal communication.

Hardy, Linda (1986) Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington: personal communication dated 22 May.

Hennig, Margaret and Anne Jardim (1979) The Managerial Woman, London: Pan.

Hill, L.M. (1979) Women, Capitalist Crises and the Reserve Army of Labour, unpublished MA thesis, Political Science, University of Canterbury.

Hoeflin, Ruth and Nancy Bolsen (1985) Life Patterns of Educated Women, Bulletin 647, Manhattan: Kansas State University.

Holland, J. (1980) Women's occupational choice: the impact of sexual divisions in society, Reports on Education and Psychology, Department of Educational Research: Stockholm Institute of Education.

ILEA (1985) A policy for equality: sex, Race, Sex and Class, 6.

Jackson, B. (1978) Beginning, London: Croom Helm.

Johnson, M.M. et al. (1975) Experiences reevaluated, School Review, 83, 617-644.

Johnston, H., G.S. Johnston and C.C. Yeakey (1977) A study of the attitudes of male graduate students towards professional women, Journal of Educational Administration, 15, 2.

Josefowitz, Natasha (1980) Paths to Power: A Woman's Guide from First Job to Top Executive, Kent: Columbus Books.

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

King, R. (1984) The man in the Wendy House: researching infants' schools, in R.G. Burgess (ed) The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies, London: Falmer Press.

Leifer, K. (1980) A Primer on Ethnomethodology, London: Oxford University Press.

Levinson, D.J. (1978) The Seasons of a Man's Life, New York: Ballantine.
Lindblom, C.E. (1968) The Policy Making Process, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Lortie, D.C. (1975a) Schoolteacher, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lortie, D.C. (1975b) The teacher and team teaching, in J.V. Baldridge and T. Deal (eds) Managing Change in Educational Organizations, Berkeley, California: McCrutchan Publishing.

Love, Ruth B. (1980) Women in Administration: The Route to the Top, San Diego, California: keynote address at the National Council of Administrative Women in Education. [ERIC Database]

Lupini, D. (1975) Women in administration: where are they? Education Canada, Winter.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. and Carol N. Jacklin (1974) The Psychology of Sex Differences, California: Stanford University Press.

Malcolm, Margaret (1978) The Executive Role of Women in New Zealand Educational Administration, unpublished MA dissertation in Educational Administration, Armidale, New South Wales.

Manchester, Judith (1983) Roles of Senior Mistress, Senior Master and Deputy Principal in the Central Region, Wellington: Department of Education.

Marshall, Judi (1984) Women Managers: Travellers in a Male World, Chichester: Wiley.

McClintock, C. (1985) Process sampling: a method for case study research on administrative behaviour, Educational Administration Quarterly, 21, 3, 205-222.

McCune, Shirley D. and Martha Matthews (1975) Rate yourself and your institution - a checklist, Journal of Teacher Education, 26, 4.

McDade, Thresa and J.M. Drake (1982) Career path models for women superintendents, Journal of Educational Research, April.

McDonald, Geraldine (1976) Two demanding jobs, Education, 25, 6, 17-22; 25, 7, 22-26.

McEdwards, Mary G. (1985) Women's language: a positive view, English Journal, 74, 3, 40-44.

McGrath, H.M. (1976) How Can Educational Planning Be Rational?, Paris: paper presented to Trainee Programme, Institute for Educational Planning.

McGuinness, Diane, and K.Pribram (n.d.) Psychobiological factors in the development of cognitive gender differences: an effective theory? quoted in, Brain Mind Bulletin, Los Angeles.

McIntosh, Janet (1974) Differences between women teachers who do or do not seek promotion, Journal of Educational Administration, 12, 2.

McLaren, I.A. (1974) Education in a Small Democracy: New Zealand, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

McMillin, Marvin R. (1975) Leadership aspirations of prospective teachers - a comparison of men and women, Journal of Teaching, 20, 4.

McNamara, D.R. (1972) Women's commitment to teaching, Research Forum in Teacher Education, Slough: NFER.

McQuillen, J.S. and Diana K. Ivy (1985) Student Role Model Selection: A Replication, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Speech Communication Association. [ERIC Database]

Middleton, Sue (1984a) Setting the Scene: Family Reproductive Strategies, Female Sexuality and School Cultures, paper presented to NZARE Conference, Dunedin.

Middleton, Sue (1984b) The sociology of women's education as a field of academic study, Discourse, 5, 1.

Miller, C. and K. Swift (1977) Words and Women, London: Gollancz.

Miller, J., F. Labovitz and L. Fry (1975) Inequalities in the organizational experiences of women and men, Social Forces, 54, 365-381.

Millett, Kate (1970) Sexual Politics, London: Abacus.

Moore, Colleen A. (1981) Personal Commitment: A Prerequisite for Women Aspiring to Educational Administration, Ohio: University of Akron. [ERIC Database]

Moore, K.M. and P.A. Wollitzer (1979) Recent Trends in Research on Academic Women: A Bibliographic Review and Analysis, paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Morgan, D. (1981) Men, masculinity and the process of sociological enquiry, in Helen Roberts (ed) Doing Feminist Research, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Morsink, H. (1968) Leader behavior of men and women secondary school principals, Educational Horizons, 47, 69-74.

Musgrove, F. and P.H. Taylor (1969) Society and the Teacher's Role, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Nash, Janice and Helen Sungaila (1984) Through a door marked 'men only': a report on a case study of the disadvantage women in education face in the promotion stakes, in R. Burns and B. Sheehan (eds) Women and Education, La Trobe University, Victoria: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Australia and New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society.

NATE (1985) Alice in Genderland: Reflections on Language, Power and Control, London: NATE.

Nisbet, J.D. and N.J. Entwistle (1984) Writing the report, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Nisbet, J.D. and J. Watt (1984) Case study, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Norman, Helen (1983) Sex Differences in Applicants for and Appointees to Senior Secondary Teaching Positions, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Norman, Helen (1985) The Position of Women in Education, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Novitz, Rosemary (1982) Feminism, in P. Spoonley et al. (eds) New Zealand Sociological Perspectives, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

NUT (1980) Promotion and the Woman Teacher, London: National Union of Teachers.

Nuthall, G.A. (1974) Is classroom interaction research worth the effort involved? New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 9, 1, 1-17.

Nuthall, G.A. (1986) Paper presented to Canterbury Institute for Educational Research, June.

Oakley, Ann (1981) Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms, in Helen Roberts (ed) Doing Feminist Research, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

O'Donnell, Molly (1985) Leadership effectiveness: do sex and communication style make a difference? English Journal, 74, 3, 65-67.

OECD (1983a) Educational Policies in New Zealand, Wellington: OECD.

OECD (1983b) Reviews of National Policies for Education, Paris: Report of the OECD Examiners.

Paddock, Susan C. (1981) Male and female career paths in administration, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Paludi, Michele A. (1983) College Women's Role Model Choice: A Developmental Analysis, paper presented at the Annual Midyear Conference of the American Educational Research Association, Tempe: Research on Women and Education Special Interest. [ERIC Database]

Parlee, Mary B. (1979) Conversational politics, Psychology Today, May, 48-56.

Pitner, Nancy J. (1981) Hormones and harems: are the activities of superintending different for a woman? in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Powers, V. (1983) Superwoman: work, enjoy, The Manhattan Mercury, 13, 1.

Pringle, Judith (1985) unpublished conference paper presented to Women in Management Seminars, Hamilton: PPTA.

Reilly, Shalim (1984) Gender divisions in the academic workplace, in R. Burns and B. Sheehan (eds) Women in Education, La Trobe University, Victoria: Proceedings of the 12th Annual Conference of the Education Society.

Renwick, W.L. (1977) Issues behind the issues in New Zealand education, in J.E. Watson (ed) Policies for Participation: Trends in Educational Administration in Australia and New Zealand, Wellington: NZEAS.

Renwick, W.L. and L.J. Ingham (eds) (1974) Educational Planning in New Zealand, Wellington: Government Printer.

Rich, Adrienne (1979) On Lies, Secrets and Silence, London: Virago.

Roberts, Helen (ed) (1981a) Doing Feminist Research, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Roberts, Helen (1981b) Introduction, in Helen Roberts (ed) Doing Feminist Research, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Roberts, Helen (1981c) Women and their doctors: power and powerlessness in the research process, in Helen Roberts (ed) Doing Feminist Research, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rossi, Alice S. (1969) Paper presented at the Conference on the Undergraduate Education of Women, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Sanzgiri, Jyotsna (1977) Professional Women, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg.

Sapsford, R.J. and J. Evans (1984) Evaluating a research report, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row, 258-273.

Sargeant, Jan (1985) Tampax and flowers: an approach to pastoral care, in NATE, Alice in Genderland: Reflections on Language, Power and Control, London: NATE.

Schaef, Anne W, (1981) Women's Reality: An Emerging Female System in the White Male Society, Minneapolis: Winston Press.

Schmuck, Patricia A. (1976a) Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration, Arlington, Virginia: National Council of Administrative Women in Education.

Schmuck, Patricia A. (1976b) The spirit of Title IX: men's work and women's work in Oregon public schools, OSSC Bulletin, 20, 2.

Schmuck, Patricia A. (1981a) The sex dimension of school organization: overview and synthesis, in Schmuck, Patricia A. et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Schmuck, Patricia A. et al. (eds) (1981b) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Schmuck, Patricia A. and H.W. Spencer (1981) Clues to sex bias in the selection of school administrators, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Sexton, P.C. (1976) Women in Education, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

Shakeshaft, Charol (1981) Women in administration: a descriptive analysis of dissertation research and a paradigm for future research, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Shakeshaft, Charol (1986) Women in Education Administration, New York: Sage Publications.

Silver, Paula (1981) Women in administration - why so few? Educational Administration, 33, 1.

Simon, R.I. (1982) Mysticism, management and Marx, in H.I. Gray (ed) The Management of Educational Institutions, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Smith, D. (1974) Women's perspective as a radical critique of sociology, Sociological Inquiry, 44, 1, 7-13.

Smith, D. (1978) A peculiar eclipsing: women's exclusion from man's culture, Women's Studies International Quarterly, 1, 4, 281-296.

Spender, Dale (1982) Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal, London: Writers and Readers Publishers.

Spender, Dale and Elizabeth Sarah (eds) (1980) Learning to Lose: Sexism in Education, London: The Women's Press.

Spoonley, P., D. Pearson and H. Shirley (eds) (1982) New Zealand Sociological Perspectives, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Stockard, Jean and Miriam Johnson (1981) The sources and dynamics of sexual inequality in the profession of education, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Stodgill, R. (1974) Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research, New York: Free Press.

Strober, Myra H. and D.B. Tyack (1980) Why do women teach and men manage? A report on research in schools, Signs, 5, 3, 494-503.

Thompson, Jane (1983) Learning Liberation: Women's Response to Men's Education, London: Croom Helm.

Trown, E.A. and G. Needham (1981) Headships for women, Educational Studies, 17, 1.

Tyack, D.B. (1974) The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Tyack, D.B. and Myra H. Strober (1981) Jobs and gender: a history of the structuring of educational employment by sex, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Walker S. and L. Barton (eds) (1983) Gender, Class and Education, Lewes, Sussex: Falmer Press.

Wareham, J. (1980) Secrets of a Corporate Headhunter, Canada: McClelland and Stewart.

Watson, Helen (1985a) Keynote address to Women in Secondary Education Conference, Hamilton: PPTA.

Watson, Helen (1985b) Women must be active to safeguard 'women in management' interests, PPTA News, 6, 7.

Watson, J.E. (ed) (1977) Policies for Participation: Trends in Educational Administration in Australia and New Zealand, Wellington: NZEAS.

Webster, Lenore (1975) Women in secondary education, PPTA Journal, May.

Weick, K.E. (1976) Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems, Administrative Science Quarterly, 21, 1.

Weisskopf, S. (1978) Sexism, inequality and education, Harvard Educational Review, 48, 2, 267-278.

Wheatley, Margaret (1981) The impact of organizational structures on the issues of sex equality, in Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (eds) Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials, New York: Academic Press.

Whitcombe, Judith E. (1979a) A Comparison of Career Patterns of Men and Women Teachers, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Whitcombe, Judith E. (1979b) The Changing Position of Women in Secondary Teaching in New Zealand - An Interim Statement, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Whitcombe, Judith E. (1980a) An Investigation of the Position of Women in Primary and Secondary Teaching in New Zealand, TEACAPS, Wellington: Department of Education.

Whitcombe, Judith E. (1980b) The promotion of women in the teaching service, in SET No.2, Wellington: NZCER.

Whitcombe, Judith E. (1981) The politics of women in the secondary teaching profession, in Margaret Clark (ed) The Politics of Education in New Zealand, Wellington: NZCER.

Wiles, K. and H.G. Grobman (1955) Principals as leaders, Nation's Schools, 56, 75-77.

Willis, H. and Judith Dodgson (1986) Mentoring of Canadian women in educational administration, Canadian Administrator, 25, 7, 1-6.

Wilson, Margaret (1986) Report on the Status of Academic Women in New Zealand, prepared for the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand.

Wolcott, H.F. (1985) On ethnographic intent, Educational Administration Quarterly, 21, 3, 187-203.

Wolf, Wendy and Fligstein, N. (1979) Sex and authority in the workplace, American Sociological Review, 44.

Wragg, E.C. (1984) Conducting and analysing interviews, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

Young, M. (ed) (1971) Knowledge and Control, London: Collier Macmillan.

Youngman, M.B. (1984) Designing questionnaires, in Judith Bell et al. (eds) Conducting Small-Scale Investigations in Educational Management, London: Harper and Row.

**APPENDIX 1**

Copy of Initial Letter Requesting Participation

Westlake Girls High School
2 Wairau Road
Milford
Auckland

29 January 1985

[Name and Work Address
of Person Being Invited
to Participate]

Dear _____

I'm in my second year of the Diploma of Educational Administration Course at Massey. There is a compulsory thesis worth one paper which many students never complete. For that reason I would like to start working on material for my topic this year so that I can write it up next year.

I spent some time in the vacation with my supervisor Dr Tom Prebble and also with his colleague Wayne Edwards. The people at the Research and Statistics Division of the Department of Education were also very helpful, especially Bob Garden and Helen Norman. They are all very supportive of my choice of an in-depth study of the careers of ten successful women in education as my topic. They see it as valid and complementary to a survey questionnaire based study like TEACAPS.

Next month I will spend another day in the Research Division in Wellington learning how to conduct an interview for research of this nature.

I would appreciate it if you would consider giving me an interview as a 'successful woman'. I would, of course, ensure that you saw my administrative project before it was submitted. It is important to me that women have inspiring role models and I hope, with the latest material from the Department to back my research, to draw some helpful conclusions for other women.

Even though I often feel angry at the few women in management, it really suits me better to be positive and I'd prefer an approach like this. I also believe that although TEACAPS is excellent there are some facets that cannot be covered by sampling, questionnaires and computer analysis. If you are agreeable I will contact you for an interview later this year at a time suitable to you.

Yours sincerely

Ms M. Neville
(HOD English
Westlake Girls High School)

**APPENDIX 2**

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name_____

2. Age (tick)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 35 | ____ | 45-49 | ____ |
| 35-39 | ____ | 50-54 | ____ |
| 40-44 | ____ | 55 & over | ____ |

3. Present position and institution

_____

4. Year appointed to present position_____

5. Number of years employed as a full-time teacher in New Zealand_____

6. Number of years away from teaching_____

7. Reasons for absence from teaching

1._____

2._____

3._____

8. Number of years employed by other educational authorities as a teacher outside New Zealand___

9. Time spent outside New Zealand on Fellowships, Scholarships, Exchange Programmes etc._____

10. List permanent teaching positions held (in chronological order) and number of years in each position. Indicate status (Assistant Teacher, PR1 etc.)

| | Position | Status | No. of Years |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. Number of part-time or pro-rata teaching positions held and length of time (in chronological order).

| Position | Length of time |
|---|---|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |
| 5. | |

12. Qualifications when you began teaching. _____

_____

13. Qualifications gained after commencing teaching. _____

_____

14. How many schools have you taught in? _____

15. How many times have you applied for promotion? _____

16. How many times have you gained promotion? _____

17. Number of times a male applicant was preferred? _____

18. Has a promotion via a country or small school been part of your career path? _____

19. How many times were your promotions internal? _____

20. How many times were your promotions external? _____

21. Were the interview panels primarily comprised of men or women or a balance of the two?

    1. For your present position _____

    2. For previous positions _____

22. Did you have a good woman administrator as a role model early in your career? _____

23. Do you favour working for a woman? _____

24. Is it your view that men like or dislike working for women administrators? _____

25. In administrative positions prior to this appointment which of the following were you responsible for? (please tick)

| | |
|---|---|
| ___ Timetable | ___ Uniforms |
| ___ In-service | ___ Discipline |
| ___ Staff duties | ___ Furniture |
| ___ Staff welfare | ___ Testimonials |
| ___ Guidance work | ___ Departmental returns |
| ___ Hostessing | ___ Examination timetable |
| ___ List 'A' teachers | ___ Stationary |
| ___ Staff social functions | ___ Canteen |
| ___ Buildings | ___ Free text books |
| ___ Grounds | ___ Student activities |
| ___ Staff professional development | ___ Curriculum development |

26. How many in-service (residential) courses have you attended? If possible indicate the nature of the course.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1._____ | 2._____ |
| 3._____ | 4._____ |
| 5._____ | 6._____ |
| 7._____ | 8._____ |
| 9._____ | 10._____ |

27. Do you belong to any professional organizations for women?_____

28. Have you served on the PPTA, NZEI, or other comparable organizations at regional or national level?_____

29. Have you been a teacher representative on the Board of Governors?_____

30. Have you held office in a club or group over the last five years? If so, which?_____

31. Have you participated actively in any church, community or political organization in the last 5 years? If so, at what level?_____

32. Did you attend a single-sex school? If so, for how many years_____out of_____years in secondary school?

33. Between the time of your birth and the time you finished high school, did your mother work (full-time employment outside the home) continuously for more than a year?_____

34. Marital status_____

35. Number of children_____

36. How many children living at home?_____

37. Age of children living at home_____

38. If you are married or living with a partner how does your partner feel about promotion for you?_____

_____

39. Have you ever been constrained in applying for promotion because of family circumstances? Give details (partner's job, mortgage, elderly dependent etc.)_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

40. How many hours do you spend on housework per week? (tick)

0- 4 hours____ 5- 9 hours____

10-14 hours____ 15-20 hours____

41. If you have children under 15 do you feel that you have to be home from school at a fixed time?___

_____

## APPENDIX 3

### Interview Guidelines

I FAMILY AND SCHOOL BACKGROUND

1. What is your position in the family? Number of siblings? Sex of siblings? Were there any exceptional disruptions to your family life cycle while you were still at home?

2. What was your mother's occupation? Self-employed or employee?

3. What was your father's occupation? Self-employed or employee?

4. Were you especially close to either your mother or your father?

5. Did your mother or another strong woman in your family follow a career and influence you in considering a career?

6. Which stream did you take at school: academic, typing or home economics?

7. Did you have a strong woman as a role model at high school?

II HOME

8. How are your home responsibilities and house work in your home shared?

9. How have parenting responsibilities affected your work?

10. Are there aspects of home work you find satisfying?

11. Have you relocated town or country following your partner's career or has your partner relocated for you?

12. When you re-entered teaching did you make time to work or did time become available so you returned to work?

13. Were you married at the time you gained further degrees or qualifications?

III CAREER

14. How influential has the presence of a mentor or support group been in your career?

15. Were you ever encouraged to apply for promotion? By male or female?

16. Were you ever discouraged from seeking promotion? By male or female?

17. How did you obtain you knowledge of regulations regarding promotion?

18. To what extent did membership or leadership of NZEI, PPTA or other professional organizations affect your promotion?

19. Have you received any training for administration (in-service, national course, on-the-job, Dip.Ed. Admin.)?

20. Do you see any relationship between your capabilities as a classroom teacher and as an administrator? If so, what?

21. What characteristics of leadership style do you want to display?

22. Are there any constraints on you, as a woman, in the performance of your executive function?

23. Are there any special problems or frustrations that women face in leadership positions?

24. Is there any special reason for being in a girls school?

25. Have you any further aspirations in education?

26. Do you intend working in education until retirement at 65?

IV COST

27. Do you feel there has been a cost in following you career? Has it been worth it?

28. Was your priority decision at graduation with your first degree influenced by education, work, marriage, family planning, religion, location, other considerations?

29. Was your priority decision at the point when you first applied for a position of responsibility influenced by education, work, marriage, family planning, religion, location, other considerations?

30. Do you have more or less leisure time in your current position than in your previous position (vacation, movies, hobbies, exercise, entertaining at home, gardening, cooking, eating out, children's needs, etc.)?

**APPENDIX 4**

Copy of Final Letter Before Printing the Thesis

16 Whitby Crescent
Mairangi Bay
Auckland 10

14 September 1986

Dear _____

Excuse the 'form' letter but there are now 16 people in the group and I am under pressure to finish the thesis by the end of November. In a month the rough draft of my findings will be ready for you to read. I am concerned about three issues:

1. Confidentiality

At first I used a style without naming people. It was bland and very confusing with endless paragraphs of 'One woman said...' and so on. Using false or code names is pointless as you are all so well known. I compromised by using names on some occasions and omitting them on others - relying on my own sense of appropriateness. However, in order to ensure that you feel correctly interpreted and that nothing is ascribed to you that you would rather remain anonymous I have worked out a checking system for you. This is probably not even necessary as you will see when you read the draft but I feel a strong sense of accountability to you all. Chapters 1, 2 and 3, about half of the thesis, are on theory, methodology and a study of the background literature. You are welcome to read them but I will circulate only Chapters 4 and 5. Your name will be replaced by a code number to ensure confidentiality. Should you prefer your name not to appear then please indicate by crossing out the number in the text and I will substitute 'one woman said...' and so on. If you prefer you can drop me a line or phone me directly. I won't be able to afford 16 copies so I will organize a system of sharing the scripts - passing them around. I would appreciate it if you could pass them on as quickly as possible because I have to get the thesis finished and bound. Tables and figures will not be included - just the text.

3

2. Photographs

I know it is a hassle and I hate asking but could I have a photo of you - about two inches square? This will add greatly to the interest value of the text. Readers will be able to 'identify' with you.

3. Brief Sketch

I enclose a brief thumb-nail sketch to go under the photo which will appear between Chapters 3 and 4. As I didn't ask 'bread and butter' questions for this type of information I'd be grateful if you could fill in any gaps and correct any errors and return them to me as soon as possible.

Lastly - Dinner

Could we all have dinner together - perhaps a Friday night in November - the 7th or 14th? I would love to have as many of you as possible here at home for a meal.

Thank you over and over again for the help you have given me. I only wish I'd had the time and talent to do credit to your excellence and commitment - and I really mean that. Writing a thesis part-time has been very difficult!

Regards

Mollie Neville