

**WOMEN AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP:
Early Life Experiences Of Tasmanian Women Principals**

**Derris Wood
September 1998**

Declaration

I certify that this thesis contains no material which has been submitted for any other degree in any tertiary institution. Any material previously published or help received in the preparation of this thesis have all been acknowledged in the body of the work

D Wood 30/9/98

Derris Wood.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Derris Wood'. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with some loops and flourishes.

Derris Wood
30/9/1998

**WOMEN AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP:
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A Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Education (Research) in the Department of Education of the
University of Tasmania in Hobart 1998.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the advice and assistance of my supervisors over the time this thesis was undertaken - Dr. Brian Caldwell, Dr. Rupert Maclean, Dr. Gerald Johnston, Professor Phillip Hughes and Associate Professor Dr. Joan Abbott-Chapman and thank them most sincerely for their time and expertise. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Diane Goeman from QSR Melbourne for her consultancy with the Nudist Software Programme and John Guenther (Ulverstone) for computer training Dorothy Dobson gave valuable assistance and many hours of her time in the presentation of this thesis. Jane Rudd, and Julie Caudwell Sonia King gave much time and expertise with the many drafts made before completion of this thesis. Craig Brakey from MacDonalds (Burnie) provided a grant towards the costs of the first survey and this was greatly appreciated. Finally I wish to acknowledge the patience and consideration shown by my family - my husband Max for his forbearance and my daughters Jane Howard and Meredith Wood and my mother Elsie Bye for their interest and understanding.

ABSTRACT

The research examines by means of a questionnaire survey early socialization influences upon thirty women who have reached the level of Principal in Tasmanian schools and who have become leaders in education. Their experiences and the factors influencing their career decisions were compared with twenty women teachers, working in either the same or similar schools, who have reached the top of the classroom teaching scale or AST1 level and so have the potential for further career advancement. The qualitative and quantitative data were analysed using the software programme NUD-IST (Numerical, Unstructured Data, Indexing, Searching and Theorizing). Influences in the three domains of family, school and community were examined in relation to career development. The two groups were found to be different in the degree to which they impose self expectation at an early age upon themselves and were engaged in leadership activities in their local communities. While both the Principals and Teachers shared common perceptions of the expectations of others, the Principal's early expectations of themselves plus their responses to the high expectation of others, were particularly significant in their career development. The prevalent first born birth order characteristic of the women leaders noted in previous studies was not found to be significant. Both groups were influenced by inspirational teachers and generally enjoyed their schooling which helped shape their decisions to enter the teaching profession. Those who went on to become Principals were more likely to have taken advantage of the Education Department Studentship scheme and to have experienced leadership roles which had provided "rehearsal" opportunities for career leadership. On a personal level the women leaders proved to be more proactive in their own motivation and desire for career development. Both were supported by family members whilst the Principals enjoyed a more stable, home environment. Since women comprise only a small proportion of School Principals in Tasmania, their characteristics are of particular interest in the study of women leaders in education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the factors influencing the career aspirations and career development of women in educational leadership who have achieved the position of School Principal or an equivalent ranking in Tasmania. Earlier research on this topic, as discussed in the literature review, examines a wide range of factors which influence women and their development of leadership roles. Because few of these earlier studies have evaluated the role of earlier childhood and family influences, this thesis aims to examine these features. In general studies of Educational Management and Leadership there has been a tendency to generate theories which are more masculine or generic in orientation and the literature has tended to omit aspects which are particularly relevant for women. It is necessary therefore to re-examine these theories in the light of women's experiences in educational leadership.

Background

The formulation of this project began as a consequence of studies in Educational Management and Leadership where questions were raised about the degree of applicability of general theories of leadership and management to the experiences of women. Until the early 1980s little was written regarding the dilemmas or difficulties faced by females in school Principal or other leadership roles. Socialization factors for females within the family and wider community needed to be reviewed in light of the influences which could assist in developing career motivation and potential. Women's experiences in teaching and data concerning the participation rates of women in the Australian or Tasmanian workforce had received little attention and the anomaly of girls' high academic performance and their subsequent low access to leadership positions within their chosen careers had rarely been discussed. Leadership from a female perspective within the professions and business world and the qualities women bring to this activity were subsumed within the more masculine, generic type leadership theories. Problems specific to women such as their inability to gain positions in senior management, discriminatory practices and specific socialization factors within society, schools and their curricula needed further investigation and clarification. The Literature Review in Chapter 2 will focus on all these factors. Previous surveys of women in leadership

positions had also been found to be more quantitative in analysis and had not focused upon the more qualitative socialization processes and experiences faced by women in their early life and later career pathways.

Overview of Related Literature

In the literature review these aspects are contained within an overview of the recent history of women's labour force participation within the professions with a particular emphasis on education. Workplace practices and the barriers they place on women's promotional opportunities are discussed in relation to women's experiences within schools and universities. The section on leadership contrasts the characteristics demonstrated by men and women in administrative positions, whilst the problems are specifically related to women's career opportunities. Sociological factors within the family, school and local community are examined from the perspective of their effect on career motivation and aspiration.

The Literature Review in Chapter 2 begins by detailing the particular aspects from former surveys and more generic theories which had led the writer to focus on a particular time span in women's lives. Socialization influences in childhood focus on the role of the family and its interrelationship with schools, teachers and other community personnel. Characteristics of Australian and Tasmanian teachers are identified and the position of women is outlined. A brief record of the experiences of early Tasmanian women teachers is provided in a section detailing with women's status in the context of the teaching profession. An analysis of the problems of women in education from other Australian perspectives also provides a comparative base for details concerning the lack of educational leadership opportunities which exist for Tasmanian teachers. Additional data on female participation in higher education and the difficulties faced in tertiary institutions will demonstrate the magnitude of the problem for women endeavouring to gain promotion and leadership opportunities in the educational sector.

Australian and Tasmanian statistics regarding women's participation in the workforce place the availability of leadership and work positions into perspective. Statistics regarding girls' educational motivation and achievement demonstrate the need for a more receptive, equitable workforce structure which cater for women's high degree of motivation and potential. The effect of gender on the teaching

force as well as details regarding equal opportunity in employment legislation (EEO) provide further viewpoints from which to consider teaching as a career. The need to be critical of statistics which give a false view of women's increased participation in leadership positions within institutions is also discussed. Tasmanian workforce statistics provide a background from which to study the gender specific characteristics of teaching.

Leadership in education has generally been defined in particular ways which are more masculine or generic in nature. However the concept of leadership in the professions demands an examination of this phenomenon from another point of view - the view of women in this field. The literature on this topic discusses the dilemma of isolating leadership definitions - even if they are masculine - but provides concise lists of qualities which could be termed generic, within this activity. Hypotheses regarding the necessary qualities women would have to demonstrate to achieve leadership positions within their careers are explained. The variations in style between female and male superintendents highlight the attributes women bring to leadership positions. These are in sharp contrast to the more masculine attributes emphasised in the educational literature and refute the notion that leadership is the antithesis of feminine behaviour. Two specific problems for women, namely mentoring and discrimination are analysed to provide further insight into the difficulties women face in their quest for leadership positions.

The world of leadership is viewed through the experience of women in the business and corporate world. This provides a background for the overview of the credentials which women bring to school leadership positions. Contrasting explanations of the phenomenon known as "The Glass Ceiling" precede analyses of further statistics and impediments for women aspiring to leadership positions.

This section on leadership is then connected with the sociological aspects of this thesis with an examination of the literature examining personality traits and qualities of both girls and boys and their suitability for later leadership development, in the context of their socialisation processes.

Sociological factors emerging from five major studies of women in education leadership, (Gross and Trask (1976), Hennig and Jardim (1979), Cass et al. (1983), Shakeshaft (1987) and Murphy (1991)) provide the comparative basis for the examination of Tasmanian women in this study. These surveys

highlighted such issues as birth order, sibling interaction and rivalry, parenting styles and the disparate contributions and influences of the mother and the father. They also analysed the attributes which foster later leadership development within female children, attributes such as the development of responsibility and the provision of trust, encouragement and support for female endeavours and aspirations. Also compared are educational levels attained by family members in order to gauge the level of modelling this may provide for women. The effect of conflict within family and social situations is highlighted and its impact on women's career motivation is noted.

Other aspects to be covered in Chapter 2 include the reactions of women to being reared in either stereotypical masculine or feminine roles. The amount of self expectation, freedom of choice, power and control within women's lives and their effects on motivational levels will also be examined. The incidence of higher expectations being placed on women in their early years in the home and school environment will be compared with those women in the surveys who failed to accept or enjoy their rearing or socialization experiences. Differences in behaviour will provide further explanations pertaining to career orientation and motivation. The influence of “significant other” people within women's lives in the home, school and wider community will be analysed and the contribution of mentoring processes for women in professional fields will be outlined

These studies also concentrate on the contributions of the school, examination of scholastic ability, school performance and involvement in academic pursuits. The value placed on education in the home environment and the women's subsequent timing of career choice and intentions to aim for higher education and tertiary training are also covered. Associated with school experiences are those available within the local communities and these are reviewed, emphasising the opportunities which these provide for early leadership training. Examples regarding the need for curriculum reviews within schools and the eradication of stereotypical views about what is suitable, educational material for both girls and boys complement the discussion concerning gender roles and socialization processes. All the issues covered in the literature review, together with the omissions which were subsequently identified, have led to the formulation of key questions and hypothesis to be tested by empirical research.

Methodology Overview

This section in Chapter 3 describes the process undertaken to formulate key research questions and in gathering data to answer these questions. The sample selection, research instrument development, conduct of the survey and data analysis are described in detail. The questions which emerged from the literature review gave rise to an hypothesis which was to be tested against the data collected by means of a questionnaire survey. The main hypothesis to be tested was that.- “That women Principals and Classroom Teachers differ in terms of early childhood experiences and influences in the home, the school and the community.”. The draft questionnaire was trialled with alternate education leaders, discrepancies were remedied and the final survey forms were prepared for distribution to Tasmanian Principals or those of equivalent status involved in Planning or Curriculum. From the respondents' answers a wide range of categories for analysis was compiled and coded for later recall and interpretation using a computer software programme, named NUD-IST 4 - Numerical Unstructured Data-Indexing, Searching, and Theorizing. It was from this analysis that the sociological factors which assist women's career motivation levels and which foster leadership potential were identified. These were based on the findings from the Literature Review, the comments of the women themselves or inferred by the writer from the participants' responses.

At this stage a “control” group was identified and the same questionnaire was re-issued to those participants. This “control” group was necessary to gauge whether the data on “leaders in education” was peculiar to them or more generally true of women engaged in education. The group chosen were from Band 1 (One) Rung 11 (Eleven) or ASTI (One) classifications which represent the highest levels attainable by teachers involved principally in classroom teaching and related duties. This “control” group was an important feature of the process because it permitted the commonalities and differences between the two groups of educators to be examined. The findings from both surveys were used to test the hypothesis posed following the literature review and assisted in drawing together conclusions regarding women and leadership within education. The findings of the survey of women ‘leaders’ in education and the control group are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 6 draws together conclusions and summarizes the profile characteristics of Principals and Teachers as well as analysing linkages with their early childhood experiences.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction:-

The background reading pertinent to the study of Women and Educational Leadership focuses on three main categories of information. In the first section the review is placed in the context of a rationale for the study's concentration on the early years of the women leaders' life cycle. This is followed by a framework using literature from Australia and Tasmania which depicts the scenarios encountered by women in teaching and other occupations. Whilst positive aspects are recorded, the factors explaining the discrimination experienced by women are also emphasised. Leadership and women's interaction and relationship with this phenomenon follows this section and relates specifically to the purpose of this thesis. The review concludes with an examination of the social and education influences which impinge on women in the home, school and community, contributing to the background from which females enter the professions and prospective leadership positions.

Focus for Time Span

The first twelve years of women's lives was chosen for the focus of this study because of two concerns the writer had had with the literature analysing women and leadership. The first followed the investigation of five key surveys of women in leadership positions - Gross and Trask (1976) Principals, Hennig and Jardim (1979) Accountants, (who became Corporation Presidents or Vice Presidents) Cass et al. (1983) University Lecturers, Shakeshaft (1987) Educational Administrators and Murphy (1991) Vocational Education Leaders. All of these surveys had attempted to cover the women's lives from birth until leadership and career maturity had been reached. This involved analysing up to five or six decades and an extremely wide range of aspects concerning the women's careers. In each of these surveys many allusions were made to the women's early lives but because of the extent of the studies, these factors were never fully developed. Factors which were often mentioned included birth order, family size and stability, sibling relationships, parental influences and early socialisation processes. A second group of factors included schooling experiences, academic performance and early career choices, whilst a third set

covered team activities, club and community involvement and the effect of “significant other” people such as teachers, family or community members and peer groups. As primary education in Tasmania is usually completed by the age of twelve, this time span (and not just the first decade) was chosen for a more in-depth study of teacher's lives and the influences on their career motivation

One aspect of these surveys which had caused concern was the fact that while the conditions under which the women had lived, studied and worked were described and analysed there had been little attempt by the authors to record the feelings and attitudes which the women had had to all these experiences. Corbin, as quoted by Strauss and Corbin in 1990, explained this distinction with a medical analogy. When a graduate student was studying Cancer, it was noted that “there was an important difference between Cancer as a disease and Cancer as an experience.” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 53). Of course the two are interrelated, but by studying both, one can “learn something about the nature of the relationship between them.” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 54). Likewise with women in leadership positions, one can investigate the “conditions” under which they lived in their early lives and their “experience” of these conditions. In essence the former surveys had been descriptive but not reflective, quantitative not always qualitative. By focusing on a time span of just twelve years and using the respondents' reflections on the aspects isolated by the surveys, a more insightful analysis concerning women's career paths could be recorded.

The study aims to explore and to expand findings from earlier studies. Hennig and Jardim (1979), Shakeshaft (1987), Cass et al (1983) and Murphy (1991) all record the prevalence of first born children in their studies but none of them investigated their reactions to this position. In the Hennig and Jardim survey they record “twenty out of twenty five” being first born with another two being “similar to the first born with the death of an elder brother or sister” or with “a large age difference between the subject and other children” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 76). These authors do mention the women being considered “special” and having a “special role in the parents' eyes” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 81) but later the women were described as being “excluded and uncomfortable until peer relationships were learnt.” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 86). What were the women's feelings and attitudes in these situations and how did these reactions assist or impede their career motivation?

Having no older brothers is considered an advantage by Hennig and Jardim (1979), leading to the “special” place of the women. Murphy agrees and quotes statistics from her survey to reinforce this - “sixty nine percent had no older brothers and eighty percent had no older sisters” (Murphy, 1991, 25). However Cass et al. (1983) disagree with these assertions about siblings. Murphy (1991) also commented that “Women with brothers had more encouragement, particularly from their fathers.” (Murphy, 1991, 17) Were the respondents aware of these influences and did they use their experiences to their advantage regarding their careers? Cass et al. (1983) comment on family size because the “potential for high achievement is linked with family size, higher from small families and only child or first born children.” (Cass et al., 1983, 15) Hennig and Jardim (1979) and Murphy (1991) also comment on the small size of families recording 3.0 and 3.3 children, respectively as the average family size within their surveys. The stability of the families is also emphasised. Divorce is only mentioned briefly by Hennig and Jardim (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 76) and Cass et al. (1983) record that the state of an “unhappy parental marriage” could cause a respondent “to (want) to leave home”, to seek a better future with a career. (Cass et al., 1983, 21-23). Without evidence from the respondents' feelings about these experiences, a total picture of their impact on career motivation is unknown.

The role of parents receives much attention in all the surveys. Cass et al. (1983), Hennig and Jardim (1979) and Murphy (1991) all have references to the support and encouragement given to their respondents. Cass et al. (1983) record that “eighty percent received encouragement to continue with education from parents”, (Cass et al., 1983, 17) while Hennig and Jardim's (1979) group “gained parental support for (their) challenge to accepted (feminine) roles” (Cass et al., 1983, 92). In Murphy's (1991) survey, “seventy percent said that they had received support along the way from family”, (Murphy, 1991, 29) while earlier she noted that women “continually referred to the support mothers provided and their desire for them to succeed in all aspects of life.” (Murphy, 1991, 27). Had these desires been congruent with the women's aspirations? These earlier surveys do not continue with this type of in-depth analysis.

The educational and employment levels of the parents were examined in four of the surveys - Cass et al. (1983), Hennig and Jardim, Shakeshaft (1919) and Murphy (1991). “Twenty two out of twenty five (of the fathers) held managerial management positions in business” in Hennig and Jardim's sample (Hennig

and Jardim, 1976, 76), with two fathers holding “doctorates.” (Hennig and Jardim, 1976, 81). The mothers were equal to the fathers in educational levels in twenty three out of twenty five cases with thirteen being superior in educational level (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 77). However only one of these mothers worked (as a teacher) and the remainder were housewives. What reactions were there with these respondents to these mixed messages? Shakeshaft's group had a mixed set of occupations from “unskilled labourers” to “business and professional men” (Shakeshaft, 1987, 58) while in Murphy's (1991) study only “34% of mothers had been employed during their rearing” and only “17% selected a career similar to their mother's.” Only “13% (of these mothers) had held a supervisory position.” (Murphy, 1991, 26). There were no records of how all these respondents had reacted to all these parental influences regarding education and work options nor were there any records or discussions regarding siblings and the modelling they may have provided. The effect of multiple births such as twins and the interaction between them was also not raised within the earlier surveys.

Schooling is another aspect which was covered only superficially by all the surveys. There were many references to “public” versus “private” schools attended and that many of the women in their elementary school years were at a “time of high achievement” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 87) and that all were “at the head of the class” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 87). However Shakeshaft recorded findings from Dweck et al.'s study (1978) of elementary school children where, “The types of feedback girls receive from teachers refers almost exclusively to intelligence inadequacies,” whereas “the feedback to boys criticizes non-intellectual types of aspects of their work.” (Shakeshaft, 1987, 84). Shakeshaft also comments in an earlier publication that “schools are “not a nurturing environment for females.” (Shakeshaft, March 1986, 500). How did the women react to all these influences and were they motivating or limiting?

Many of the socialization processes analysed by these studies are expanded in the latter part of this review. One aspect not given a great emphasis in these socialization processes was that of leadership. Hennig and Jardim comment on their women having been “Class President” (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 87) and Murphy emphasises women's “human relation skills” and that they had “sensitivity to people and their needs” (Murphy, 1991, 34), but there was little expansion of how leadership in early life experiences,

such as school teams, community activities and clubs had given these women confidence or related skills for later leadership positions or whether these experiences had been significant or not.

Other authors also contribute to this interest in the early years of women's lives by commenting on broader issues. "All human societies are characterized by a basic gender script which underpins a universal cultural devaluation of women." (Grieve and Burns, 1986, 15). Earlier they pose the question, "How disabling/abling are the effects of the early 'conditioning' of females for the contingencies and outcomes of adult female life? (Grieve and Burns, 1986, 4) They also add that "women are status bearers, rather than status achievers," (Grieve and Burns, 1986, 3). Shakeshaft quotes work completed by Andrews (1984) where "For males, self-esteem and self confidence go hand in hand. For women, high self-esteem is not consistently positively related to confidence in performance tasks," (Shakeshaft, 1987, 85). Sargent (1983) adds that the "complete matter of ego and self-esteem. brings into question early social conditioning and the establishment of the boundaries within which self-esteem is gained and preserved." (Sargent, 1983, Foreword) She also adds that, "To struggle against the norm (for women) is no easy task." (Sargent, 1983, Foreword)

All these research studies have raised important questions to be explored by the surveys conducted for this study of Women and Educational Leadership. The study of the first stage of women's lives and the conditions in which they were reared, as well as the women's feelings and reactions to their early years provides an interrelated view of the process experienced by women who had achieved success in either career and/or leadership fields within education

Socialization Influences on Children

The effects of family, school and community influences on children are important for this study Broderick's (1993) development of a body of knowledge, regarding the processes contained within the family environment, assists in highlighting many factors which are pertinent to the understanding of the influences for both females and males within families. This author cautions us not to view children's socialization as if it were a linear process with the first stage being the interaction of family members and the second and final stage, the outcome, with a socialized child as the result. He argues that child

socialization occurs within the interactive patterns which exist in changing family patterns caused by events, pre-determined or unforeseen. (Broderick, 1993, 213). There is also the observation that family members are also influenced by the impact of others from the wider community and inter-relationships occur with people such as relatives, neighbours, friends and other personnel. All the contributions from these potential role models and especially from teachers and institutions such as schools are pertinent for this study.

There are however many factors present in families which result in positive outcomes for children and those affecting females are particularly significant. Broderick highlights “emotional warmth” (Broderick, 1993, 215) from parents as a key factor. He also draws on the 1979 writings of Rollins and Thomas who suggested that the degree of this warmth could act as a balance between supportive and non-supportive interactions with children. Among the supporting behaviours were the characteristics of “praising, approving, encouraging, helping, co-operating, expressing terms of endearment and physical affection”. (Broderick, 1993, 215). The level of emotional support could be viewed on a continuum of disaffirming ways to affirming ways. This attribute of supporting behaviours is linked closely to the style of control exhibited by the parents. Again Broderick is influenced by the 1979 explanations given by Rollins and Thomas, who explain another continuum reflecting parenting styles, ranging from coercion at one end to induction at the other. Induction encompasses “the more egalitarian, reason based attempts to induce voluntary compliance”. (Broderick, 1993, 216). These authors also contend that the inductive style of parenting is not always an independent factor but that it unites well with the descriptors of the support factor and the two often run in tandem. In this inductive style the parents have the right to evaluate and to direct the child; there is respect - considering the child as an equal - and there is the right and freedom of the child to evaluate and direct the parents. This latter situation “with the child in the one-up position” has been “virtually ignored in the research” but it does “need attention”. (Broderick, 1993, 217). A significant focus for this study is to see whether the women who have been successful in gaining leadership positions in education have enjoyed this type of rearing.

The 1985 work of Stacey and Thorne regarding the place of women in the family is reviewed by Koopman Boyden (1989) in Quah's edited work. The former contend that “the idea of gender is more central to

the functioning of the family than to other institutions''. (Quah (ed), 1990, 31). Women in the past have been seen as "the core of the family or the anchor within it", whereas Bridenthal's work (1982) is noted as contending that women should be viewed "as persons involved in familial and nonfamilial activities, as men routinely have been perceived''. (Quah (ed), 1990, 32). Thorne and Yalom's work (1989) was also quoted at it noted "the differential experiences...girls and boys have within the family as a result of gender and age''. (Quah (ed), 1990, 32). Koopman Boyden also refers to two types of families - "traditional, negotiated or emancipated (Eichler's term 1984) "where roles and structures have been established to the mutual satisfaction of the individuals concerned .partners . parents...children." (Quah (ed), 1990, 32)

The sex of the parent and the sex of the child cause particular and not necessarily similar socialization results for female and male children. A mother to daughter linkage is sometimes necessary for the transference of some socialization aspects and the same is true for the father/son relationship. The 1989 study by Schumann and Scott is used by Broderick to express the view that intergenerational patterns of parental influence are "more likely to appear in the late adolescent or young adult stage of people's lives'', (Broderick, 1993, 220). Genetic factors along with the gender and the developmental level of children can moderate the effect of various socialization variables.

The disparate role of mothers and fathers and their influence on children is important for this study. Across most family types relationships with mothers "exert stronger influence than relationships with fathers" (Acock and Demo, 1994, 198). If the mother/child interaction is enjoyable, "children's well-being is higher" and there are even "positive outcomes" for children.. "in divorced families," (Acock and Demo, 1994, 198) if there is support from the mothers. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 198). Children also have a higher well-being in family situations where mothers have a positive view of themselves from a universal perspective

Fathers too have significant influence on children. Even though fathers "have much lower levels of interaction...than mothers, (Acock and Demo, 1994, 196) their contributions are extremely important and correlate also with child well-being. "The amount of enjoyable time fathers and children share is related to children's global well-being and socioemotional adjustment, regardless of children's age." (Acock and

Demo, 1994, 196). Even non-residential fathers “may still be involved with their children,...and co-operate with mothers in parenting”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 197).

The married state has also implications for the well-being of children. “In first-married families, mothers' marital happiness is associated with higher global well-being and better socioemotional adjustment for children ” (Acock and Demo, 1994, 196). In fact “marital stability appears to enhance children's global well-being and adjustments and to bolster the academic performance of adolescents”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 196). Additionally in “first-married families, girls and younger students do better and children's academic performance is facilitated by higher family income and mothers' education” (Acock and Demo, 1994, 207) It is interesting to note that family education levels have a greater significance “over and above the influence of family income”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 207). Astone & McLanahan (1991), Cochran & Dean (1991), Maeroff (1992) are quoted by Acock and Demo in relation to other family influences “Time spent helping the child with homework, time spent in school or participation in school-related activities...may have positive effects on school achievement.” (Acock and Demo, 1994, 208).

Other socialization effects are provided for family members within the wider community. “Relatives...are (an) important source of advice, comfort and support...for parents of young children.” (English and King, 1983, 230). “Professionals...(in) health and education are seen as important ..by parents about their children”. (English and King, 1983, 230). “Neighbours are important companions...(while friends) constitute a very important part of the social networks of families”. (English and King, 1983, 230). It is interesting to note that “the majority of children now grow up in small families,” in Australia (English and King, 1983, 230) and “that now children have far fewer people and a much narrower range of age, sex and experience of life within the family than their counterparts did in earlier generations”. (English and King, 1983, 233)

When expectations regarding education were examined, the result revealed “that first-married mothers have significantly higher educational expectations for their children and are more willing to help pay college expenses”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 117). However all mothers in a variety of situations (first-married, divorced, step-family or single parents) all “have a very similar set of rules and expectations for their children”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 118). Other researchers such as Lamb, Pleck, Charnov &

Levine, (1987), La Rossa, (1988), have been identified by Acock and Demo as contributing to this debate with three main “components of parental involvement:- responsibility, accessibility, and engagement”. Responsibility includes such activities as providing financial support and overseeing “children's extracurricular activities, social calendar, medical and dental appointments”. (Acock and Demo 1994, 118). Being available for children whilst completing parental tasks (e.g laundry) but not being in direct interaction is termed “accessibility”. The more “intense form of parental involvement is termed engagement”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 119). The frequency of enjoyment levels and activity range are other important factors and transmit to children a “sense that they matter to parents”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 119).

Regarding maternal employment and its effects on children, the research shows that “Although employed women spend less total time with their children. mother's employment...has very few adverse effects. In fact there are important positive effects.” (Acock and Demo, 1994, 19) Demo quoted his own research (1992) which indicated also that “A more detached style of parental support may facilitate culturally valued independence and autonomy”. (Acock and Demo, 1994, 20). Women's employment “has always been important to the family's standard of living”, (Acock and Demo, 1994, 40) because it has the power to lift a family from poorer class to middle class

Noller and Fitzpatrick (1993) argue that one set of family relationships which is often forgotten is that of sibling interaction. Approximately four out of five people have siblings and interactions occur between them every day because they tend to live in families for extended periods. That is not to say that *only children* will suffer because they do not experience these interactions. In fact Falbo's work from 1988 is used by these authors to emphasise that *only children* do perform well in life whether it be in social, intellectual or emotional situations. (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 214). From earlier studies by Polit and Falbo (1987) in the edited work of Boer and Dunn, it was revealed that only children “yielded statistically significant results on achievement motivation and on self-esteem.” (Boer and Dunn (eds) 1992, 74). Siblings contribute to the socialization of their brothers and/or sisters by being constant persons in their lives through daily activities, often forming more intense attachments to them than with parents, (as noted from the 1971 research by Myerdorf), and providing early instances of intimacy as

quoted from the 1988 work of Watanabe-Hammond. (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 215). There are also negative aspects such as rivalry and competition as they fight for parental love and family resources. Other non-positive factors from sibling relationships include the feelings of inferiority as skills are compared and evaluations are made between them or as parents make judgements which are critical or demeaning. Variations in the way siblings treat each other can have effects on mood and behaviour and with negative treatment, siblings can be disadvantaged. The 1986 finding of Goetting and the 1977 work of Essman are also analysed by Noller and Fitzpatrick (1993) to explain the effects of siblings acting as care-givers. The advantages occur when the care-giver receives more affection and attention from the sibling. However, the disadvantages are evident when the caring is not as effective as the parents would have provided and the older child has to suffer the expectation of being available regularly to give the extra care. (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 220)

Broderick also favours a historical and cohort view affecting the family socialization process. Each generation begins its existence at a unique point in history and experiences world and more immediate events in the local environment from its own perspective. Each group or cohort will absorb or imitate the parents' view of the world to the extent that life is similar or different to the life situations it is experiencing at any given moment. Researchers must remember the fact that older or younger children in a family could be classified as being members of different cohorts. Broderick refers to the work of Glenn (1977), Troll and Benson, (1979), Schuman and Scott (1982) to suggest that even siblings born as little as five years apart will belong to different cohorts and will experience life and socialization processes differently. (Broderick, 1993, 221-222)

Children with mentally retarded or physically disabled siblings “will react to the presence of (such a) child (depending) on the timing of the realization that a child has a severe degree (of disability). If children are younger than the disabled sibling, then he/she “may only gradually come to appreciate the slow progress of the...sibling (and therefore) the relationship (will have) been established without...prejudice”, as quoted from the writings of Ann Goth in Boer and Dunn (eds) (1992). (Boer & Dunn (eds), 1992, 107).

First born children can often be traumatized by the arrival of siblings and often demonstrate more disruptive behaviours but they can also show positive tendencies and can show a desire to want to care for them. Because each child in family situations is at a different age and stage, (except for multiple birth situations) parents are likely to treat children differently and children perceive these differences. Parke and Sawin's work in 1975 about fathers' interactions with first born children is utilized by Noller and Fitzpatrick (1993) to explain that they have a much greater involvement with them particularly with first born sons. They show more affection and interaction with them but also discipline them more than sons who are born later. For families with only girls, the first born may take the place of the first born son and be given this special treatment which is a factor important for this study. In general parents tend to treat first born children with special care in several ways such as targeting dinner table conversations to suit them and providing extra responsibilities for them. Other studies by Dunn, Stocker and Pomin, all in 1989, are used by Noller and Fitzpatrick (1993) to show that two thirds of mothers demonstrated more affection and attention to younger children. (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 216)

From a gender point of view "women seem to be more effective in their sibling relationships" but there "are more (instances of) conflict and competitiveness between sisters than brothers". In spite of this "there is also more support" (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 224). Sisters contribute more to each other's state of well-being whereas brothers tend to demonstrate less "acceptance and approval of each other". (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 216). Bedford's research in 1989 is provided to suggest a vital outcome for females and their sisters in that the "women are challenged to keep up with their sisters and such pressure may have positive effects such as encouraging social involvement and discouraging social withdrawal". (Noller and Fitzpatrick, 1993, 225).

A further consideration in the socialization process is that of self esteem. Three factors to produce this which were identified by Broderick include (1) positive self regard (2) an internalized locus of control and (3) certain personal coping mechanisms (Broderick, 1993, 45-48). Neil Smelser's observations 1989, as recorded by Broderick (1993), argue that this attribute of self esteem does not necessarily lead to "socioemotional competence" (Broderick, 1993, 215) but Broderick is certain that this is a definite part of any model for socialization

A variety of perspectives from the socialization process of children suggests that the first-married, supportive, encouraging family where the disparate contributions of both parents play significant roles in the development of each participating child, is the most beneficial for children in the development of independence and self motivation. There are special indicators for the mother's role and its effects on female children and the development of their leadership potential.

The family and its relationship with schools is of interest to this study. When the host of variables existing in families is taken into account, it is difficult to gauge which structural features of the family affect the influence of schools. Peaker's work (1963) as cited in Ramsay (1984) discovered “parental attitudes” as a group “seemed to account for more of the variation in school attainment, than any other group (of factors)”. (Ramsay (ed), 1984, 67) Teachers “will not be able to overcome the powerful influence of negative parental attitudes”. (Ramsay (ed), 1984, 67) Earlier work by Rutler and his colleagues (1979) is quoted by Doyle and Hartle (1985). The conclusions reached by the Rutler (et al.) study (1979) was that “schools do have an important impact on children's development and that it does matter what school a child attends.” (Doyle and Hartle, 1985, 23) The atmosphere of a school is important as are the teachers' contributions with aspects such as organization of class time, their expectations regarding students' work and behaviour, the “frequency of feedback” regarding performance and their “attitude towards students ” (Doyle & Hartle, 1985, 23) A “wealth of literature shows that inspirational teachers can and do make a difference to their students' participation and achievement ” (Abbott-Chapman, 1994, 42). Other factors impinging on women in schools, churches and other community institutions are known as “sex-role stereotyping” (Ramsay (ed), 1984, 75). Women are seen as “gentle, sensitive to the feelings of others, tactful, religious, interested in art and literature, able to express tender feelings,” as opposed to “masculine qualities in...society” (Ramsay (ed), 1984, 75). This unbalanced view of gender based characteristics is a cause for concern within our societies and may have a detrimental affect on women aspiring to leadership positions in a masculine-based, employment world.

Females and Achievement

The factors affecting achievement potential need to be analysed with special regard to the problems faced

by women. Smith (1969) as quoted by Spence defines achievement in the following terms: "Achievement is task-oriented behaviour that allows the individual's performance to be evaluated according to some internally or externally imposed criterion, that involves the individual in competing with others or that otherwise involves some standard of excellence" (Spence, 1983, 12). It is indeed a "multidimensional phenomenon and different profiles of motives may characterize achieving individuals depending on the particular area in which an individual expresses them." (Spence, 1983, 47).

Women, it would appear, are subject to several factors which work against them in the achievement process. One critical variable is that women suffer from the critical, societal stereotype of general female incompetence. However Abbott-Chapman (1989) contends that "often what stands in the way of women and girls maximising their abilities and reaching career goals is less than their ability to perform and more their own lack of confidence, their anxieties about their performance and their underrating of their capabilities." (Abbott-Chapman, 1989, 29) They are therefore generally expected to do less well than men on a variety of different tasks. The result of this is that many women have lower expectations for themselves as discussed in the work of Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz (1972), Deux et Emswiller (1974), Feldman-Summers and Klesler (1974), as analysed by Spence, (Spence, 1983, 86) Consequently women tend to achieve less Breakwell (1992) complements these findings by drawing on Gilligan's (1982) use of Chodorow's psychoanalytic framework which places the mother-infant interaction as being the one central factor in the initial formation of consciousness. According to Gilligan (1982) women retain a sense of connectedness while men feel the need to struggle and to separate from the mother figure (Breakwell, 1992, 242). This need for connection could limit the later achievement potential for women. They may see the need "to connect" as being more important than striving for leadership positions.

This latter point can be further associated with Spence's definitions on the types of achievement Women tend to align more with the "intrinsic" and "peripheral motives" types With the intrinsic variety, activities are pursued for "pleasurable motives and not some external rewards." (Spence, 1983, 14) The "peripheral motives" model is concerned with "affiliative activities where achievement is related to situations permitting the individual to interact with others, to develop friendships or to be helpful to

others.” (Spence, 1983, 17). Teaching has many of these characteristics but do women subdue their achievement motivation to the detriment of their career progress?

Breakwell contends that many women do lack a clear sense of their own individuality. This is backed by the suggestions of many psychologists who comment on “society's repression”. The truly liberating outcome for women is the development of an autonomous and individualated self concept. (Breakwell, 1992, 240-241). This is reflected in self expectations as well as response to the expectations of others. This was alluded to in earlier studies as reported by Harvey (1986). She contends that the adverse socialization of girls in mixed sex schools reinforces their hesitancy to speak up in the group dynamics evident when males are present. There were “43 % of respondents (who) identified their failure to speak up in mixed groups...(while) another 22% said that their greatest problem in group meetings was interruptions by males.” (Harvey, 1986, 51).

The Work and Family Orientation Questionnaire (WOFO), as reported by Spence (1983), was administered to several groups of specially selected individuals from male and female University athletes, to male and female business people and to male and female academics to name a few of the participants. In all groups males were more competitive than females. The lowest degree of competitiveness came from academic psychologists. One conclusion from this study was that academic and scholarly enterprise is not aimed at “head to head” winning contests. This was explained as being a part of the “ideal of the dispassionate pursuit of knowledge”. (Spence, 1983, 48) Athletes scored the highest results on competition which is not surprising as winning can be a major purpose in sporting pursuits. (Spence, 1983, 48).

Achievement literature also documents the importance of parents' self-concept and the general expectancies of success as quoted from the work of Brookover & Erikson (1975), Brophy and Good (1974), Parsons, Frieze & Ruble (1976), Rosenthal & Rosnow (1969), Webster & Sobicozek (1974). Students in the writings of Spence (1983), who have high expectations imposed on them, also place high expectations on themselves and will achieve more in their school work. However, parents were perceived by their female children as showing lower expectations in their estimates of the females' mathematics

abilities, from the work of Finneman, Sherman (1974), Fox 1975, Kuminski et al. (1976) as quoted by Spence. (Spence, 1983, 86). According to the work of Campbell (1986) boys are only better than the “average girl” in Mathematics “The different backgrounds and experiences of girls - most likely - do affect achievement.” (Campbell, 1986, 51) This can be related to another concept raised by Spence. Females generalized expectancies are generally lower in spite of histories of past achievement If Mathematics' expectations have been lower in early life, later achievement potential could be marred. Women's specific expectancies compare favourably with those of men (Spence, 1983, 82). However women's “differences in achievement can be traced in part to the narrower range of occupational fields considered by women compared to men”, according to the research of Farmer and Barker (1997), Gottfredson (1981). (Farmer 1987, 8).

Women appear to have several factors impinging on their ability to define their concept of self and their potential for achievement, with society's attitudes opposing, if some-what unintentionally, the striving for career achievement.

Women and the Teaching Profession

In this section various aspects of women's experiences in the teaching profession will be examined. Both historical and contemporary scenarios and views on the limitations and progress made by females in this career choice will be addressed

The teaching profession has always been a major employer of women, and along with nursing has traditionally been regarded as one of the ‘caring’ professions. A study by Abbott-Chapman, Hull, Maclean, McCann and Wyld (1991) emphasised the importance of the teaching profession within the total Australian workforce, and also as an area of employment for women.

“Teachers are an important occupational group in society both in terms of their sheer numbers and because of their considerable influence on the overall effectiveness and efficiency of the school system In Australia, more than 3% (210,000) of the employed civilian population are school teachers. Among women, teaching is a particularly important area of employment. Sixty per cent of all school teachers are women, and nearly seven per cent of full-time female workers are employed in this occupation.” (Abbott-Chapman et al , 1991, p1)

Teaching is by “far and away the largest occupation of educated labour in Australia, particularly for women.” (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 71). Teachers form 29% of professionals generally and “forty seven percent of the women in this category.” (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 71). Secondary school teachers form just over half the number of Australian teachers. In 1996 this figure of 210,000 had reduced to 204,019 teachers in Australian schools (Labour Economics Office, 1997, 3).

Women have historically held inferior positions in teaching and career development has been limited. Women have always been visible but have not always been contenders for the hierarchical positions in schools. There were women teaching children to read and write from the early years of the colony of Australia. (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 121). There were also women who had established schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, despite their early presence within the Australian workforce, “Women were never as comfortably established or recognised as educators of young children...as they were in Britain and America.” (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 121) Consequently women here have never reached the dizzy heights of achievement recorded.. in the U.S.A.. 55% of principals of elementary schools in 1928 ..or in England. 56% of such principals around the same period (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 122) In fact very few Australian women have been able to progress from teaching to administrative positions such as school principals or decision makers. “Concern about this issue has largely come from women themselves.” Many women up until the 1970's had to lose all their accrued experience and promotion status to retire when bearing their children. Despite women having been the majority of teachers throughout Australia for the better part of the Twentieth Century, “no woman (had) ever been the chief administrator or Director-General...until 1988 in Victoria.” (Maclean and McKenzie, (eds) 1991, 122)

Women's experiences in teaching in America have followed similar patterns Dunlap and Schmuck speak of “women (having) dominated (teaching) in sheer numbers” but having “never dominated in recognized positions of organized authority ” (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 2)

Teaching has actually only offered women a vocation and not a career “even if they were prepared to forego marriage and motherhood.” (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 122). Schmuck et al. (1981)

use Nancy Pitner's (1981) study and argue a different point of view as to what determines a career for men and women. For men "careers tend to advance in the hierarchical structure of education," whereas for women "teaching is a terminal part of their lives". (Schmuck et al., 1981, 153) The reasons for this include sex-related differences in the contingencies of life, differences in expectations about the personal lives of women and the viewing of teaching as a career in itself. Other factors quoted from Stockard's study in 1980 and Schmuck's finding in 1981 include "discriminatory patterns in the preparatory recruiting and selection processes that have prevented women from acquiring positions in the upper levels of educational organisations" (Schmuck et al 1981, 153). These authors also contend that "Structures (in schools) enhance or restrict a person's opportunities to acquire the awards that cause people to achieve high levels of engagement or morale in teaching." (Schmuck et al , 1981, 153).

Lortie's views in 1975 concur with Sampson who is quoted in the edited work of Maclean and McKenzie (1991) and who describes a "long term teacher" as "career-less" because the teaching profession has "an absence of stages and a lack of correlation between the efforts of teachers and the rewards that they can expect" (Maclean and McKenzie (eds) 1991, 154). Bilken reinforces this view by returning to the 19th century definition of the concept of career as described by Barton Bledstein. A career is a "pre-established total pattern of organized professional activity with upward movement through recognized preparatory stages and advancement based on merit and bearing honour" (Bilken, 1986, 504). She continues to explain that "careers" take place in the public place and separate "work and family," which places additional burdens on women if they "take primary responsibility for the caring and nurturing of children." (Bilken, 1986, 505). It has been argued then by Rowbotham as quoted by Worsley (ed) (1982) that there is a possibility "that the family is maintained at the expense of women" (Worsley (ed), 1982, 309). Sampson in Maclean and McKenzie's edited work 1991 contends that "women hold only a tiny proportion of positions as executives and leaders in schools and educational administrations." (Maclean & McKenzie (eds), 1991, 123) This view is validated by the small number of Tasmanian female principals and administrators available for this study - only 24% in 1995. In 1988 Tasmania had 23.8% as women principals so the situation has changed very little over time. (Maclean and McKenzie, (eds) 1991, 128). It suggests that there are "stereotypical views concerning women's competence (which) might indeed exist in schools." (Maclean and McKenzie (eds), 1991, 128)

The evidence of such a small proportion of the women teachers in Tasmania occupying the leadership role of Principal or Planning Officer or equivalent out of a teaching population of 5000, suggests that those women who do succeed in becoming Principals must have special personal and leadership characteristics.

Early Experiences of Tasmanian Women Teachers

Derek Phillips (1985) recorded the history of women teachers in Tasmania. In 1851 there was a system of apprenticed monitors. They were “at least 13 years of age and needed Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and Scripture requirements to complete a four year apprenticeship ” (Phillips, 1985, 46-47). This was followed by a public-teacher system where males or females thirteen or older received a five year training with a suitably qualified master. (Phillips, 1985, 47).

In 1854 the pay scale was 150 pounds for the first stage, 120 pounds for the second stage while the 3rd stage was 50-100 pounds. Mistresses and Assistant teachers were awarded salaries as an Education Board determined. The teachers of Needlework were often the wives of teachers and were also expected to take charge of the infants when required. These were paid 20-40 pounds. By 1928 only 0.2% of the female teachers in Tasmania were earning more than this, while in New South Wales 7% of women were in this category. Those earning under 250 pounds per annum represented 96% of female teachers in Tasmania compared to 46% in New South Wales.

Earlier in 1902 an Inspector Neal was very critical of the record keeping on teachers regarding conduct, skill and efficiency. Only 150 out of 500 had had that information recorded and consequently promotions and transfers were made on personal knowledge from inspectors, (Phillips, 1985, 87). It took until 1948 before the University undertook the training of new teachers and for others in service while for those ineligible for the University training, there was the Launceston Teachers' College. In 1961 the, then Tasmanian Superintendent of Pre-Schools, Elspeth Vaughan mooted the suggestion that teacher exchanges would be ideal for Tasmanian teachers. As far as the education of women was concerned it was felt that it was not desirable as “mothers (were) deprived of the domestic labour of their daughters”, (Phillips, 1985, 302). Women continued to be trained only for primary and secondary schools.

Rupert Maclean's survey (1987) consisted of 770 full-time teachers in promotion positions in the Tasmanian Education Department. One finding was that a "Large proportion in the survey had relatives who were teachers; more than a third had a spouse who was a teacher and close to half had either a brother or a sister who were teachers." (Maclean, 1987, 242). More than two-thirds of these teachers stated that they would be more encouraging for a daughter to be a teacher than a son. They listed the declining nature of teaching and the difficulties that went with the work. Others saw it as lacking in employment and promotion opportunities. For sons it offered "potential security" but for women it was suitable for "a woman's maternal temperament" and combined well with home duties" (Maclean, 1987, 242). Teaching was a career in the sense that "it implies a commitment to obtaining promotion through the status hierarchy according to some time schedule" (Maclean, 1987, 243). Men proved to be more committed than women in this respect. School teaching also "confronts its practitioners with more or less standardised ways for them to pursue their careers," as pointed out by Maclean using the 1970 study by Charters. (Maclean, 1987, 243). Economic conditions and extended holidays proved to be the most satisfying aspects of the occupation while the negative aspects were related to "the size of classes, pressure of work and the extent of extra-curricular duties such as playground supervision." (Maclean, 1987, 243). Women emphasised satisfactions such as "contact with students and parents," while men were more satisfied by "economic and security of employment considerations." (Maclean, 1987, 243).

Earlier studies by Morrison and McIntyre (1973), Fisher et al. (1978), McArthur (1981) and Crow (1985) as examined by Maclean had identified a number of "distinct and identifiable stages" in the teaching career, but Maclean's respondents disclosed four stages which were additional to the other studies - "the achievement of promotion, movement into non-school promotion positions, the achievement of an optimum or more desired work location . and temporary exit from the occupation" (Maclean, 1987, 243). Women when compared to the men viewed vertical mobility differently giving explanations such as "family responsibilities" and the lack of "freedom to move between schools." (Maclean, 1987, 244). For those for whom promotion was a concern, it affected the ways in which "they directed their energies". (Maclean, 1987, 244). In Crow's study in America, the women who had not done better in their careers blamed "family responsibilities...discrimination...and adverse economic factors" for their lack of achievement." (Crow, 1985, 25)

For teachers who had achieved promotion there were shared characteristics. They spent a longer period of time on average in the various schools in which they had worked. They had worked in a greater number of schools and had spent a greater proportion of time in less attractive schools. They were also more likely to have undertaken further study towards formal qualifications, to have attended in-service courses and to have conspicuously involved themselves in a wide range of in-school and out of school, non-teaching type of activities. They were also more likely to have specialised in History, the Humanities or a Language in their degree or qualifications, in the case of Secondary School teachers. Additionally they had a higher “career saliency” outlook. Maclean uses this term from the 1967 work by March and this refers to “the extent to which an individual is committed to an occupation” (Maclean, 1987, 62). These teachers also were more likely to have established career timetables early on in their careers. They had identified more strongly with the idea of an *organisational career* (one leading a school) rather than an *occupational career* (one being a classroom teacher). Finally they were more likely to have been employed in primary rather than secondary schools. (Maclean, 1987, 150).

Maclean also noted that men achieved quicker and earlier promotion before women, graduates before non-graduates and in secondary schools before primary schools. (Maclean, 1987, 151). There were now additional hurdles in the teaching career for Tasmanian teachers which “could be a result of the contraction in recent years of the opportunity structure” so that “teachers have had to rethink the range of available career options and to re-evaluate their careers in ways which encourage them to seek further stages and no additional mechanisms”. (Maclean and McKenzie, 1991, 244)

Women did not feature well when optimism about gaining a promotion was investigated. This “was not surprising given the under-representation of women in promotable positions” (Maclean, 1987, 244). For any teachers the higher they were into the promotions hierarchy, the higher they rated their chances of gaining promotion. This was especially true for those in the primary field (e.g. Senior Teachers). Maclean also discovered that “although promotion did appear to concern most teachers at some stage, most did not avidly seek promotion over the full length of their working lives.” (Maclean, 1987, 247). Careers were seen more in an objective way, with various means to gaining “a career”, whether it be “in school or non-school advisory, supervisory and administrative positions.” (Maclean, 1987, 247).

Careers appeared to climax in mid surface and then two types of career perspectives developed - one in schools and one in non-school positions. Whether a teacher chose one against the other “depended very much on their values and motives for becoming a teacher.” (Maclean, 1987, 247).

For those who had achieved promotion, time spans were significant - “for Principals of large primary schools an average of twenty two years..!(for Principals) of small primary schools...an average of 9.8 years.” (Maclean, 1987, 248). Men were more successful and “generally achieved their promotion position earlier than did women.” (Maclean, 1987, 258). It was this factor of gender which affected teachers' careers particularly. Women suffered considerably by being married, having families, being less mobile and perhaps placing a husband's career before their own. There may also have been at the time of this study (and still existing today) a formal or informal bias within the system “which favours the promotion of men rather than women” (Maclean, 1987, 255). There were many factors from the teachers' perspectives concerning how promotions ought to have been achieved. They placed “much greater stress on the importance of administrative ability and on aspects of being an effective classroom teacher and a productive member of a school staff.” (Maclean, 1987, 257). Other factors including having good relationships with the ‘power brokers’ in the promotion process and having the support of a sponsor, were not seen as key factors in gaining promotions. What “ought” to influence promotion did not match the reality of what actually did influence it. “Promoted teachers were a relatively youthful group...with almost three quarters (74%) being in their forties or younger.” (Maclean, 1987, 259). Maclean concluded the synopsis of his study with the summary that teachers work within two systems - the social system and the system “in which they are employed.” (Maclean, 1987, 259). Clearly there are “internal and external” aspects to the teaching career. For women the individual's stress appears to be confounded by additional social factors and their success depends very much on how promotion-minded they are willing to be. Johnston (1986) had warned that when women achieve leadership positions as principals, that “problems...are likely to exist or be created when a female head attempts to model her leadership behaviour on that of her male counterparts.” (Johnston, 1986, 7) Not only are women burdened by social constraints, but also by the “internal” and “external” perceptions as to what her operational style in a leadership position should be - masculine and not feminine.

Experiences of Teachers in Other Australian States

Janine Haines highlights discriminatory conditions which persisted until quite recently in the history of teachers in Australia. In the 1970's women suffered a "myriad of injustices". (Haines, 1992, 38) Women teachers were paid less than male colleagues, were classified as temporary if married and were only promoted to 'acting', "rather than to substantive positions." (Haines, 1992, 38)

Two studies about Victorian education (Davies 1986, Blackmore 1996), written ten years apart, explain situational factors existing for women in the teaching profession and leadership positions. Davies outlined the many problems facing women in gaining promotions. The lack of management experience inhibited women and had made them hesitant and full of misgivings about applying for promotions. Their lack of experience in enabling, initiating or co-ordinating new curricula and involvement with regional committees had curbed their opportunities. They had been given "Clayton's role" experiences by standing in for male colleagues who were on leave. By operating in roles without the real authority, the "women had felt isolated and powerless" (Davies (ed), 1986, 5). With men still in power at the top of the system, the women had felt that they had had little influence in educational philosophies and directions and therefore could not influence the status quo (Davies (ed), 1986, 78). Many women had had mentors who had provided a gentle push for them up the promotion ladder. However men, they found, had planned their strategies for promotion many years earlier and women were still left behind. Because women at the top are a rarity, it affects the way women see themselves and are seen by others. Consequently 'low attainment' becomes a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Davies (ed), 1986, 8)

To alleviate the inadequacies of their system women needed to know how the promotion format worked. In-service workshops and the formalized sharing of information were deemed necessary. The "break-in-service" syndrome for women made interviews difficult and disadvantageous. The ingrained assumption that women should be married and that it was every woman's "normal future" made women guilt-ridden when attempting to gain promotions which were going to bring more stress into the family and (where) they (were) going to be the ones asking for the support." Men are busy so most women "have to survive as best they can". (Davies (ed), 1986, 42) The freedom men have to concentrate on

their working lives is not always available to a woman who must leave her “network” of colleagues, ideas and professional contacts at the end of the day, to begin her next role as the homemaker and the carer of children. Even women who had reached positions of authority became threatened by their positions and felt that they had “to see (the problem) through to the bitter end.” (Davies (ed), 1986, 12).

Now that women have succeeded in gaining more leadership positions in Victoria, other factors are impinging on them in a battle between gender and emotions versus the market place and “greedy organizations” as outlined by Blackmore (1996). At the time of restructuring (1992), highly skilled women applicants for principal positions were sought eagerly. They were considered to be the “caring and sharing managers”, suitable for the new team work approach (Blackmore, 1996, 300). However, inherent in these positions was the need to manage emotions. The new corporate identity of schools aimed to tap into the creativity of all personnel and at the same time to control them

The newly structured dimensions have resulted in a “core-periphery” model of management for schools. At the centre of the “core” is the central governing body with the schools on the periphery with the Principals as the buffer between the two groups. Policy is made by a very masculinised central “core” to which principals are expected to “fuse the emotions of workers and the aspirations of management” (Blackmore, 1996, 338). Consequently in the self-managing school in Victoria, there are at least two market relationships to which Principals must attend - “the student market, the leadership market.” (Blackmore, 1996, 340). It is now the duty of these Principals to market “curriculum and pedagogy, school culture, best practice and leadership ” (Blackmore, 1996, 300) When the issues of educational justice and market practice collide, emotional dilemmas create a multitude of problems for these female principals Blackmore uses the example of a principal permitting a public forum on private education sponsored by her School Council as an example of the angst now involved with positions in educational leadership. Because she was seen as not marketing the public system, there was “disappointment, disapproval and dismay and the loss of collegial support.” (Blackmore 1986, 343).

The Principal's dilemma involved her internal and emotional struggle with “what (she) saw as important educational needs and values of care, community and co-operation ” (Blackmore, 1986, 341) Her concerns revolved around honouring parents' rights to choose private education and that as a school

leader she should provide all the relevant information. Additionally emotional energy is expended when attempting to provide justice to all students “Policies focusing upon gender equity or social justice (socioeconomic disadvantage, integration, students of Non-English Speaking backgrounds and Aboriginality)...do not have the same promotionable value as a marketable commodity as do gifted children policies”, as touted by private education facilities. (Blackmore, 1986, 347). The more negative emotions such as despair are not acceptable In fact the whole gambit of emotions can be viewed on very “anorexic” continuums - satisfaction or dissatisfaction, alienation or stress.” (Blackmore, 1986, 338). It is obvious that “the construction of an educational labour market has intruded into, and indeed shaped educational practices.” (Blackmore, 1986, 337)

2. Women's Participation in Post Compulsory Education and Training

When the statistics concerning women in the Tasmanian workforce are compared to the proportion of women moving on “to complete Grade 12 and to enter University relative to male students,” it is obvious that the female's commitment to higher education is not being translated into work or career opportunities. (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 2) There is also a marked increase of females who “engage in further and higher education and. take up ‘non-traditional’ careers” (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 3) Women in 1991 made up “56% of 167,985 higher education and undergraduate commencers”, figures gained from The Department of Education, Employment and Training, 1992, by Abbott-Chapman. (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 2) They also scored better than men (over 50%) in gaining both undergraduate and post-graduate completions in 1990. Their progress into higher degrees is curtailed at this point as they “represented only 38% of Master's Degrees and 30% of Ph D's”, from DEET, (1992b), cited by Abbott-Chapman (1994a). (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 2) It can be argued that the lesser male, higher education participation must be seen in the light of their entry into “a trade or apprenticeship from Year 9,” (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 2) but the fact remains that women, although very well qualified, and with a high dedication to education, are still not achieving the most senior positions to the same extent in the workforce.

Whilst these are significant figures and represent an increase over the previous decade, they highlight a further dilemma for women in gaining the additional qualifications to lead them into further career options

and possible leadership positions. It has been noted that “female students complete their degrees faster and with fewer study problems than males,” (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 3) but their participation rates decline once the first degree is obtained. “Affirmative Action programmes in schools are working well...girls are ‘aiming high’ but do their career strategies and the job market itself match up to their expectations? (Abbott-Chapman, 1994a, 3). A survey of 1,787 young people in the early 1990's found that more females than males wanted a professional or management career and it was the females not the males who chose the “newer, trendier, apparently more technologically sophisticated careers,” (Abbott-Chapman et al., 1991, 7). This tendency has caused females to change career direction away from the teaching profession. Another factor contributing to this trend by females away from teaching was the lack of “positions as executives and leaders in schools and in educational administration,” with the obvious “gender bias” favouring males. (Abbott-Chapman et al , 1991, 7) Women comprise two thirds of the teaching service according to Logan and Dempster (1992) but hold only a tiny proportion of leadership positions. This is what makes the study of women as educational leaders so important.

3. Women in Higher Education

Another educational sector in which women are finding it difficult to achieve promotion/employment equality and success exists in our Australian University systems. Women are significantly under-represented in both senior academic and general positions at the University level. One reason given for women's lack of success is that they are concentrated in low status positions without defined career paths. Many women are present on the general staff groups of Universities but they are “in highly gendered segregated categories, e.g secretarial and clerical” (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 17). In the Hobart campus 16% of academic staff are women compared with 27% in higher education overall. When distribution is considered across thirty seven departments in the University of Tasmania, fifteen had no female academic staff and twenty three had only one or two. (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 17). The Tasmanian University's (1996) statistical report provides further statistics to cause concern : “More than 70% of positions (were) held by men” at the end of 1996. “Almost six in ten of these men were tenured, while (only) 37% of 229 females enjoyed such status.” Additionally “Few women have progressed to the level of senior lecturer” but conditions were improving with “63% of the women who

(had) applied for promotion (being) successful.” Women accounted for “55% of the 1996 student body of 12,640”, but they dominated traditional faculties - “nursing, education, humanities and social sciences, law, medicine and pharmacy and visual and performing arts faculties.” (The University of Tasmania Report, 1996, 6).

When looking at employment for women nationwide, Abbott-Chapman and Baynes cited the 1987 study by Gale and Lindemann (1987) who concluded that females had much more difficulty in achieving promotion or appointment at senior levels with Tasmanians being at the bottom of the percentage list ranking women in senior levels. (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 19). Reasons for this are quoted from other studies, Baldwin (1985), Wilson & Byrne (1987) and include sex segregation of disciplines and occupations, the mobility factor, women's child-bearing/child-rearing roles, prejudice, University attitudes to women in careers and the participation of women in decision making structures and policy making processes with their attendant barriers. Promotional procedures are also criticized. The trend towards the concentration of women in specific categories of work such as Secretaries and as Technical Assistants and not Technical Officer is seen as “locking” women out of opportunities for promotion as cited by Parton (1987). (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 23). Other factors concerned women's “broken” service and the need for allowances to be made for this and credits given for prior learning and other skills.

Lack of mobility affects women in two ways. In their immediate situation they are often unable to move to new locations if they have the responsibility of family. They are also prohibited, for the same reason, from gaining overseas degrees or presenting papers outside Australia. Fortunately the tendency to appoint those only with overseas qualifications is changing and Australian qualifications are gaining world recognition. (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 24). Abbott-Chapman and Baynes quoted Baldwin (1985) and Sawyer (1984) who also found that promotions were given to people recruited after the interviewers' images. Men often formed a greater percentage of the interview panel which made it difficult for women to transcend these accepted images. Men with higher degrees and more publications were more likely to rise in the University institutions than women in lower ranks and with family responsibilities who had less opportunity to research and to publish their academic findings. Gaining tenure was also a difficulty as many University positions were non-tenured or non tenurable and women tended to cluster

in these categories of employment or in part-time positions. (Abbott-Chapman and Baynes, 1994b, 28). It is obvious that many strategies need to be put in place to allow women to achieve their full potential not only for themselves but for the whole nation.

4. Women in the Workforce

Women in the 1990's in Australia

The contributions of Australian women since the time of the First Fleet have been very extensive. However much of what women have achieved and endured has not been recorded. Dale Spender contends that women's efforts have "been overlooked and ignored." (House of Representatives, 1992, 7) It was also noted that "the birth rate is now such that there is a very small cohort of future employees coming through. The only place (for) future workers is really among women - married women and interestingly at the other end, older persons" (House of Representatives, 1992, 12). Many women in their submissions for this parliamentary report "expressed dissatisfaction about their contribution in both paid and unpaid work." (House of Representatives, 1992, 17). Women in Australia are the "major participants in the paid workforce and they continue to undertake the great majority of 'work' within the house" (House of Representatives, 1992, 27). In January 1992 the percentage of women in the workforce was 52.4%, compared to men at 74.6% (House of Representatives, 1992, 27). "Approximately 60% of employed women work full time" (House of Representatives, 1992, 28). (For men this figure was 90%). There is much unemployment, under-employment and hidden employment which affects women considerably. Although the unemployment figures for women can be less than males (9.6% compared to 10.6%, 1992) many of these women employed would have only been in part-time employment. Employers often reduce women's hours of work to decrease costs, while other women cannot work full-time because of inadequate child care. Many women often did not look for work because of family reasons (247, 500), age, youth, language or racial difficulties or lack of training and work availability (183, 700), (House of Representatives, 1992, 28-30). "Australia has one of the most gender segregated workforces in the industrialised world." Women make up 98% of typists and 1% in trades such as metal work, electrical and electronics. They dominate in school teaching, clerical, sales and service occupations. (House of Representatives, 1992, 31).

Equal Employment Opportunity

The enactment of EEO legislation 1970 has had the effect of reducing the “Legitimacy of the opposition to changes (for women) already being wrought by other means. It lends moral authority to the push for change.” (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 81). It emerged after the surge of interest in the women's movement in the 1960's and 1970's. There are indicators which show women have benefited from EEO legislation. The first group comprises “the groups of women entering middle management and networking feverishly with each other” and the second includes “the lone pioneer, intrepidly entering the world of traditional men's work - the first woman jockey, the first woman railway fettler, the first woman commercial airline pilot.” (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 91) The “movement of women into middle management (is) slow but healthy” but at the same time “the language is becoming increasingly masculine, borrowing from competitive sport, the military the language of masculine sexuality,” (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 92). Work by Hearn and Parker (1987) is used to form a list of such terms as “policy thrusts, projections and market penetration.” (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 92). Moving into management for women therefore is fraught with dilemmas. There are many “contradictions for women” so Poiner and Wills provided Ferguson's advice (1984), which is “to retain the form of feminine interactional skills but to abandon the content.” (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 93). In other words the authors are urging women to aspire to gain the management positions but not to adopt the masculine style of leadership with its associated language code.

Caution with Statistics

In the general labour market an article from Dataline (1991) impresses readers to check figures being quoted on gender equity everywhere. Information is often written in a flattering light. From studies in America a 300% rise in employment of women in one company meant that only two more women had been appointed - a rise from one to three. When another large firm employing 1000 senior level workers was questioned, it was discovered that a 16% rise over ten years (1981-1991) of females being placed in senior positions had actually only meant that 164 females compared to 840 men were then involved in senior management positions. Vagueness of terminology was also considered a problem and a more detailed scrutiny of facts is necessary. “About 11.5% were placed in the position of chief executive

officer,” led to the discovery that the majority of women in this category were in placements in “hospitals, health-care facilities or colleges or non profit institutions” where women traditionally cluster - so had anything really changed? (Dataline, 1992, 1) There has been “a dramatic improvement in the placement of women” but had stereotypical prejudices been broken down? (Dataline, 1992, 2).

Tasmanian Statistics

As of November 1997 the employment statistics concerning teachers in Tasmania were heavily skewed towards women. From the total service of 5,665 teachers (including permanent full-time, permanent part-time, temporary full-time and temporary part-time in Colleges, District High Schools, High Schools, Primary Schools, Special Schools and Non-School personnel) the total number of women was 3,951 (70%) compared with 1,714 (30%) for men. By sector this became for women, 52% for Secondary Colleges, 66% for District High Schools, 54% for High Schools, 86% for Primary Schools, 83% for Special Schools and 56% for Non-School (Tasmanian Department of Education, Community and Cultural Development, 1997,1). In every type of teaching service in Tasmania women dominate in numbers but not when leadership positions are considered. In the first survey conducted for this study in 1995, only 24% of leadership positions were held by women, showing the imbalance between men and women and the under-representation of women within the administrative section of the service. Other statistics which follow demonstrate further inequities for women in the Tasmanian work-force.

In December 1994 Tasmanian women's participation rate in the work force was 48.1% which represented a decrease of 1.5% compared to 1993 figures. At the same time “the participation rate for married women rose from 37.8% to 53.2%”, consistent when all age groups were considered. (Office of the Status of Women, 1995, 1). Although these figures appear to be promising, “There has been little long term growth in the number of women employed in full-time work” but rather “in part-time employment between 1985 and 1994”. In fact Tasmanian women scored “one of the highest rates of part-time work of any state in Australia”, (48% in 1993), reflecting the marginalization of women in the labour force. In fact females in this state in 1997 made up 77% of the part-time workforce and men only 30%. (Labour Economics Office, 1997, 2).

The State Government is the largest employer of Tasmanian women - 54.3% in May 1994 and the Local Government sector is the lowest with only 28.2% of female employees (OSW, 1995, 2) Women are still concentrated in a narrow range of employment opportunities. At the end of 1993 Tasmanian women were mostly employed in two categories of work - community services and the wholesale/retail trade. Four further subdivisions of these categories were - "the recreational, personal/service industry, the wholesale/retail trade, the community services' industry and the finance (property) business service industry". (OSW, 1995, 2) Women still tended to work in positions which were low paid or in a low status. The proportion of women managers and administrators in Tasmania "increased from 8.4% in May 1990 to 10.5% in December 1994" Caring for children, plus the dual roles of managing work and caring for children, were reported as the main barriers for employment but more so for women (33.6% for women and 17% for males). (OSW, 1995, 3).

Teaching and Gender

Teaching is a vocation strongly pursued by women in large numbers across history and across most Western countries. The reality of gender characteristics in teaching is rarely taken into account in times of educational change. Women congregate in specific areas within the teaching profession - "predominantly in the pre-primary and lower grades of schools, in the curriculum areas of humanities and social sciences in secondary schools, and overwhelmingly in the teaching as opposed to supervisory ranks" (Porter, Warry, Apelt in Logan and Dempster (eds), 1992, 43) Men dominate certain curriculum areas, (Science and Mathematics) higher principal and administrative levels. Valerie Hall provides current explanations as to the drop in proportionate representation of women in management and leadership positions. Here "the absence of role models for girls, (limits) their aspirations" is her contention. (Hall, 1996, 54). "This absence makes it more difficult for women to visualize promotions." (Hall, 1996, 54). Shakeshaft's research (1989), quoted by Hall, complements this argument by contending that the popular theories of motivation (those of Herzberg and Maslow) "failed to take account of the specificity of women's experience". (Hall, 1996, 120) Becoming self actualized for women (using these theories) means women going beyond their sense of being female and entering the world of men The converse of this is not true for men. Therefore the discussion of gender goes far beyond equal employment

opportunities and pervades debates on a wide range of teacher education and educational reform. For too long “male career development”, has been taken as the “norm for all career development” but if teaching is to be understood and changed “then we must take account of the cultural context in which women work in our society” (Porter, et al., 1992, 44).

Australia, amongst OECD countries “has one of the most gendered divisions of labour.. women are more concentrated in a smaller number of female dominated sections of the labour force than is true in other member countries”. (Porter et al., 1992, 44) In 1987 “there were approximately 20% more female than male teachers in Australian schools...15% more female teachers (in Government schools)...32% (in Catholic schools).” (Porter et al., 1992, 46) “There was only one age range where males greatly outnumbered females, that of 31-40 years...and there were slightly more males than females in the 41-50 age range.” Child rearing and a later return by women to teaching could provide the reason for these differences. “Government schools have a much higher percentage of women than men employed on a temporary basis.” (Porter et al., 1992, 47) All these revelations demonstrate the varying career structures which exist for men and women. When subjects and teaching patterns are investigated, women again form the greater percentage working in Infant/Early Childhood and Primary sectors. More males are involved in teaching Mathematics or Science or Year 12 students.

With the research on in-service courses concerning administration attended, only 10.1% of participants were women compared to 21.5% being men. In-service courses were also lower for women - 19.5% compared to 27% men and also staff performance appraisals - females 12.7% and males 17.7%. (Porter et al., 1992, 47). Women are either not interested in administration courses or need definite strategies to encourage them to participate more in relevant preparation for later promotional opportunities. Women by contrast were participating more in membership of professional organisations in 1989. “The most significant feature of the data (was) the big increase by women in membership of more than one professional organisation...as many as four ” (Porter et al., 1992, 48). When qualifications are concerned “8% more females than males gained their pre-service qualifications from a Teacher's College/CAE while some 5% more males than females completed a University Diploma of Education course.” (Porter et al., 1992, 48). Master's Degrees were more common among men taking them up to the age of 50. Women

took their studies for Master's Degrees between 51 and 60. Generally women returned later than men to professional development training. Administration is firmly in the hands of males. In 1991 18.9% were primary school principals and only 9.9% secondary school principals were female. "Fewer women are taking up leadership positions in Catholic schools," (Porter et al., 1992, .49) with the decline of the number of religious personnel and the increased employment of lay persons. Whatever aspect is considered in teaching, women appear to rate at a lower percentage or are prevented by cultural patterns, processes or biases to participate more fully in leadership positions within teaching and education. Shakeshaft contended (1986) that for schools to gain excellence another factor must be addressed. "Excellence cannot be achieved without equity...they are dependent on each other," is her view. (Shakeshaft, 1986, 500). Ensuing reports reveal that equity has still not been achieved for many females.

The imbalance for women in other fields is also highlighted in the report House of Representatives (1992) showing women congregating in the lower levels of the work pyramid and with very few in management positions. This report quotes Denise Swan who reported that women Australia wide in 1992 only comprised "9.1% of senior executives, 6.1% of Members of Parliament, 22.4% of the Senate, but 91.4% of nurses, 63.5% of sales and service workers." (House of Representatives, 1992, 3). In 1994 only 15% of Parliamentarians were women and this was 100 years after women in South Australia had won the right to vote. Wherever one searches for women's work participation statistics, the results reflect the imbalance between women's aspirations and motivation levels and their opportunities for their career and leadership success.

5. Women and Leadership Characteristics

Any attempt to provide one definition of leadership is doomed to fail. Cunningham reported on research of Warren Bennis who noted that "there are more than 350 definitions of leadership recorded in the literature." (Cunningham, 1985, 17). An historical approach brings to the fore more general definitions for consideration, mainly from the literature pertaining to masculine leadership. Because "most organizational (and leadership) theory has been written by males with the assumption that theoretical and empirical work constructed on and for male administrators would hold for (the) few females in the field,"

there is a deficit in the number of definitions which directly relate to the aspirations and experiences of women. (Tetenbaum and Mulkeen, 1987, 1) Lynch (1992) echoes these sentiments and comments on women's leadership advancement "being based the most exclusively on the experiences of men". (Lynch, 1992, 1).

For leadership in general there has been an abundance of generalizations. We have such terminology as "influencing" Stogdill, (1950) "initiation .accomplishing...goals and objectives," "directing and co-ordinating," Fiedler, (1967), in Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (1989) "exercise of authority...making of decisions," Dubin, (1968) in Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (1989) "(making) activity meaningful," Pondy, (1978), "dedication" Lightfoot (1983) "marshalling energies" Starratt, (1985) "a wilful act," Duke, (1986) as quoted in the following document. (Institute of Educational Administration, 1986, 1-2) and "performance" (Harrison, 1997, 2).

Special Characteristics of Women Leaders in Education

Equal Opportunity Legislation (EEO) and Affirmative Action policies have been in force in Australia since 1981 and 1986 respectively. Questions therefore can be asked as to why these government actions have not been translated into more leadership opportunities for women? Joan Kirner, former Premier of Victoria argued (1995) that "women's collective strength is formidable, and our continuing exclusion from an equal share of power in a changing society is untenable." (Kirner, 1995, 7). At the time the first survey for this study was taken in 1995, there were only 24% of women who were at principal or equivalent position within the Tasmanian Education system. Which special characteristics would have been necessary for these women to have succeeded when so many have not reached these positions?

It is hypothesised by the researcher on the basis of previous research that these women were likely to have had a great sense of self expectation and must have set high standards of endeavour for themselves in their early years. They would have valued education and would have been very motivated and diligent with their studies, actually enjoying school and achieving well there. They would have wanted to have power over their lives and would have wanted to seek a career in their adult lives so that they had control over their futures and a sense of security Within their home situation they would have accepted their position

in the sibling hierarchy and would probably have been very responsible with any family duties such as being care-giver to other siblings, looking on these as a rehearsal for later experiences. This latter characteristic could have also been evident in their school and community activities, where they may have taken up responsible positions or leadership type roles.

Did these women decide to have a career in either Primary or Secondary School before their Grade 10 year so that they could prepare for a tertiary education and a later career? Kurshid Begam's 1997 study of promotion patterns of a small group of Tasmanian women principals discovered that these women had a concept of teaching as not only a career in the classroom but also as a career in administration. She also comments on aspects such as being “dedicated and committed teachers” and “therefore they were innovative in their teaching methods”. (Begam, 1997, 55). They had also written “papers on different topics which had come to the attention of the Education Department”. (Begam, 1997, 55). They had also wanted to translate “their ideas into practice” and had therefore “wanted to move into administration”. (Begam, 1997, 56). They had also mentioned accepting the influence of mentors who had assisted their career pathways. In earlier years had they been influenced by role models and “significant others” who had given them a sense of strength, power over their lives and self confidence? In their socialization processes had they experienced both masculine and feminine influences and had they move easily between them? Poiner and Wills (1991) felt that this was a factor as many of the opportunities in management given by the EEO and Affirmative Action policies are considered to be masculine and these women would have been comfortable in working in these situations. (Poiner and Wills, 1991, 73). Had these women demonstrated a greater sense of freedom in respect to their employment and had they envisaged a wider choice of opportunities rather than focusing solely on classroom practice? Planning for their futures would have been one of their special characteristics so that when opportunities arose, they would have been ready for the next challenge. In summary it is hypothesised that these women were likely to have exhibited high expectation, motivation, drive, ambition and a flexible attitude, taking risks with their career choices but being committed to taking leadership roles.

Superintendents and Leadership

Studies have also been completed on the work of superintendents by Schmuck, Charters and Carlson

(1981) Cuban (1985), Sheive and Schoenheit (1987). All the work for both males and females in this category was characterized by brevity, variety and fragmentation with active participation in any aspect of the day's routine lasting only between six and nine minutes. The Sheive and Schoenheit study commented on the similarities when personal qualities were examined. They were willing to share their "common experiences, skills and strengths." (Sheive and Schoenheit, 1987, 94). In contrast Cuban's revelation concerned the amount of conflict inherent in the position. "Conflict is the DNA of superintendency." (Cuban, 1985, 28). Jones (1986) saw a very marked comparison between men and women at this level. "Women...are likely to view the job of.. superintendent as that of a master teacher or educational leader while men view from a managerial, industrial perspective " (Jones, 1986, 118). Many differences were therefore noted between men and women in this field of educational leadership.

It was noted that women work longer hours - from fifty to fifty-five per week. They spend less time engaging in desk work having spent time on clerical duties at home. Each week they made more observational tours and during these they spent more time in visiting classrooms and teachers and keeping abreast of the instructional programme. Because of this, they had more response to their visits from teachers and students. Both men and women were noted to spend more time with personnel of the same sex. Overall they were more interested in the fundamentals of teaching in curriculum and instruction and formally sponsored women teachers in training for administration. Their lives, both internally and externally, appeared to be solitary as they acted alone in offices or at home rather than frequenting restaurants with highly positioned clientele from society's power structure as was the custom of male superintendents. Their choice of restaurants was usually with clientele not in the power structure of society - those most frequented by housewives, secretaries and clerks. In summary Schmuck et al. concluded that women were less formal in their language and dress, more directly involved with the instructional programme but more informal with agenda construction and meeting outcomes. Their flexibility was noted when managing roles to fit particular circumstances, but the 'solitary' nature of their roles was very evident. (Schmuck et al. 1981, 150-153) The authors referred to in this section concluded that there was a greater difference within the roles of superintendents than between the roles of men and women. There was a great deal of choice available in the operation style within the role itself, but men and women did demonstrate very different characteristics

Leadership and Gender

In the world of teaching the assertion is that leadership is ‘‘Linked to masculine traits, especially strength and detachment.’’ The position ‘‘needs a man - he won't become so involved ’’ (Hofereck, 1978, 85). The quasi-professional status that teachers are given has often been attributed to the notion that women lack commitment to building careers. They go in and out of the labour market to bear and raise children and work only for ‘‘pin’’ money ‘‘rather than for the basic necessities’’, as quoted from Simpson and Simpson (1969), Geer (1968), Lortie (1975) by Spencer (Spencer, 1988, 1) The surveys conducted then for this thesis explored women's attitudes to their teaching roles and the career and motivational levels they had had in their early years and at later stages throughout their teaching and leadership experiences. These assertions proved to be unfounded and uncovered a new body of evidence, regarding women and educational leadership. The women had definitely had ‘‘a vision - a mental picture of a preferred future’’ for their schools or positions and for themselves. (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan, 1989, 99).

Hofereck explained that because of the prevailing stereotypical images about women in our society and cultural expectations, females supposedly do not want to be leaders. If they do become leaders, they are not good leaders (Hofereck, 1978, 10) or have the enmity of men to contend with as an added burden ‘‘A woman with personal power, operating in chiefly male territory, is immediately perceived as a force to be reckoned with.’’ (Wasserman, 1991, 71) Leadership is ‘‘a continuing struggle with the mixed messages of society.’’ (Woo, 1985, 2) and seems to be the antithesis of feminine behaviour which is associated with weakness, passivity and dependency and not with strength and being assertive and independent. It is important for women to heed Rutherford's observation (1984) ‘‘Effective school leaders will display essential characteristics but will operate in varying ways ’’ (Rutherford, 1985, 34). The styles which women will bring to leadership positions will be as valid as those of their male counterparts. Cederberg (1996) contends further ‘‘it is not possible to answer if there is (even) a female leadership style. Women in these top positions are still so few that we don't know if they act in a certain way...because we want to see differences or if there really is a female way of leading.’’ (Cederberg, 1996,1). For her we will have better idea about female leadership ‘‘when there are more women in these

positions''. (Cederberg, 1996, 2).

Leadership and Mentoring

Spence writing in the edited work of Dunlap and Schmuck (1995) describes the advantages of mentoring for those wishing to gain leadership positions. In 1986 a system was set up by the U.S. Department of Education in which, each year "twenty practising administrators were 'appointed' to act as mentors to...twenty aspiring administrators". (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 128) One objective with this system was to provide opportunities for women and minority groups to gain pre-service experiences in administration. Feedback data gained from the participants in these opportunities, from self-administered questionnaires and interviews, demonstrated vital results from this system. The attributes of "trust, mutual respect, friendship, commitment and communication," were essential for the whole process. (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 130). The mentoring progress was also influenced by the participants' philosophies on education, the physical distances between them, the gender match and the sets of goals brought to the exercise. The results as explained from the work of Spence and her associate Nolf "found that mentorships (of this type) can be very valuable to aspiring and neophyte administrators". (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 136) Informal mentorships do exist within systems but they do tend to be between male and male but this system had set out to increase the numbers of women in administration, so it is very pertinent as background knowledge for females aspiring to leadership positions in education.

However the mentoring of women to improve their chances of obtaining leadership positions is fraught with many unforeseen difficulties as outlined by Leonie Daws in Limerick and Lingard's edited work (1995). Women who receive mentoring and assume leadership roles have to maintain a balance between "the demand of maintaining their feminine group identity and performing in characteristically masculine roles". (Limerick and Lingard (eds), 1995, 101). During the stages before this, other problems occur. When male mentors were taken into consideration, "only 5% chose to mentor females". (Limerick and Lingard (eds), 1995, 100). Men are viewed by both men and women as role models but this does not apply when men are looking for mentors. Females are not included in their list of role models. Instead they tend to search for other men to be mentored or to act as mentors for them. Men tend to seek out those that are like themselves or to engage in "homosocial reproduction" (Limerick and Lingard (eds),

1995, 100). The women who act as mentors for other women tend to come from middle management levels and therefore do not have as much influence or power. Another factor to be considered is that male mentors of women tend to either disregard the attributes and style women bring to leadership or redefine them in masculine terms so that the women's rise to leadership positions will do little to change the culture and practices within the organizations and society. Women who rise within a system also tend to suffer from more sexual harassment as the 1993 work of Ayman as quoted by Daws indicates. "By sexual harassment the man gains control over the saliency of situational cues." (Limerick and Lingard, 1995, 101). Cross gender mentoring situations also tend to lead to accusations of sexual misconduct to facilitate promotions and later this is exacerbated when cross gender, social activities are conducted after work hours. Because of this, men are not willing to enter into mentoring situations with women and women often have to withdraw from this social interaction and networking, further limiting their chances of valuable contacts.

Women too face difficulties in assisting other women. Women in the care-giver situation, either with their own children or with aged parents or relatives, do not often have the time to mentor. For those that do break through the "Glass Ceiling" (the barrier preventing women achieving senior positions) (Dataline, 1992,1) there is often not enough energy remaining to assist others. Other women are often too fearful to be same gender mentors as this assistance could be seen as being in conflict with the male system. Barter is quoted by Schuster and Foote (1990) as seeing mentoring from a holistic, social view. She comments that "Mentoring opportunities offer limited hope until attitudes of prospective employers change" and "only a limited number (of women) will be able to demonstrate their competence". (Schuster and Foote, 1990, 19). Women then have many more difficulties to cross when wishing to achieve leadership roles.

Leadership and Discrimination

Whilst many women acknowledge the presence of discrimination in the gaining of educational leadership positions, others are naive about its existence according to Evelyn Matthews in the edited work of Dunlap and Schmuck, (1995). These women, known as "isolates" fail to recognize discrimination in their own experiences. (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 256) They view the instances of support from men, their courtesy in educational situations and their urging of women to gain leadership positions, as positive

forces in their lives. They are unaware of women who wish to gain access to promotions possibly because these women do not communicate their desires to either women or men. Kantor's work from 1997 is also used by Matthews in Dunlap and Schmuck (eds) (1995) and this warns us that "isolates can be viewed as a skewed group with the likelihood that those in the minority have the potential to be treated as tokens". (Dunlap and Schmuck (eds), 1995, 258). They symbolize women's rise to administrative positions but are not seen as individuals in their own right. From which ever perspective the role of women in educational leadership is concerned, there appear to be many obstacles in their pathways.

Leadership and Business Women

Leonie Still concluded that from the findings gathered from twenty five self employed women and twenty five corporate women, generalizations could not be made about the leadership qualities and capabilities of Australian business women. There was not one woman surveyed who conformed "with the more conservative type of woman predominant in overseas studies." (Still, 1990, 61) Flexibility was a key factor for those Australian women who had wished to gain leadership in the business world. Few of her sample group had planned their careers and most had experienced a "career drift" being around at a strategic time to take advantage of situations. They had all had the motivation to succeed and to gain the top positions. They also had had the desire to be needed, to be self sufficient, financially independent and to have security in their retirement. There was the added need to be in charge of one's life and they had a horror of being bored. By gaining leadership in their fields, they were not left behind with their husbands' careers or when their children became independent. Part of their aspirations included the need to be appreciated, to have a sense of achievement and to make a contribution to society.

When leadership was considered, the women agreed that it was essential "to want to be a leader". (Still, 1990, 143). They faced the same problems as women in other fields of employment as there were no sponsors or mentors. "Never turn an opportunity down" was their advice (Still, 1990,144). Their chances had "just happened". (Still, 1990, 186). When sole operators of business were questioned, they agreed that they were reluctant to expand their businesses as it could mean losing control of their independence and having the problems of managing staff and expansion generally. Some no longer

enjoyed the former challenge of their work and therefore did not want to extend their leadership drive to others. Managerial women, therefore, in these business categories did not conform to the more traditional life role patterns of other women of today or to the former stereotypical view of women in management in the past. "Management books (still) extol virtues of male counterparts." (Still, 1990, 3).

The professional women in business had several different points of view about their success. They had been selective about jobs and careers, they had been fairly outspoken and had known their work rights and had fought for and defended them. They had had the confidence and the ability to move between organizations and work skills. Above all, leadership to them achieved their desire for autonomy independence and control over one's life. The women in this survey appeared to gain leadership positions by first seeking more personal goals from their working career. Flexibility again appeared to be the key to their success.

6. Women's Credentials for School Leadership

Women in the American surveys completed by Shakeshaft and others certainly have the credentials to be administrators in schools. In the 1987 Shakeshaft report comparing men and women in education, 50% surveyed were engaged in administration studies at Doctoral level, and some held doctorates (17.6%) (Shakeshaft, 1987, 2). As far as service was concerned, many had had 15 years teaching experience before applying for principalships. (Shakeshaft, 1987, 3). In this survey the women had had more dedication to the teaching profession at the beginning of their careers than men who had seen teaching as a second option. Many women had held more administrative positions before assuming the principal role. (Shakeshaft, 1987, 3).

In the Gross and Trask survey (1976), women had gained higher standards than men in secondary education and 60% had attended Teachers' Colleges, twice the male percentage. More women had attended extra education courses - 51% compared to 25% for men (Shakeshaft, 1987, 1). Again their academic performance was higher at College when compared to males and the women had had greater teaching experience as well. (Shakeshaft, 1987, 2). Women also stayed longer in principalships once they

were obtained - 19% of women stayed for 16-29 years compared to the male score of 9% for the same time. (Shakeshaft, 1987, 3).

In the Hennig & Jardim (1979) survey, the women achieved well on the basic qualities such as the drive to achieve, task orientation, the enjoyment of competition and a capacity to take risks; all qualities which could serve leaders well. (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 3). They had all worked hard scholastically and yet had maintained a balance with their social lives. These were business women (Accountants) but their qualities and contributions could be transferred to women in other professions.

Women and The Glass Ceiling

One phenomenon referred to often in the literature pertaining to the lack of promotion for women is that about the “Glass Ceiling” which is referred to in an article from Dataline (1991) Here the myth of the “Glass Ceiling” is exploded and the contention is that it is not what it seems to be. (Dataline, 1991, 1). It must be “defined in functional terms ” (Dataline, 1991, 1). There are actually three levels (or stages) in which it operates - (1) Sorcerer's Apprenticeship (2) The Pipeline and (3) Alice in Wonderland. Different strategies are needed at each level and it is a mistake for women to use the same strategies from one level to the next.

In the Apprenticeship phase employees are entering the workforce after completing their formal education e.g. medical school to internship and residency. It is at this stage that employees are at their most vulnerable. For women sexual harassment is most common at this stage. It is accepted as being “just normal” but it affects “whether women complete apprenticeship stages well or complete it at all.” (Dataline, 1991, 1). The price is that there is a loss of self respect and much of this goes under-reported. There is also outright exclusion of women at this stage and in some professions women are not wanted. e.g. in trades and trucking. Individuals must find “the line (that) must be crossed before they are ‘in the pack’ to be considered for management or leadership”. (Dataline, 1991, 1). To overcome the pressures of this stage, women must rely on “peer support and camaraderie”, “humour” and “the intense development of skills and expertise.”(Dataline, 1991, 2).

The next stage is called Pipeline and here the ratio of men to women in all management positions can be fourteen to one. The existence of a “Glass Ceiling” at this level is explained by the fact that during this phase “recruiting services and strategies unconsciously or explicitly discriminate”, so much so that the ratio actually decreases for women to twenty to one. The last stage - the Alice in Wonderland phase - finds the women in a system where “the rules and relationships are so dramatically different.” (Dataline, 1991, 2). There is a dramatic decline in the presence of female peers and the work load ensures that they have to work extremely hard just to stay in place. Their visibility is increased up to as high as one in twenty which has a warping effect as everything they do is scrutinized. There are different standards used than those for men and judging follows rigid and detailed but often trivial pathways. e.g. she does not wear make-up or her school was not an important one (Dataline, 1991, 1). A final blow literally is an “off with her head” approach when departments are restructured and women lose their positions and careers. Quite often also an acknowledged inferior is placed in a senior position above the women concerned. Strategies for coping at this level also include peer support and camaraderie, increasing visibility outside the company to ensure positive feed back about success and the need to know protocols and systems for making a job change at an executive level.

Baxter in her article on Access to Authority (1995) explains further that the “Glass Ceiling” idea is not the one major impediment to women in the workforce. There are many invisible barriers, not one single one. The “Glass Ceiling” should be viewed as a ‘greasy pole’ or as ‘sticky stairs’ and as a series of multiple ‘glass ceilings’. (Baxter, 1995, 1). Tedeschi (1992) quotes Sharyn Cederman's description that the Glass Ceiling is “more like a web”. There are still gaps evident and women do get through. “But until there is a critical mass of women at middle management level, these will be the exception.” (Tedeschi, 1992, 3). Women's labour force statistics indicate their lack of success in the work force. In 1992 there were no women on boards of Australia's top ten companies and only 3% of female wage/salary earners held management and administrative positions compared to 10% of males. (Baxter 1995, 4). Reasons given for this include lower levels of education for women and lower levels of work experience. Education is considered as “human capital” and women do not invest in this and leave education for marriage and mothering. Gaining authority and earning rewards are reflected in later life and this assumes that the individuals know long term career options at an early stage of their lives. It also assumes a rational,

competitive market with no gender assumptions, age barriers or other factors such as ethnicity. The existence of dual labour markets and sex segregation or working opportunities influence women's choices. Many are centred in sectors where there is little opportunity for advancement e.g. clerical and even on the secondary level (e.g. business) there are no clearly defined career paths. (Baxter, 1995, 5-6).

Other discriminatory factors for women include lack of patronage and mentoring and lack of connections within the work place. There is also a lack of role models and women are excluded from 'clubs' while men become 'organizational sons'. Women's disrupted career paths are again offered as a further reason for discriminatory pathways. (Baxter, 1995, 9) Baxter's survey also investigated three measures regarding authority at work - decision making, sanctioning and access to positions within the formal managerial hierarchy and this investigation demonstrated that women have less access. Whilst "women have made some inroads into acquiring positions which involve degrees of decision making responsibility and have been able to move into lower levels of management", it is apparent that they have had less success "in acquiring power over subordinates". (Baxter, 1995, 28-29) Women do acquire some degree of power over policy and programmes but have less chance of gaining any direct power within the organization in relation to other people. Baxter reminds us that we should be vigilant about the "multitude of impediments for women moving up in the hierarchy". (Baxter, 1995, 3). Previous research by Renwick & Tosi (1978) and Heilam & Martell (1986) reported by Gordon and Owens (1988) "demonstrated that the provision of additional information regarding female applicants' educational background and success in an occupation dominated by men has reduced bias against female applicants." (Gordon & Owens, 1988, 161) However this does not appear to be the norm in the teaching profession or in other professions, judging by the lack of females in senior positions.

7. Gender and Socialization Factors

The last section of this literature review involves the consideration of socialization factors on women and their later effects upon their career paths. The concept of gender is important here and is defined as referring "to the culturally specific patterns of behaviour ..which may be attached to the sexes." (Bilton

et al., 1988, 148) With schooling, girls generally achieve better grades, are more interested in school related skills from an early age and are less likely to leave schooling before completing High School. (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 135). These authors quote Slovic's (1966) work where it is stated that during the ages of eleven to sixteen boys continued "risk taking" longer but this was not so in other ages. (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 142). Males also had more achievement arousal under directly competitive conditions plus a greater amount of energy on a task in the presence of peers. (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 144). Girls were somewhat more willing than boys to disclose their "weaknesses" while boys were higher on the "lie" scale about their virtues and also had more defensiveness. Girls by contrast had higher self esteem (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 151) but were more hesitant about "bragging" about themselves". (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 155).

One aspect suitable for leadership concerned women being "more acceptant of others, despite their weaknesses," as quoted from Berger (1955), Zuckermann et al., (1956) (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 156). Girls did not always need to be overt about performance, but "may ..feel successful privately...not in the eyes of the world." (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 156). Men appeared to have greater power to control their destinies while girls' success happened because of the initiative of others or it grew out of a situation in which they often found themselves. (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1986, 173). Boys were also less affected by negative feedback from the research by Eagly and Whitehead 1972 (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1972).

To assist leadership potential, there was some evidence that boys are highly orientated towards a peer group and congregate in larger groups while girls associate in pairs or small groups. Girls are somewhat more likely to adapt their own judgements to those of the group whereas "boys are more likely to accept peer group values when these conflict with their own". (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1972, 350). Whilst girls rate themselves higher in the area of social competence, boys more often see themselves as strong, powerful, dominant and "potent". During the college years men have a greater sense of control over their own fate and a greater confidence in their probable performance on a variety of school-related tasks. As a contrast to this "both sexes do not differ in tests of analytic cognitive style ... except visual spatial tests." (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1972, 350).

Fransella and Frost (1972) posed the question as to why women come to adopt roles in life that society has decreed and analysed factors regarding the early definition of traditional male and female roles and their establishment at an early age. The negative aspect of gender specific toys becomes relevant in their discussion of “sex constancy”. Here a child doll “is always a girl, irrespective of the changing of its clothes, haircut or facial appearances”, up to the ages of four to six. (Fransella and Frost, 1972, 587). The consequences of providing only toys that will direct girls' sights at the home with dolls, toy kitchens and cleaner sets and boys with only those toys which are mechanical are extensive for both sexes but particularly for women. “Sex-toy stereotyping often depends on reinforcement”, (Fransella and Frost, 1972, 58) and the traditional stereotyping can be changed only if opportunity is given in the home or school for observations of the same sex playing with “sex-inappropriate toys” (Fransella and Frost, 1972, 58).

On the literature scene Bronwyn Davies (1993) disrupted the ingrained perception of male/female roles by reading traditional stories where boys were the “heroes”, followed by the reading of more feminist “heroine” based tales. Whilst the girls in the group being studied, gained great pleasure at this reversal of roles, the boys were openly hostile. Trying to write original stories without the traditional views of girls being “pretty” “nice” and containing “Princesses with long golden hair” and boys not acting in set patterns, proved difficulty for both sexes being studied. (Davies, 1993, 47). Writing narratives then in early childhood can provide key moments “in gender regulation.” (Davies, 1993, 48). Davies and Banks (1992) completed a study on four-and five-year old children to gauge how “sense making (of stories) related to their understanding of what it means to be male or female in today's world”. (Davies and Banks, 1992, 2). They found that when listening to feminist versions of stories, the children did not see them as feminist stories but “as traditional stories in which the counter - stereotypical princess had somehow ‘got things’ wrong”, (Davis and Banks, 1992, 1). Dominant discourses on sex/gender had become the more the norm for these children. Earlier Taylor (1991) had summed up the debate on children's texts and writing in schools by contending that “Classroom possibilities do exist to offer girls alternate subject positions from which they might read and write differently, from which they might differently position themselves in relation to dominant patriarchal discourse”. (Taylor, 1991, 44).

Additionally few girls' schools have adequate facilities for teaching Science while boys are not always

exposed to cooking or housekeeping skills. In many schools the Principal is male, while in society doctors are usually men and “even God is portrayed as male”. (Selfe, 1975, 42) Consequently girls are encouraged to think “that authority is naturally vested in the male of the species. Girls (then) are encouraged to be passive, responsive, eager to care for children ” (Selfe, 1975, 42) Girls are encouraged therefore to believe that their goal in life is to married and many regard employment as a short term activity between school and marriage. Not all bother for further education. Boys, as a contrast, are socialised to perform a totally different role in life and to study subjects such as Mathematics and Science. Boys' attitudes to computing are also different to girls' attitudes. A survey conducted by DEET (1992) discovered that “The boys perceive themselves as being more able, having a better chance to learn, enjoying the process of learning about computing and seeing the knowledge gained as a source of power.” Girls, by contrast, do not see computers “as a source of power . (or) creative or fun”. (Felden, 1992, 1). Attitudinal change is deemed to be necessary here for girls, but that does not mean that they are not interested in these technical or mechanical aspects. (Brown (1991) reports on the study of four to six year olds and the technological features of models. Girls had almost “equal interest in making cars and vans and (a) strong liking for making buses”. (Brown, 1991, 111). Our perceptions about females then are not always totally correct.

From the thesis Sex Typing and Development in an Ecological Perspective by Solvie Hagglund (1986), other sex differences were noted. This survey took into account children in childcare from single parent families as well as the parents' educational levels. Girls with lower educated mothers were more lively, affectionate and more sensitive while boys were more independent. More responsibility, yet quieter behaviour was observed in girls with more educated mothers. Girls from deprived homes had more ambition but only to emphasize the domestic role and domestic work, while boys had a firm vocational commitment. Girls gained leadership by actual play and by being competent in the “knowledge of how to do (the activity)” but with boys it was a question of dominance and strength. Gender then can be considered to be one of the most pervasive influences on likely work roles.

As a summary girls appeared to be more interested in interpersonal goals while boys concentrated on “competition” and “dominance ”. Women were often noted to be more negative about themselves than

men. In some areas girls were given more attention but were not “allowed” to be aggressive. Boys were punished more often but toughness and aggression were encouraged or permitted by both fathers and mothers

When all these views are related to the conceptual frameworks within leadership and organizational theory, researchers' perspectives regarding women can be seen in all their narrowness. “Females are viewed as ‘other’ or are rendered invisible” in a male defined perspective (Shakeshaft and Howell, 1984, 190). These authors quote the work of Parsons (1951) where women were viewed “as the keepers of a ‘private realm’ instead of belonging to a male world.” (Shakeshaft and Howell, 1984, 190). Curcio et al., (1989) contended that “Females who were taught by their parents that they could not be feminine unless they were cute and dependent...have to work harder to be able to compete as leaders.” (Curcio et al., 1989, 153). Attitudinal changes are very necessary before women can be seen and to be capable of competent leadership.

There is much information here to assist the discussion of gender and its contribution to leadership potential given that women are considered to be more “passive” and men more “active” in orientation. Perhaps women's “passivity”, “quietness”, “diligence” and “sensitivity” should be seen as virtues desirable in some leadership roles and not as impediments for their achieving these positions.

Comparisons of Socialization Factors

The socialization factors presented in all or some of the major studies concerning women and leadership - Gross and Trask (1976) (Principals) Hennig and Jardim (1979) Accountants, (Corporation Presidents or Vice Presidents) Cass et al. (1983) University Lecturers, Shakeshaft (1987) Educational Administrators and Murphy (1991) Vocational Educational Leaders include many already noted in the literature survey but also disclose other factors relevant for this study. In the family situation being a ‘first born’ is significant in four of the studies (Hennig and Jardim (1979), Cass et al. (1983), Shakeshaft (1987) and Murphy (1991)). There was often a lack of brothers and women were treated as being ‘special’ and gained higher self-esteem Rivalry was often absent because sons were absent and relationships for the women with other siblings were considered to be good to excellent. Parents in two studies encouraged the

worthwhile qualities of autonomy, independence, the ability to explain attitudes and to deal with risk. (Hennig and Jardim (1979) and (Murphy 1991)). For Murphy's group, women were responsible for work in the home and farm and education was given a high priority after the work ethic. Many of these women surveyed enjoyed their schooling, they wanted to achieve and were high achievers. Some of the women often felt 'different' being excluded and uncomfortable with peer groups which did not always favour them. (Hennig and Jardim 1979). Murphy's group (1991) also excelled at academics but several mentioned they were not good at Sports (9/46) and some (8/46) found Mathematics difficult.

Some women noted that having lesser expectations placed on them was discriminatory, while other women respected only women who behaved in a traditional manner (Hennig and Jardim, 1979). The women in Shakeshaft's report were noted as staying longer in teaching positions and applying less for administration situations. Staying in teaching was considered lesser in value. Success in a job and success in a career in administration were incompatible for women as roles for males and females were closely defined. Gross and Trask (1976) also noted in their survey that the parents were not always prepared to pay for girls' educational aspirations. The Accountants in the Hennig and Jardim (1979) survey had emphasised professional courses and had given no importance to liberal arts. Gross and Trask (1976) mentioned that their respondents had had less administration courses to their credit but in the Cass et al. (1983) study the women had in some cases been pioneers in male dominated institutions following good academic success.

Freedom within socialization practices was highlighted by Hennig and Jardim (1979) with their women enjoying many masculine activities as well as feminine pursuits. In fact activities were not viewed as being gender specific in any regard. These women also recognised and questioned the traditional roles espoused for women and were unwilling to submit to these roles. Shakeshaft's (1987) group experienced more socialization from the feminine roles but had a desire to achieve and to be rewarded. Their femininity was not perceived as a sign of the lack of aspiration but these women saw the reality of life more and realized that their goals may not be achieved. Sixty per cent (60%) of women in the Cass et al (1983) study were socialized to think that marriage and career would be combined with another 31% favouring marriage first and 9% favouring career above marriage.

Three groups of women were recorded as having high self expectations (Hennig and Jardim (1979), Murphy (1991) and Cass et al. (1983). The Hennig and Jardim group (1979) defined at an early age who they were and what they could do. They were different from the stereotypical woman but were still female. Murphy's (1991) group were competitive, adventurous, aggressive, independent and most were competitive with academic pursuits, while Cass et al.'s (1983) group did not want to waste their talents or to be dependent on their father later in life. Also from this group, 40% considered themselves feminists but 86% of them considered motherhood essential for their full development. Eighty-two percent (82%) felt that both men and women were responsible for child caring and rearing. As far as their own rearing was concerned, parents were very important in the early years for Hennig and Jardim's group (1979) as well as Murphy's (1991). Parents in the latter group placed an important value on work (31/46). The families formed strong units, placing family values first and having less emphasis on status, prestige, position or an active social life. The Cass et al. (1983) women had all come from socially advantaged families with parents who were more highly educated (one-fifth of them as far as graduate level). They all therefore had middle to upper class origins. The only separation from parents or siblings was noted by women in their adolescence (Hennig and Jardim, 1979) and divorce was rarely mentioned. The gaining of a career was also very important for this group and they had a desire to achieve and a high degree of task orientation. Shakeshaft (1987) noted that women began their careers dedicated to teaching while Gross and Trask (1970) added that women spent longer at a lower level. Murphy's group (1991) found that leadership opportunities were more satisfying than spending time devoted to clubs. The lecturers in Cass et al.'s (1983) study had experienced a different perspective regarding career socialization. Their parents had placed a greater importance on education for career and less on having education as an insurance against adversity. Only 8% of the respondents had considered that an education was a preparation for marriage and family.

To achieve these career options, women's pathways to success had taken various forms. Hennig and Jardim's (1979) respondents had had goal setting and had not given up when restricted by feminine roles. Women in Shakeshaft's (1987) study had not received Master's degrees until into their thirties and Doctorates in their forties. Gross and Trask's (1976) women had less Educational Administration experience but valued education and spent twice the number of hours than men in educational courses.

Murphy's (1991) group had been very ambitious with 75% of them enrolling in academic programmes whilst at High School. All had received their Baccalaureate and many (43%) had Vocational Education qualifications or General Education such as Administration. Many, 78% of these, had wished for more 'hands-on' experiences. Cass et al (1983) found that their women had all taken up academic professions and had seen these as an avenue for social mobility.

Higher expectations being placed on women was an important socialization factor. The Accountants were encouraged to be responsible for their abilities and had a wish to achieve and to be rewarded for their achievements Reynolds and Elliott (1980) and Oliver (1974) were recorded by Shakeshaft as noting that women had higher academic orientations, whilst in Murphy's (1991) group 50% expected to attend College while 22% expected marriage but College attendance came first. Many of the women wanted to extend the power of the female role (Hennig and Jardim, (1979) while in Murphy's (1991) group the mothers had a wish for their daughters to gain success.

Socialization by the parents, their support and encouragement were discussed fully in the surveys. A large range of activities included the participation of the fathers and childhoods were registered as happy, without major experience of conflict in their lives (Hennig and Jardim, 1979). Others had a very feminine background while most were encouraged to conform to prevailing social norms. Nearly a third were encouraged to take risks. One group was comfortable with the company of women or men (Murphy, 1991). Shakeshaft was more critical indicating that society generates a belief that females are lacking in ability and that societal barriers prevent women from acknowledging or acting on aspirations. Strong support gave women confidence about the future (Hennig and Jardim, (1979) while the school developed an identity for women and gave positive feedback on their accomplishments (Murphy, 1991). Parents become less important in adolescence (Hennig and Jardim, 1979). Valuing education was significant but many women were frustrated by the gender differences in opportunities between males and females. Working as a homemaker and as a mother were also listed as difficulties in later years (Shakeshaft, 1987). The university lecturers with brothers had had more encouragement particularly from fathers with 13% responding that their fathers had given them more preference than their mothers. Overall, Cass et al. (1983) reported that 80% of their respondents had received encouragement from their parents to continue

with their education - slightly more from the mothers' point of view.

Most of the women in these surveys were involved in activities outside the home and school which allowed a 'rehearsal' for leadership roles. They were members of many clubs (Brownies, Church) and participated in team games (Hennig and Jardim, 1979). Community groups were also important so that society could be changed (Shakeshaft, 1987) while music and dramatic activities were mentioned in favour of playing with 'dolls' or having "fun activities" (Murphy, 1991). Human relation skills and participatory styles of leadership were favoured in later working life (Murphy, 1991). Leadership was developed by being Class Presidents (Hennig and Jardim, 1979) or through general community participation. Discrimination was prevalent and many women had had to serve seven to fifteen years before gaining principalships (Shakeshaft, 1987). Mothers became a limiting factor later in careers for the Accountant group but these women were determined not to be submerged by the women's role. Many individuals had parents as 'significant others' to assist their career motivation with the disparate roles of the fathers and the mothers receiving attention from Hennig and Jardim (1979), Murphy (1991) and Cass et al. (1983).

Parental education and work orientation appeared to be significant for the Accountant group where 88% of the fathers were in managing positions in business and 82% of the mothers were equal to the fathers and 64% superior in education. Other parents in the other surveys were from a wide range of occupations - skilled labourers, unskilled labourers, educators and those in business and professions. Cass et al.'s study showed that these women had had a background of working mothers. The 1976 work of Ginzberg is quoted by Cass et al. (1983) as showing that working mothers had a positive effect on children's aspirations.

Influences placed on women were important for their later image. Some men would assist the female Accountants while others would not. The writings of Picker in 1987 are used by Shakeshaft (1987) to state that women did not receive enough sponsorship but for teachers and professionals 46% were supported by family colleagues and 20% in Murphy's (1991) survey. The mother's work and educational situation had been a positive influence for the university lecturers - 51 out of 59 as surveyed in Cass et al. (1983).

8. Summary

A range of research writings covering women's workforce participation especially in the professions have been reviewed along with the opportunities for and impediments to the achievement of leadership roles. This review has particularly identified the positive influences of parents. They instil within their children valuable attitudes to education, school and to career attainment. Their personal educational achievements, high expectations, support (emotional and physical) and encouragement provide their family members (especially females) with the confidence to pursue pathways for career success. Women from former studies have demonstrated that their early realization of personal identity, their academic success, their enjoyment of schooling and their desire to utilize their talents have assisted them to adopt and to develop strong personal characteristics and to aim for careers. In the family situation first born children have been considered as the ones more likely to succeed in leadership attainment while the interaction of brothers and sisters with other siblings has been examined from varying perspectives.

The omissions and gaps in the literature have also been identified. More needs to be clarified about the interactions between siblings and the situation for twins in families. Parental influences, self expectations, the effect of location for early rearing, the influences of “significant others” and the pathways which assist women to achieve their career goals also needs be researched. We have learnt that women bring many worthwhile traits to leadership and operate often in different styles to men but that this may lead to a lack of recognition or discriminatory influences and practices being imposed upon them. The research aims to explore those areas of early development of women ‘leaders’ in education about which, at present, so little is known.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The Problem Statement:

Statement of the Problem Area

The literature review in the previous chapter, including the five selected surveys of women in leadership positions in the professions, suggests a multiplicity of perspectives from which to study Women in Educational Leadership. These include parenting scenarios, parental and sibling interaction, education and career levels within families, female aspirations, school experiences, community involvement and women's career motivation. The studies already discussed dealt with one or more of these aspects only in the context of the women's whole life stories, and not as specific evidence for early socialisation influences. The findings were however suggestive of consistent positive influences on early education and career goals, and high expectation of achievement, which demanded further systematic investigation. It was decided to focus attention upon the early years of family and schooling, up to the end of Primary Education, in order to concentrate specifically on the early socialisation processes and influences which helped to shape these women's attitudes to career achievement. The role of the family, especially parents, the school, including teachers, and the general community in the development of educational and career goals of the women leaders in education was therefore selected as the "problem area."

Development of Research Questions:

Once this problem had been identified, the literature was analysed to identify the key issues which had kept recurring. From this review the following key questions were formulated:-

- a). Which experiences for women in their family lives were significant in influencing their later career motivation and career development?
- b). How important was being "first born" or having lived as a "first born" child in the family?
- c). How important were the roles of the mother and the father and other "significant others" in the women's lives?
- d). How important were the prevalence of high expectations, self expectation and the value of education in the early years of women's lives?
- e). Which personality traits suitable for leadership aspirations were fostered within the family, school and community?

- f) How important was the freedom of choice in the women's early socialization processes?
- g) What influences did early experience in leadership have on later career aspirations?
- h) What influences did conflict situations and discrimination within the family, school and community have on career motivation?
- i) In which ways did women have to act “differently” to other females to achieve success?

An Hypothesis Arising from these Questions:

“That women Principals and Classroom Teachers differ in terms of early childhood experiences and influences in the home, the school and the community.”

Methods Used

A postal questionnaire survey was used because of the location of the women throughout Tasmania, including the Bass Strait Islands. Personal interviews would have been too costly and difficult to accomplish. In order to achieve a richness of personal data within the information received, a format was chosen which gave the women the opportunity to provide both quantitative information and qualitative responses. The open ended questions permitted the women to write more copiously on many of the questions. Within their revelations, the women were able to provide more personal, even private insight into their early lives within their families, school system and the local community in which they had been reared. The richness of anecdotal experiences would later prove to be valuable in extrapolating important insights into specific experiences of the women and their importance for early career intentions and the development of career motivation.

Grounded Theory - Background

Qualitative research allows the researcher to use abstract thinking to uncover and understand what lies beyond any phenomena unknown. It also permits new ideas and unique ways of exploring data and disclosing many intricate details of the phenomena. Grounded Theory's processes and analytic methods provide one way of analysing qualitative data. “A grounded theory approach is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomena it represents.” Theory “is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon.” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 23). It becomes a “grounded” theory in that the base data

is revisited continually to verify the theory that emerges gradually from the body of information which has been gathered. In the stages involved with this study, the responses of the respondents were coded, categorized and re-organized using Grounded Theory (as described later in this section) and the respondents' "voices" were permitted to transfer the reality of their situations into new theories.

This project was suitable for a grounded theory approach to be used in the whole process as this method is useful for gathering and processing qualitative research which in this case consisted of the stories of the women principals' lives (or women in equivalent positions) in their early years. In qualitative research, theories and explanations are allowed to emerge from the descriptions and explanations obtained by various techniques. While key questions had been raised by the literature review, patterns of meaning were suggested by the respondents' answers and consequently theories and explanations were allowed to emerge from the body of information without the impediments of preconceived restraints, biases or assumptions. Glaser and Strauss's comments are used to highlight the value also of "Theoretical sensitivity (which) refers to the personal quality of the researcher" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 41). They explain that this sensitivity comes from several sources - the researcher's professional experience, personal experience, analytic processes and literature (The writer of this thesis has had thirty-seven years as a practising teacher in a wide variety of schools and with a wide variety of subjects and consequently has a knowledge base about women at all levels in the teaching service) These authors also encourage researchers to "periodically step back and ask questions" and to "maintain an attitude of scepticism" so that everything is checked against the actual data and gains support there (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 44-45). In this way further subtleties in the meaning of the data emerge in the light of literature readings or again from experiences both personal or collegial, in an iterative process

The researcher, as well as having personal insight, must give meaning to the data and display the capacity to understand it, being able to separate the pertinent from the non pertinent. Being able to think in conceptual and not purely in concrete terms is another personal quality the researcher brings to any study of this kind. Armed with literature readings, professional and personal experiences and a sense of creativity, an interaction can take place with the data with the posing of questions, the formation of comparisons, reflective thinking and the making of hypotheses. Strauss and Corbin use Selye's work from

1956 to explain that making connections with “the previously known and hitherto unknown constitutes the essence of specific theoretical discovery”. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 44)

Coding of Data

In the qualitative data analysis the researcher used three types of coding as suggested by Strauss and Corbin. These are (a) open coding (b) axial coding and (c) selective coding. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 58). “Open coding is the part of the analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorising of phenomena through close examinations of the data.” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 62). From each discrete piece of information, incident, idea or event (phenomena) described by the respondents, a group of concepts emerged and these were formulated into forty-six initial categories. Many of the concepts encountered in the data could be grouped together to form a more abstract conceptual name. An example of this is evident with the formulation of the category of *Power*. This evolved from separate concepts - the mothers' aspirations for a career which had earlier been denied to them, the respondents' desire for a career which would provide them with security and status later in life or the father controlling and/or dominating the respondents' household or career plans and they were all covered under the one category of *Power* with three sub-categories of *Mother*, *Respondent* and *Father*. At times the names for the categories were logical choices and gave a graphic portrayal of the data being represented. At other times words were borrowed from literature as in *Career Drift*. (Still, 1989, 67). Many codes were actually concepts mentioned by the respondents themselves such as *Support* and *Encouragement*.

Once concepts were merged to form categories and their sub-categories, other properties and dimensions were considered before any section was actually designated with a code. With the *Power* example, questions were considered regarding the mothers' situations. Was the desire for more power in their lives mentioned frequently and to what degree of intensity was this influential on their daughters? Were the dimensions on a range from “often” to occasionally or of a “high” or “low” emphasis? At times a line by line analysis of the survey responses was necessary while on other coding sessions, sentences or paragraphs were coded with only one category. At the conclusion of this process, the documents were considered in their entirety and similarities and differences within the data were identified.

“Axial coding is a process after open coding whereby data are put back together in new ways by making connections between categories ” To perform this “a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences ” has to be utilized.(Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 96). Using the *Power* category again and a sub-category, *Respondent*, further clarification (as follows) became possible. The Causal Condition was “Being Female”, the Phenomenon became the “Desire for a Career”, the Context was the “Timing of the Career Choices” (*Primary* or *Secondary*), the Action/Interaction Strategies became the “Gaining of Academic Achievement” (*Pathways*), the Intervening Conditions were the “Scholarships or Financial Support” (*Physical Support*) gained and the consequences were “Gaining a Career”, (in these cases as a Teacher or Administrator) which was coded as *Career Extent*.

The four distinct steps for axial coding as described by Strauss and Corbin were utilised. These included the hypothetical relating of sub-categories to categories, verification of hypotheses against actual data, a continual search for the properties of categories, sub-categories and the dimensional aspects of the data and the exploration of variations in phenomena. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 107).

Selective coding involved the identification of the story or “a descriptive narrative about the central phenomenon of the study.” In this project this was identified as the early life experiences of the women respondents. The core category developed from this concerned the factors which developed leadership motivation and potential in the women respondents. The use of the computer-software programme NUD-IST 4 (Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing) permitted easy access to all these categories and the coding system facilitated the grouping, regrouping and validation processes implicit in Grounded Theory

Design of Questionnaire

The first set of questions covered such topics as the structure of the family, their birth order, parental influences, levels of education for parents and siblings, socialization processes and gender expectations. To these were added the questions regarding schooling, career choices, community involvement and the location of their rearing in their early years.

The draft questionnaire was trialled by two women who are now not involved with Education Department Schools and one who had held leadership positions below the level of Primary Principal. From their interviews and responses other revelations regarding suitable questions emerged as being relevant for this study. These concurred with many of the discrepancies and/or omissions noted from the former surveys detailed in Chapter 2. They included reactions to birth order and siblings as well as sibling educational levels. Separation within family circumstances, caused by sickness or work or travel patterns of parents, as well as the timing of career choices in education were also components which needed to be added to the original list. The role of “significant others” in the women's lives including influential teachers became an essential aspect for the questionnaire as did the effect of discrimination and the women's responses to this experience. The initial questionnaire then was revised to form the research instrument and included all these new components, to reduce the ambiguities raised within the trial (See Appendix 1).

Sample 1:

A list of names of women in positions of leadership was obtained from Education Department records. These women held the positions of school Principal or were involved with curriculum or planning and held equivalent promotion levels as the Principals. The positions for all these women were at the Band 3 (three) level and ranged in numerical hierarchy from 1-6, with six being the highest ranking. It could be argued that this group of women do not hold the leadership power of women (and/or men) involved in the corporate life of our society. However these women do represent pinnacles of leadership achievement within the Tasmanian Education system and in such positions are the role models for teachers and other women desiring a career and leadership opportunities.

In the first list there were ninety-seven (97) women from Band 3 Level 1 up to Band 3 Level 6. Five of these women were involved in services related to teaching, such as library or media, so that the remaining ninety-two became the target group. It was believed that a random sample of 46 (50%) of this ninety two would provide good representation. Just before the questionnaires were distributed a more up-to-date list of women from the same band levels was obtained from the Education Department. On this there

were only fifty-seven (57) women in top leadership positions. The remainder had retired, resigned, lost their positions after working in them on a temporary basis and had failed to retain them on application, or had returned to lower positions by choice. Stress implicit within leadership roles and/or the desire to return to more teaching duties were reasons for the latter scenario as later outlined in the surveys undertaken. The decision was made to keep the original number of forty-six (46) interviewees from which to seek responses. These women were chosen to give a fair representation of geographical areas, types of schools and levels of promotion. Additionally these women were chosen where background experiences from their childhood and/or career paths were unknown to the writer who is also involved in education. These were sent the questionnaires with appropriate letters of explanation and consent forms. (See Appendix 1).

Sample 2:

A second group as a “control” group was selected in order to test the hypothesis that Principals or those in equivalent positions in leadership were in some respects ‘special’ and to a degree different from classroom teachers who had not yet achieved high promotion. Again a list from Education Department records was used to identify this “control” group. These participants were chosen from women who had reached Band 1 Rung 11 (Eleven) and AST1 (One) levels. Whilst it is possible to achieve promotion from some of the other Band 1 rungs, it would be considered to be atypical. Band 1 Rung 11 (Eleven) and AST1 (One) would be the classifications from which women (or men) could normally aspire to be promoted into leadership positions up to AST2, AST3, Vice Principal or Principal Levels. At times teachers at Band 1 Rung 11 (Eleven) and AST1 (One) or even lower could be in charge of particular projects or subjects within a school, but again it would prove to be more successful for them to apply for promotions from the two positions mentioned on the classification scales. i.e. Band 1 Rung 11 (Eleven) or AST1 (One). The participants then for the second survey were chosen from a very large list of 2,412 women at the designated levels. From this group approximately a one in seven (or 14%) sample was identified from the women teaching in the same or similar schools and/or geographical areas as in the first group because of the need to take account of the same local and regional differences which might have affected the women's careers as in the first group. Similarly these respondents were chosen where

background childhood and/or career paths were unknown to the writer to preserve confidentiality. The process of identifying the two groups of respondents (Principals and Teachers) was therefore conducted in two stages and the 'matching' process was an additional component of the selection of the second group. Where Principals had been contacted in the first survey, a woman from the same school was chosen in the second survey. Where the women from the first survey had been involved in leadership at Superintendent, Curriculum or Planning levels, a woman in a Consultant or Special Programme position was selected for the second survey. Altogether 325 women were identified from the list of 2412 teachers and subsequently a matching group of forty-six (46) was chosen from this group of 325 to receive the questionnaire. Possible bias in the choice of respondents for both surveys had been checked by choosing a representative set of schools from wide geographical areas within Tasmania and by choosing participants not generally known to the writer.

Response Rate:

From the first survey thirty (30) or 66% responded. These had been given the option of a follow-up interview to classify any ambiguous sections of the questionnaire or their responses. Only two of the respondents indicated that this was suitable and another respondent indicated that the whole process would be too traumatic for her. Because of the low number willing to be interviewed, the questionnaire became the prime focus for analysis. In the second survey again forty-six (46) received the questionnaire and twenty women or 44% responded. Despite the disappointing response from the matching group, it was decided not to try to 'add' women because of the complexity of the matching process, and to persist with this smaller group.

Originality of Study:

Whilst quantitative data has also been obtained in this study, the main emphasis had been on obtaining more reflective findings regarding the women's feelings and opinions about their early life experiences and their suitability for later career and leadership attainment. In all the other studies examined in the Literature Review the time span for these surveys had covered up to sixty years of the women's lives, whereas this study had focused on the first twelve years of their lives. Only two of the five former studies

Gross and Trask (1976) and Hennig and Jardim (1979) had used "control" groups - male Principals for Gross and Trask and ten (compared to twenty-five) Accountants at middle management levels were chosen by Hennig and Jardim. This study used women from a lower level on the teacher classification/ leadership scale and did not complicate the findings by using male experiences for comparisons. All the other studies had used statistics mostly to convey the quantitative evidence from their surveys, whereas this study emphasises the qualitative more reflective findings as well as the quantitative from the two sample groups.

Data Analysis:

The data collected covered both qualitative and quantitative information. Because of the volume and richness of information generated by the questionnaire, it was essential to use a computer software package to assist in sifting all the component parts of the responses. It was necessary at this stage to install the computer programme NUD-IST 4 (Numerical, Unstructured Data, Indexing, Searching and Theorizing). This programme allowed the survey responses to be entered as base data and then to be coded at varying levels in line with the conceptual and information clusters. At the first level the researcher was able to locate basic facts and figures regarding the respondents e.g. birth order, number of siblings, types of schools attended. Additionally the coding of abstract qualities extrapolated from the base data and the more personal responses made by the respondents became possible. For example an instance where a woman responded that she was frustrated by the opportunities given to her brothers and not to her could be coded quantitatively under the number of brothers she had had and also under a numerical coding for *Power* i.e. wanting power over her own life. It could also be coded at *Rivalry*, showing sibling interaction responses. Altogether there were forty-six (46) abstract categories with many sub-sets on refinements (known as Children Nodes) and nine areas of Base Data. (See Appendix 2). None of the authors of the former surveys had approached their analyses in this manner and these procedures as well as the use of abstract concepts contributed further to the originality of this study.

Ethical Clearance:

Approval was gained from the Ethics Department in the University of Tasmania and the Tasmanian

Department of Education, Community and Cultural Development before the project was designed and before the two surveys were undertaken. (1995,1997).

Summary:

This chapter has described the detailed process undertaken to devise and to execute the methodology suitable for this study. A description of the source and type of research questions emerging from the literature was discussed. Many hypotheses which had followed these questions were considered but only one particular, comprehensive hypothesis was highlighted as the basis for this study. Details of the content for the trial questionnaire were listed and the leadership characteristics of the trial interviewees described. Discrepancies in the content of the trial questionnaire were noted and added to the original list to form the final questionnaire. The characteristics of the two sample groups were described and the method used for distributing the survey forms explained. The originality of this study was emphasised using comparisons with the other surveys described in the Literature Review (Chapter 2). The response rate was recorded and the means of analysing the data using a computer software programme was described, giving specific examples of its application.

CHAPTER 4

**CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN PRINCIPALS
FINDINGS FROM THE TASMANIAN SURVEY
THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY**

Introduction:-

The coding process using the Computer Software Programme as described in the Methodology section yielded forty-six Free Nodes and nine categories of Base Data (Appendix 3) The Free Nodes were derived from the literature readings, the comments of the respondents themselves and the observations of the writer using a grounded theory approach and were subsequently extended with sub-categories resulting in one hundred and twenty five discrete segments of information e.g. Pathways (to Teacher-Training) was subdivided under the headings Scholarship, Studentship, Parents, Both, Work and Other Means Similarly the base data e.g. Schooling became State, Private and Both. This amount of information therefore totalled two hundred and seventy two segments Before all this information could be analysed for significant factors influencing career decisions, a selection from both the forty-six Free Nodes and nine Base Data categories was made under the headings originally nominated in the introduction, i.e. Socialization in the Home, School and Community

The results for the Principal and the Teaching group in the chosen categories were then compared using the Chi-Squared Test and the Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test to gauge the levels of statistical significance of the differences in each category. The Chi-Squared Test was used to analyse the “Yes” and “No” responses for the two survey groups in the form of two way contingencies. A crucial component of these tests was that each cell value should be more than 5. An example which demonstrates this point comes from the first category to be discussed - i.e. Self Expectations which proved to be of particular significance.

Respondent	Yes	No	Total
Principal	22	8	30
Teacher	9	11	20
Totals	31	19	50

The tables for the scores where the Wilcoxon Rank Sum tests were used are included as Appendices 4 and 5. Qualitative analysis of categories and themes was also used and this provided 'suggestive' insights where statistical tests were inappropriate and did not relate to the women's 'narratives' of their lives. The analysis of all these narratives also indicated the broad age range of all the respondents, giving a background time frame from which to judge their responses. Although age was not specifically requested on the questionnaire, many women volunteered this information. The youngest woman was twenty nine and the oldest was just retiring at aged sixty. It must be noted that most of the respondents were between forty and sixty and the younger participants, especially among the Principals were in the minority. The Tasmanian teaching force itself is ageing with the average age of 43 years (Source DECCD). The clustering of the women's ages was important as it meant there were few differences observed regarding contemporary, educational opportunities and societal attitudes for this particular cohort of women in leadership positions. The youngest "teacher" respondent had indicated that her age was twenty-nine and she had just gained her first advancement to ASTI Level. Her promotion "story" had just begun in 1997 and the opportunities for gaining leadership positions may be better for her in the future now that societal attitudes are changing and the promotion system has been more formalized.

However, for the majority of Principals or Superintendents, they would have had to wait much longer for their positions because of the prevailing attitudes and lack of opportunities available to them during their careers. Comparing the responses from the two groups of women, the changes in societal attitudes and career opportunities for women has taken a long time to come to fruition and to become evident in the 'real' world of teaching. There were three "groups" under the concept of career achievement which did emerge from the surveys analysed in this thesis. One, naturally, was the group of women who had achieved leadership positions. The second was the group of seventeen women who wished to remain as teachers while a third group of three women from the Teachers' group, wanted promotion and were frustrated with their present situation or were undecided where to apply next - in teaching or in another direction.

From the Principals' answers the extent to which they had achieved their career goals within their leadership positions could also be analysed. Eleven (36%) of the thirty women were contented with their

position and they had achieved their goals. Two (7%) felt frustrated that they were not the Principal of a larger school, whilst one was not enjoying the leadership position she had. Four (13%) wished to seek leadership in private enterprise. One Principal felt that she had been forced into the role; another would have to return to a lower position as hers did not have a substantive status and one had died during the time of the analyses for this study. The remaining group had a range of comments including still being “good teachers” and assisting the community to being at the beginning of new career paths or ahead of their original expectations. It was interesting to note that even when achieving leadership, the women were still not fully satisfied with their situations.

It was also important to realize, before discussing the analysis of the findings, the concerns which have arisen with the increased use of Computer packages in analysis of qualitative data. Carol Grbich (1998) posed the question “Are computing packages appropriate tools for generating theory from qualitative data?” (Grbich, 1998, 55). She feels that while these computer packages have received attention because of their very positive aspects in organizing complex functions and holding a great capacity of information, the problems they have are being “glossed over” (Grbich, 1998, 55). The movement between ‘literature’ and ‘data’ for the purposes of generating concepts and theories, using a grounded theory approach is “based on an abstract model of qualitative research comprising segmentation, categorization, and relinking.” (Grbich, 1998, 55). She contends that “Data is interrogated (so that) the co-occurrences of linkages and hypotheses testing can occur, leading to the generation of theoretical concepts.” (Grbich, 1998, 55). She is concerned that in managing the data through programming languages and encouraging the appearance of ‘objectivity’ of data we must segment and retexture our data to “fit” a particular form of programming which therefore reduces what is a “complex reality of intersecting aspects embedded in rich contexts, to a simplified, rational decontextualized version of ‘reality’” (Grbich, 1998, 56). Furthermore she believes that the “framing process which goes” on in our approach to our data, tends to simplify and to make ‘linear’ that which in the real world is a ‘multilinear’ even ‘chaotic and complex’ process. We must therefore move away from the use of data towards the search for meaning and contextualization. “The potential for decontextualizing that which is inherent in the imposition of rich methodological procedures is furthered by the additional process involved in the segmentation and categorization of data for computer programming.” (Grbich, 1998, 58). Grbich also criticises the

“Straussian version of grounded theory” for its over-emphasis on discovering categories and indicators and its minimization of thick description.” (Grbich, 1998, 58). This refers to the dense, cultural description inherent in the data. Since more information does not necessarily lead to more meaning or greater understanding, Grbich argues that “the use of computing packages to generate theory from qualitative data sets is problematic”. (Grbich, 1998, 59).

In the light of these current debates on the problems associated with the use of computer packages and the Straussian method of grounded theory, it will be necessary in this Chapter to highlight the “thick description” enclosed and interwoven in the narratives of the women who responded to the two surveys conducted for this study, as well as providing explanations about the quantitative data involved. This focus on the ‘narrative’ material will be essential in this section so that the ‘multilinear, chaotic and complex processes’ which Grbich writes about will emerge and will permit the search for meaning and contextualization to take place.

Findings From The Research Questions

a) Which experiences for women in their family lives were significant in influencing their later career motivation and career development?

There were eight categories from the analysis of the data which were valid for the Chi-squared test to be performed and eight categories where the number of responses from the teachers was too small for this test to be performed. Five of the eight valid categories will be discussed first in this Chapter under the heading of *Socialization Within the Family*. These include *Self Expectations*, *Freedom to Choose Socialization Processes*, *Birth Order (First)*, *Awareness of Gender Expectations* and *Acceptance of Birth Order*. Three of the eight valid tests will be discussed in Chapter 5 under the heading of Socialization in the School and the Community. These include *Significant Others (Teachers)*, *Leadership* and *Community Activities*. The eight not valid will be analysed in this Chapter for the value of their qualitative anecdotal revelations. These include *Lack of Power*, the *Value of Education*, *Freedom to Choose Careers*, *Responsibility*, *Birth Order*, *(Pleasure) Significant Others (Parents)* and *(Brothers)* plus *Modelling*. Following all this analysis qualitative material from the following categories will also be

presented - *Support (Physical) Fathers' Attitudes, Emotional Support, Birth Order (Normal), Aspirations, Attitudes, Significant Others (Relatives), Higher Expectations and Power (Mothers)*. As well as examining all these categories, links will be made with the questions posed in the Methodology Section to ascertain the relevance of the findings. It is also argued that the qualitative data offer significant social insights even where statistical significance can not be demonstrated.

Tests showed that only one category in this valid group concerning Socialization in the Family proved to be statistically significant of a difference between the two groups as well as two categories in the Socialization in the School and Community section. This reveals the important finding that the Principals and Teachers were in many respects similar in characteristics particularly in their career orientations to Education. The detail obtained from their narratives will highlight their similar experience in early childhood and their reactions (similar and varied) to these experiences. The few statistically significant differences will serve to distinguish what is 'special' about the lives and attitudes of the Principals towards teaching and leadership attainment as compared to the Teachers. The analysis also raises the questions which can only partially be answered here about the part played by career "choices" rather than merely individual characteristics, and the important interaction of these

The only statistically significant category in the Family and Socialization section of this study was *Self Expectation* which included responses from twenty two (73%) of the Principal group and nine (45%) of the Teacher group and was derived from their answers to their educational ambitions and desire for careers and achievement. The two samples were significantly different at the 4% level of the population. The literature findings on this aspiration of achievement demonstrated that women often fall behind because of a lack of motivation, societal or family attitudes or a lack of expectation due to previous probabilities of failure. Women have been shown to have lower initial expectancies of success than males but with these women, they had already internalized a high degree of achievement motivation. These responses contained the women's personal feelings regarding personal characteristics, motivation levels, career and employment choices and attitudes to gender barriers. They found educational options exciting and never wanted stagnation to develop in their chosen fields. Extending their capabilities became a goal, so that they could build on accrued expertise. Success was a motivating force and many had the

confidence that they could achieve these goals. “I was very confident that I could achieve any goal and did not have any hesitation in ‘going for broke’!” was an explanation given by one of the Principal group. Peer group pressure could not alter the ambition they possessed. “Peer group (influence) was really a negative influence. - especially females...only very few went on past Grade 10”, was the experience of another Principal. Because several of these women noted that they were bright at school, they felt that it was an automatic reaction and logical step to follow their Secondary education with University education. Career goals were worthwhile and the women gained pleasure from continuing their educational pathways.

The Principal group had emphasised the need to become a “teacher” and if they were successful to be a “good teacher” Teaching was seen as being a very worthwhile career and teaching would lead to a successful life. Sometimes this was the only option as society was very deprived of monetary assistance for training of any kind during the years from the late 1950s up until the middle eighties which covers the time span when these women would have sought training. Parental encouragement was also a key factor for the achievement of this goal to have a career as a teacher. The section on *Leadership and Business Women* in the literature review emphasised the need “to want to be a leader”. The attitude of the Principals here emphasises a similar response in that they really wanted to be teachers and consequently set their goals on two aspects of this - being a teacher and reaching high standards in this profession by becoming good teachers and leaders as well.

Other factors mentioned by the Principal group regarding high and self-expectations clustered around their future employment options. Choosing tertiary study and a career would give them more opportunities and more work choices. The ability to leave one's immediate environment to seek better opportunities was also linked with their aspiration to train for a career. The only negative comments focused on the effect of a socialization process which had stifled confidence levels when the respondents were young. Another Principal had had to face an ultimatum - no University option unless the Matriculation results proved to be satisfactory. Gaining the best set of knowledge and skills, was paramount in the women's minds. Having positive self images assisted the women to prove themselves and to gain the status and financial success relevant to their professional training. Redressing the

inequality between the sexes was also evident in their responses.

The Teachers who responded positively within this category were also very strong in their intent but fewer Teachers nine (45%) than Principals twenty-two (73%) shared these views. "I had the opinion", quoted one Teacher "that anything (allowing for society's restrictions which had to be managed) was possible." Failure to reach goals lay with me and not outside influences " Another negated her parental influences by stating forcefully "I knew what I wanted," while another provided a generalization which could be applied to many of the answers from both groups. "(I intended) to always do my best. Gender was not an issue" Additional comments included, "I was very keen to have a career and to be in charge". This group had always wanted to do their best and for some there was the element of being challenged by tertiary training "I always set out to do my best and succeed," was the attitude expounded by one of the Teacher group, "given the very masculine environment in which I grew up " Another aim was to be different and to outgrow the environment in which they lived. "I wanted to be better than (my home town)!" came from one of the Principals but this was also implicit in some of the Teachers' answers.

The *Freedom to Choose their Socialization Process* was a valid comparison representing fourteen (46%) for the Principals and six (30%) for Teachers but one which did not produce a statistically significant result. However this aspect would have assisted the women to realize their own self expectations and their explanations provide further insight into their early life influences

Parents were applauded once again for encouraging these respondents to be 'persons' in their own right and to reach their full potential. Many were given male toys or were permitted to engage in male activities, encouraged by their fathers. "(I) was encouraged to participate in everything Father involved me in many activities." wrote one Principal Sometimes fathers, too, were more expansive in their thinking and encouraged their daughters to think more laterally regarding life's choices There was a very strong response from both groups - (Principals and Teachers) - stating that there had been no gender expectations placed on them. One Principal wrote about her parents "allowing freedom to choose my own destination." These women had been urged to follow their interest regardless of gender. One of the Teacher group commented "I remember asking for a tip truck for Christmas as well as dolls - I could play however I wanted." Parents had encouraged the worthwhile leadership qualities mentioned in the

literature review of independence, self control, the expectation to succeed and to be hard working which are all characteristics for successful women leaders. There is also an abundance of evidence here answering the questions posed earlier regarding the influential experiences in women's family lives and again the importance of the parenting contribution in the development of the women's potential is highlighted.

The women were treated equally with their brothers in both groups. One Principal with two brothers confirmed this with "We've all been treated the same," while two of the Principal group were covertly informed that females were superior and should therefore be more level headed than boys. Some of the women themselves had felt that they could aspire to any ambition, were not bound by gender boundaries and could proceed in definite directions, aiming for professions. The environment also provided these women with gender neutral opportunities. Farm life and/or lack of brothers caused some women from both groups to engage in more masculine pursuits and activities which they adopted as being normal for them. "We learnt to cut sticks, ride motor bikes (as well as learning) to sew" quoted one Principal. It was obvious from the responses of these groups that their socializations choices were very flexible but one restraining factor still remained. Although they had had a free socialization process, the society of the times in which they were growing up and being educated, still only gave them very limited career choices - teaching and nursing

b) How important was being "first born" or having lived as a "first born" child in the family?

The literature on family socialization processes identifies the special, more adult like treatment accorded to the *first born child* and the consequent sense of maturity and levels of responsibility which emanated from this. Evidence of this phenomenon of being first born was prevalent in the two surveys, but it did not prove to be statistically significant in this study. However it is worth considering this category as a complementary one to further support the notion of responsibility. This first born category resulted in having eighteen Principals (60%) and eight Teachers (40%) with this characteristic. Out of the whole survey total of fifty women, twenty six (52%) of the survey participants were first born. Four of the first-born women (8%) were *only* children - two in each group of the respondents - while other participants

had lived as only children because of a variety of family circumstances - sickness or age differences. The number of brothers for the Principal group was twenty-three (77%) compared to seventeen (85%) for the Teachers, while twenty-one (69%) of the Principals had sisters compared to thirteen (65%) for the Teachers.

The women's responses to their 'first-born' position could be divided into four types of attitudes. Three of the Principal group and one of the Teacher group commented that for them they had not only been first-born but had also been born in a different cohort group to their siblings "There were four years between my brother and I; there were four years between my sister and I," explained one Principal. Others wrote about distances of four to nine years between their nearest sibling and one commented that she was not even present in the household while the younger children were growing up, because she had left for boarding school. "I have no recollection of being anything but older," wrote one Principal who was nine years older than her siblings. Those who were closer in age, being four or five years older were given a great deal of responsibility in caring for the younger family members. As an example of this one Principal disclosed, "I had a lot to do with looking after my younger sisters."

Those women who responded in a positive manner to their birth order had just accepted their position as normal and had been, quite often, very protective of their younger siblings. They had developed a sense of responsibility but had times become autocratic in dealing with others "I was responsible and bossy," wrote one Principal. Many commented that they had known no difference and had proceeded to live their lives accordingly

Another factor to investigate further concerned the power which the respondents gained over their lives by being in charge of their siblings or the household "I was very conscious of setting a good example and providing a safe and caring environment for my younger brother," provides a vivid picture of the experience of one of the Principals

The responses from the Teacher group within this category touched on different aspects not considered by the Principals. Loneliness was a factor for developing a sense of responsibility for oneself and others. "I was often alone as my sister was ill," confided one of the Teachers "and so I had to take responsibility

for my own safety as well as for hers.” One Teacher with an older married sibling had developed a strong bond with yet another adult who would have provided a further responsible, role model for her. The isolated area of one of the Teacher group had made her develop more responsibility in assisting her sole parent mother. Being an only child or living as an only child had provided more responsibility for those with family problems and none for those where family life was free of traumas of any kind.

Those in large families, born over several cohort periods (sixteen years), were burdened with added housework and carer roles which in later life transformed into very close relationships, one to another. This was the experience of one of the Teachers who confided - “As our family is spread out over sixteen years, I found it difficult as I was expected to do housework and care for younger siblings from an early age. Now it's great as we all get on well ” Some of the women enjoyed this caring for children and the trust given to them by their parents. They enjoyed being the eldest but were fearful of striving for a future where there were no sibling models to follow. Family support was mentioned as being very beneficial in this situation. If both parents had been working, the eldest child was also provided with more opportunities to achieve a mature and responsible approach to life and all its tasks.

Four Principals and three Teachers did rebel against this first-born syndrome. They resented the degree and level of responsibility and often had to fight parents for greater freedom. Expectations for females who were first in the family, were often lesser than for the males who came later in the order. There were also certain behaviours expected and the lack of freedom led to isolation, away from forming friendships with the peer group. Only two in the second group, Teachers, confided their longing for brothers and/or other siblings while for one Teacher, friends and relatives were a compensation for being an only child. The huge expectations from parents did make life harder for the first-born, particularly in the area of being sibling-carers. If parents had difficulties too, such as sickness or youthfulness, the first-born often had to shoulder additional responsibilities

Another valid but not statistically significant category *Awareness of Gender Expectations* representing eighteen (60%) from the Principals' group and ten (50%) from the Teachers', provides further insights into the respondents' lives. These women were similar in this respect because of the sharing of the same

social conditions as they were being raised. Society would have provided them with examples of gender specific occupations such as Teaching and Nursing for females and Trades for males. Role models in their home environments would also have provided evidence of these expectations.

There were a variety of times where the women had become aware of these gender expectations. One of each group felt that they had always been aware of them, whilst those who had given an age, clustered mainly around the primary school years, with the youngest age of eight being referred to by one from each group. Another, one of the Principal group, rejected her mother's attitudes. "My mother was very conservative and believed women should be employed in traditionally female occupations, but my father was much more open-ended. father's (attitudes) were more compatible (to my own)." There were several who mentioned the Secondary years or adulthood as being the time their realization of gender expectations had occurred. Two of the Principal group had only come to this understanding on reflection at much later stages of their careers. One participant in the first group (Principals) noted the difference after discussing her girl friend's activities. The Principals had been very masculine with a list of fishing, football, tree climbing and shooting, whereas her peer group of girls were more interested in dolls and clothes. As one Principal also explained "I was not a 'dolly' kind of person."

When *Acceptance of Birth Order* was investigated thirteen (43%) of the Principals had accepted their order as normal compared to nine (45%) of the Teachers. Being a first-born was a very significant factor in four of the five studies of women "leaders" by Hennig and Jardim (1979), Cass et al. (1983), Shakeshaft (1987) and Murphy (1991) as described in the Literature Review, but it was not significant in this study. Perhaps it could be linked with the women having had more opportunity to experience "responsibility" in family situations as carers of younger children.

Being an only child or living as an only child, had provided more responsibility for those with family problems and none for those where family life was free of traumas of any kind. The overall reaction to this category of reaction to being first born (and to the other positions) was definitely one of positivity and acceptance, qualities which would prove to be most significant in later employment and career development.

The categories which follow were not valid for statistical comparisons using the Chi-Squared test but were very important for their qualitative revelations about the women's 'life narratives'.

The first one in this group was the category of *Recognition of Lack of Power* (in their lives) which produced a response rate of twelve (40%) of the Principals and only one (5%) of the Teachers and demonstrated the experiences that these women had had mainly in the home, but with some references to women's treatment in the wider society

This category was derived from the respondents' observations that women had a lower status and were treated differently from men. This was demonstrated in a number of ways. There were many aspects of family life where deference was always given to males, the women's career choices were limited to feminine pursuits, men were taught mechanical skills, were shown more consideration and were given more confidence and status. Domineering parents restricted the growth of the women's potential but not of the male's, while societal standards reflected the lack of career opportunities and monetary rewards for similar work. This resulted in the women having a poor self image and feeling inferior to men. However, at the same time they were developing an anger against the situation which led to their desire to do better and to succeed in their chosen careers. Because of the imbalance of power in the family situation, stemming from a society which was based on the gender constructs (or societal ideas of what constituted being male and female), the women recognized at an early age, the inequality involved with being female and their subsequent 'lack of power'. Although they had wanted power in their home environment to act other than in the prescribed feminine way, they had been relegated to these types of roles. As one Principal wrote "Being eldest girl meant that I was given household/carer responsibilities". Another explained, "that as a female child, parents' expectations were less than for that of the second child (male)." "My parents' perception remained 'locked in' to this" was another comment from a Principal.

Family life reflected the societal attitudes and expectations which demonstrated to the Principals that they should not have aspirations towards careers. Men were paid more for similar work and if women aspired to careers, they had to prove themselves to be more capable than their male counterparts. Some of the respondents had felt the need to follow their parents' advice and to find work to suit their hours of future

parenting. “My mother believed that I should get a job with hours of duty to suit my potential role as a parent.. teaching.” Teaching was therefore viewed as the ideal choice for this option. There was also the expectation from society that they should follow their parents' wishes and one “did as one was told.” Having a career was felt to be a waste of time for women, as they would only use their training for three or four years and then begin to raise families, as was the experience of the only Teacher respondent in this aspect of the category. The participants were very definite in their responses that these family expectations, which had stemmed from societal values had robbed them of power within their lives and career advice.

Other aspects pertaining only to family life were also seen as detrimental to their gaining of control of their lives. Being a twin (to a brother) and having older siblings created problems because any person in this situation had to learn to act on two levels - to think individually, and to gain confidence and to act for oneself. This was the case for two of the Principal group. “Being a twin was more significant (than my birth order). My male twin was constantly compared with me at school. I did not learn to do things for myself till much later,” wrote one of the Principal group. This lack of confidence for the respondents also came from family attitudes where children ‘were seen and not heard’. These types of families led one of the Principals in later life to hate conflict in the form of verbal or physical aggression and led to a lessening of career choices within promotions where conflict was prevalent. “I found it very difficult to cope with any verbal or physical aggression - (I) would run and hide ” quoted one of the Principal group.

Other Principals commented on having to defer to their brothers' choices for a career. Money could be spent on males but not on women because of the aforementioned family/parenting scenario. Boys were often placed in charge of sisters while, older, intellectually more capable siblings were often a source of conflict. Generally in families, boys received greater status than girls and all females were expected to defer to males in a range of situations. One Principal's response highlighting this, states that she was not in conflict with gender expectations “but I did have to learn the respect of males ”. Family life later in this thesis will be seen in a much more positive light but for many of the Principal group, there were obstacles to overcome within the family environment.

Family life also emphasised gender expectations when the females were designated housework during a mother's absence, whilst boys were not. One's position in a mixed family was beneficial to the women, even by negative means, by showing the different treatment meted out to boys compared to girls, because males were considered to be the potential breadwinners in families.

Returning to the family context, several women commented on the poor self image levels which had developed for them in male dominated environments. Some had felt inferior to men as in this example - "I felt overshadowed...(by) my brother's special position as the son." Another wrote, "I wanted to do Medicine but I was told that we couldn't afford it because my younger brother would do it." When one Principal was refused permission to drive the family car, she found that it was "My elder brother (who) naturally became another family driver." She commented, "I was thirty before I got to drive the family car."

Anger became the emotion which had been engendered by these family inequities and this was the precursor for the women's resolutions to achieve more than the males in their immediate family environment. As one Principal remarked, the "anger and frustration turned into a resolve to achieve in my own right and to be as powerful as the boys." This group of Principals learnt by negative means, to have a very aggressive and ambitious approach to their lives and towards career attainment.

Within this analysis of the lack of power in the respondents' lives, the Teacher group had varying experiences. One aspect of the women's experiences within the family which had curtailed the development of career potential and involved the Teachers' lack of power was evident when either parents or siblings were very ill, disabled or had abandoned their families. In these cases there had to be a concentration of caring to the point where courses were cancelled and/or personal resources were being utilized in the caring/family process. "My mother suffered from multiple sclerosis. I did feel that as the only daughter I had more of a 'caring' role. I ended up not taking an overseas exchange position because of Mum's illness." wrote one respondent and another added, "My Mother was disabled through a rheumatic problem so I refused to go to Teacher's College." Another explained that her father "Left the paternal home at (my) age of five years. I didn't see father until I was aged fifteen", while another

Teacher respondent commented that her disabled sibling had “made life very different and difficult” and that “there were many instances when I was asked to be the care-giver”. For the second group, Teachers, there were four in this different category pertaining to the lack of power because of family illness or disability and one with the former characteristic of lack of power because of gender. When all these factors concerning the lack of power were combined, the statistical result was not statistically significant of a difference between the two groups. However without these considerations of sickness or disability, this category of a lack of power in the Principal's lives was an important factor in curbing their career development. None of the former research on family life had considered these aspects or researchers had not encountered them in earlier studies. The women's responses then had clustered around several aspects pertaining to power, societal expectation, the role of the family, the influence of parents, particularly fathers and the consideration of self-identity. Many of these revelations, on the part of the women concerned relate significantly to the first question posed in the Methodology section regarding family experiences. These experiences and the realization of the lesser roles that they were expected to accept, would prove to be the catalyst for future aspirations, particularly for the Principal group.

Other instances of a lack of power for the Teacher group were only mentioned briefly but were very important for alerting us to their experiences. Males were permitted to gain technical skills, such as driving a car, which was similar to the Principal group. However one respondent, who also had a disabled sibling commented, “It was always an expectation that as a female you would break any piece of machinery...or crash your father's car ” A most unusual experience occurred in one Teacher's family. After her brother had died, her parents decided to extend their family in the hope that another male child would be born.

This Teacher group appeared to have additional burdens placed on them by having these cases of disability and sickness which was not as evident in the Principal group. This burden imposed restriction on the Teachers' ability to achieve the required or full teacher training when they were in late adolescence. They were given opportunities, when older, but were curtailed with career advancement because of this later completion of teacher training requirements. They had the had dual burden of completing training and attempting to gain enough experience to apply for promotion positions. In spite of this the Teachers had

achieved a great step forward in even aspiring to gain a profession and becoming involved in education. This compliments could also be applied to the Principals given the male hegemony prevalent in the society at these times.

d) How important were the prevalence of high expectations, self-expectation and the value of education in the early years of women's lives?

The next category which was not statistically valid for comparison because of small numbers but which demonstrated similarities between the two groups within the family socialization aspect of this study was the *Value of Education* representing fifteen responses (50%) out of thirty for the Principal's group and three out of twenty (15%) for the Teacher's group. The responses have been clustered into different perspectives - this time into three distinct parenting characteristics. The first of these became evident when the respondents commented on the value their parents had placed on the women having an education. Some parents had been provided with these opportunities themselves while for some of the women's mothers, education had been denied them (as revealed earlier), hence the encouragement of their daughters. This valuing of education in some cases had begun at an early age and was seen as a key to later success in life. "Both parents believed that education was the key to success - both at school and through extra-curricula activities...music lessons, sport, clubs," was the summary provided by one Principal. Developing a career was also a component in this fostering of education as an important part of life, whilst teaching was seen as a valued profession. "There was. certainly no mention of we girls having a role of getting married (and having) children" and "Mother was genuinely interested in performance," were other examples provided by another Principal.

The parents of the Principal group were also very pro-active in their response to the education of their daughters. They enabled them to have access to appropriate courses, broadening their outlook by providing an interest in travel, foreign languages and extracurricular activities such as music and sport, beyond the schools' programmes. Parents insisted on their daughters reading - "We were taught to read at an early age and were surrounded by books," wrote one Principal. They also encouraged positive work attributes to school and emphasised and assisted with homework. In these ways their parents ensured

that these women had the best education available at the time.

Other positive actions performed by parents included discussing subject choices and discouraging those courses not suitable for later admission to academic institutions. Aligned with these general discussions, were debates regarding the whole gambit of work, career and university training. Achievement was valued by many of the parents but it was not a demand placed on the respondents. Stereotypical expectations regarding the selection of careers suitable for women were not evident in many of the Principal's lives.

The Teachers' comments were also very positive in regard to the category of the *Value of Education*. One teacher's parents had been raised in England where they had had to give up their educational courses at the age of fourteen. Consequently “They wanted more for their children in Australia” and “encouraged me to value education.” explained one Teacher. Another added that there was always “lots of praise (for) high marks.” The third Teacher respondent, with comments in this category, remarked that “Both parents encouraged work attitudes at school and both encouraged me to develop a career ”

Not only had the parents' influence stemmed from their philosophical attitudes to education in general, but it had also emanated from their tangible involvement with their children's school. Attendance at Parent and Friend's Meetings, working bees and sporting functions were noted by the respondents in the Principal group. “Dad did a career's survey/checklist for me...and kept in touch with the school.” There was the overall impression in the respondents' answers that the values surrounding education were very middle class in origin which will later link with the origin of their upbringing, being predominantly urban or suburban

f) How important was the freedom of choice in the women's early socialization process?

Women in both groups experienced positive reinforcement of the gender neutral ideas they had already conceptualized. They wrote about being ‘just people’ and being expected and/or permitted to perform all tasks or activities. They also noted differences in their mothers' attitudes and compared them with society's attitudes. The parents who received commendation were those who gave their daughters

freedom to participate in and to pursue any activity regardless of gender expectations. “I was encouraged to be a person - even given a cricket set for Christmas when I was ten,” confided one Principal.

The one category *Freedom to Choose Careers* - represented ten Principals (33%) and two of the Teachers (10%) in this category. The respondents commented on their freedom to make choices about their destination in life even if some of them had still chosen the more traditional occupations, such as teaching or nursing. One Principal wrote, “(There was) no definition or expectation ..freedom of choice was important, although (we) did follow traditional expectations - teaching, nursing.”

For others being able to drift without a destination was permitted, as was the freedom to choose very ambitious careers such as being an astronaut! The envy of brothers' choices for career or other activities also allowed the women to reject traditional female pursuits such as cooking and to admit that their interests were not in these areas. “I wanted to be like my brother I envied his freedom I wasn't very confident with household duties, especially cooking .-I'm still a nervous cook!!”, were the comments from another Principal. Whatever was the essential “me” characteristic of the Principals and their potential was given the authority to emerge.

Both the Teachers' comments on this aspect identified their strong personalities and desires to choose the careers they wanted. One commented that her parents “did not interfere with my choices although (they were) unable to assist financially.” The second respondent “knew what (she) wanted” and her parents supported her choice.

The development of a sense of *Responsibility* in their early years received more attention in the Principal group which was represented by nine Principals (30%) and the second group by two Teachers (10%). Being the eldest, was the main catalyst for many of them recording comments about this aspect of responsibility. This first born position made them conscious of a different set of expectations and types of behaviour being imposed upon them. “I think I have always been conscious of the responsibility attached to being the eldest - like I am supposed to behave in certain ways because of it,” explained one of the Principals. They had to set a good example and to be conscientious in providing a safe and caring environment for younger siblings. If parents were working, this responsibility increased, but the women

in the category commented that it had forced them to make decisions and to be more proficient in problem solving “The fact that my mother was (sometimes) unwell - encouraged me to make decisions and problem solve,” wrote one Principal so it was obvious that parents and/or siblings who were ill or young provided (unwittingly) the conditions within the family where-by increased responsibility was given to several of the women. Isolation then was also a factor in developing responsibility, so the community environment had an impact as well as family characteristics.

Principals, with positive parents who had designated definite roles to all siblings, expected a responsible reaction to all tasks. Other parents had noticed the ‘loneliness’ of a second child and had made conscious efforts to spend time with her. Another factor to investigate further concerned the power which the respondents gained over their lives by being in charge of their siblings or the household. “I was very conscious of setting a good example and providing a safe and caring environment for my younger brother,” provides a vivid picture of the experience of one of the Principals. Another aspect was also recorded by a Principal. If overall power had been given to a male sibling who was first born, this Principal had still been made responsible for the household and child-carer role, thus gaining some rehearsal within a responsible role, even if it were gender based.

On a personal level the women respondents in this section commented that they had always felt a strong sense of responsibility for others around them and this was fostered in families where responsibility was encouraged or where the environment, such as farm life, demanded this characteristic. Taking responsibility for their own lives was also a factor for the twins in this survey. “We made a pact to be different...forced a separation,” wrote one twin who was also a Principal. Other factors mentioned included the power which the respondents gained over their lives by being in charge of the siblings or the household. Another noted that even when overall power had been given to a male sibling who was first born, she had still been made responsible for the household and child-carer roles.

One of the Teacher group gave the following explanation - “I always felt a lot of responsibility - had a very young mother and was living in an isolated area.” The second Teacher respondent here commented on “being a care-giver to a disabled sibling. Her life often relied on my being responsible.”

Another aspect which was examined regarding birth order was the respondents' attitudes to whatever birth order they had experienced. This was categorised under the heading *Reaction To Birth Order (Pleasure)* representing seven responses (23%) from the Principals and two from the Teachers (10%), not valid for a statistical comparison. The comments recorded revolved around having been spoilt by too many older brothers, being fond of brothers or siblings or having the best position as youngest in the family because “the older siblings had left home so I had my parents to myself,” as one Teacher wrote. Others commented that it was a “fait accompli” and for others that their position had always been a good experience.

c) How important were the roles of the mother and the father and other “significant others” in the women's lives?

The next category showing similarities between the two groups was that of *Significant Others (Parents)* which received six (20%) responses from the Principals and only one (5%) from the Teachers and so was not a valid statistical comparison. However the qualitative, anecdotal evidence provided interesting information regarding the women's “significant” experiences of assistance from their parents. Most of the comments for the parents spoke of their support, encouragement and the overall influence on the women's lives. *Support* is a discrete category on its own, so consequently this section will concentrate on remarks encompassing other qualities. Parents of the Principal group gave encouragement to their daughters to pursue a career such as teaching because of its status (at that time), it being considered a worthwhile, well-paid and respected type of profession. Besides expecting and encouraging careers, they provided and assumed their daughters would enrol in further study and consequently promoted and praised the achievement of skills such as reading or the demonstration of their potential with the scoring of high marks. “It was always assumed that I would go on to further study even though I grew up in a country community which felt it was a waste of time educating a girl,” was the type of answer given - this particular one from a Principal. There was little stereotyping regarding careers and pride was shown in the display of any career ambitions. Parents were often subtle in their influence and modelled appropriate behaviour by participating in their daughters' school and later, University life.

Parents overall were applauded for their magnanimous support and encouragement of their daughters. Encouragement by their parents gained a result of eighteen (59%) for the Principals and thirteen (65%) for the Teachers, which did not prove to be statistically significant. They were noted as having provided continuous guidance and advice and consequently the women were inspired by the attitude that they could achieve anything they desired, with no barriers being imposed by gender. “Being female was not a factor in terms of career. I really only thought in terms of whether I was capable of the job not whether I was a woman capable of doing the job,” quoted one Principal, in response to the survey question regarding parental expectations and career. In some cases there were no expectations or pressures to conform to any chosen path. Some women were permitted access to all activities as their brother and practical skills (again the car driving) were transferred. For those, where a career was expected, independence was still encouraged while the value of education was often transmitted through advice regarding the limited work scenarios which would be available if educational levels were unsatisfactory “You’ll end up a Coles check-out kid!” was the advice given to one of the Principal group when her academic levels were not high enough. Aligned with this were discussions with the Principals regarding subject choices which would lead to lesser opportunities for careers.” Subjects such as ‘Home Economics’ were discouraged with comments such as “You can learn this at home!”

Mothers were also conscious that financial power would also provide daughters with general power over their lives and later freedom. “My mother was denied a career by her father and was very keen that this should not happen to her daughters,” explained the influence of one of the Principal's mothers on this subject. Other parents were charitable in their opposition to any chosen career and eventually acquiesced about preferred choices and gave their daughters the freedom they needed to pursue a chosen course of action.

Fathers were singled out in several cases as being the role model for the women seeking freedom. It was interesting to note that fathers received more reference in the Principal group and mothers in the Teacher group as being the parent who was most significant. It may indicate that male role models were more significant for the leader group and this was the influence which led them to aspire to promotional positions later in their careers - leadership being seen in society in masculine terms.

One Principal remembered that her father “Expected that I'd have a career...pushed as much education...helped with subject choices (and).. was always encouraging and supportive!” Fathers were mentioned because of the way they had offered support, encouragement, and were closely involved with the participants' upbringing, not expecting them to conform to feminine career choices. Praise from fathers proved to be beneficial whilst a father's hard working life provided a further role model for one woman seeking control over her life. It was very obvious from the Principals' responses that these women had had the freedom to choose their own career pathways.

The second group (Teachers) were similarly influenced by their parents having high expectations placed on them, with guidance and advice regarding careers, staying at school when peers were leaving and about delaying marriage. Careers were part of the parents' assumptions for the women and for those parents involved in education, suitable role models were provided. Diligence with school work was also emphasised with this group as was following extended areas of interest.

The main parent within the family to receive critical attention was the father, three (9.9%) from the Principals' group and three from the Teachers' (15%). When opposition was received from the father for career or other expectations or if their influence had been very strong, the women found that their personal growth had been retarded and some commented on their later need in life to seek the approval of men before they felt successful. Because of a dominant father one Principal wrote, “My sense of self was very slow to develop...I have until recently sought the approval perhaps especially from men.” Another respondent - also a Principal - remarked that “I missed my father when I went overseas (for about ten months) at the end of Primary School”. Even separation from a father in early life caused problems for respondents needing the male role model. “My father was absent for many months with work commitments,” wrote one of the Teacher group. This engendered a fear of men and the power they had, but also a determination to find a way around this power.

Brothers were also specified as being a ‘significant other’ family member. Most of the respondents within the category were from the Principal group with a cluster of six (20%) compared to one (5%) in the Teacher group. Comments made for this aspect included brothers building the women's self-esteem and brothers being role models because they were older. “My brother (was a significant other) - also an

English teacher.. (he) built my self-esteem ” quoted one Principal These findings add credibility to the evidence regarding male influences on the women, particularly the Principal group

Modelling in the women's lives resulted in a difference between the groups representing eight Principals (26.4%) and three Teachers (15%) Both groups again had similar responses to this category. As far as feminine models were concerned, they mostly came from the home or from the school system and not from the general community In the family situation, women who were dominant and ‘in charge’ within the home were highlighted for their role modelling. Mothers who were organised or who had strong, independent personalities also were noted as role models. One Principal wrote that her Mother had instilled a “never give up attitude”. Those mothers who had not had career opportunities provided good models in that they urged their daughters to enter into education and training One Teacher confided “Mum was a teacher Nan was a teacher but I could have been anything I was not pushed into teaching.” Aunts who had been successful in their careers or who in turn had had strong dominant personalities were also mentioned by the second group of Teachers. Only one father was mentioned by the second group as being a role model for strength and leadership This teacher wrote “I feel that most of my leadership potential comes from my father, from his example and strength.” Influences mainly from the feminine perspective had had an effect on both these groups of women, but the Principals had also commented with more emphasis on the influence of the males in their families - fathers and brothers.

Aunts and Grandmothers also had strong expectations for the women or who had chosen non-stereotypical roles or had been very independent women, with very strong attitudes to careers and life in general. “My maiden Aunt had a great influence she was a professional fisherwoman, champion golfer and built our kitchen cupboards, our kayak and pole vault. .” was one Principal's quote supporting this aspect. Work was regarded as a part of life, not just one section for women before marriage and children. Parents, too, by their positive approach to life and careers, had also provided suitable models for their daughters. One father was described in the following compliment “He modelled hard work ”

Further categories with qualitative data are included for the additional disclosures they make about the lives of the women in this study

When *Support in the Physical Sense* was analysed the results for the two groups including nineteen Principals (63%) and ten Teachers (50%) were not statistically significant. However this physical support was the catalyst for the women in a variety of ways. Both groups spoke of being provided with financial support whilst at school, University, or to finish courses concerning their careers. Equipment was also provided to assist these women in the Principal's group. This ranged from providing a love of reading when young, to buying a car and providing driving lessons, to furnishing a flat, paying rent and providing transport, food and text books when in tertiary education. "Financial assistance (was given) as required," was the experience of one of the Principals and echoed by others in both surveys. Free accommodation and living were provided during holiday times or supplementary income was available if student finances were inadequate. "(I had) support family-wise and financially to complete my courses," explained one of the Teachers.

The women's education was also given physical support in the form of homework supervision and assistance. This concept was extended for one Principal with the provision of reading experiences and assistance with the accumulation of a personal library of books. Career information, arranging meetings with key administrators and signing papers as a guarantor were other physical support mechanisms. Extra tutoring was provided for one of the Teacher group. Parents keeping contact with the school was common for both groups. "Both (parents) took a keen interest in my schooling ..attending Parent and Friends regularly, working bees and sports activities," commented one Principal, whilst another in the Principal group noted the physical help they had had from a variety of educational experiences and assistance with subject choices. "Both parents enabled appropriate courses," was part of her comment. The only negative comments were the insistence, usually by fathers, that the women should aim for better careers than that which the local community offered or that payment for Scholarships which were broken would not be honoured, even if guarantees had been signed. The wide variety of financial, parental, and physical support proved to be most advantageous to both the groups of women, given the scarcity of other methods of funding basic education and career training. The role of teachers was also pertinent when discussing both *Modelling* and *Support* and their contributions will be analysed further in the chapter Socialisation within the School.

Parents who were dominant and controlling, deciding careers for the women, influenced them to seek power for themselves more in line with the inductive type of parenting as outlined in Broderick's (1993) writings. Several recognised the lack of power in their mothers' lives and subsequently sought their own. One Principal disclosed that education had been “unavailable for (my mother)”, whilst another confided “her (my mother's) marriage was not wonderful in my teen years and I think that she may have felt trapped by her lack of financial power ” Some women had to rebel to find their own pathways while others were encouraged by the strength of the ‘strong female in charge’ when they had been younger. The family did provide many positive support mechanisms for these Principals but in certain instances, it was necessary for the women to gauge other conflicting elements within their family life and to respond accordingly

The category named *Fathers' Attitudes* produced some interesting comments from six (20%) Principals and three (15%) Teachers. The type of support they provided was divided into two variables, emotional and physical, the latter having already been addressed. *Emotional Support* from the fathers came from career and life discussions and the provision of encouragement. As one Principal wrote, “My father - very much gave me the confidence to try anything - he was very supportive and he encouraged me to be adventurous; to develop my own pathway.” Support in the form of guidance regarding education and “assistance with homework” were also noted by both groups. The support given in the form of freedom to choose one's destiny and to believe that limits on any endeavours were not be imposed, was appreciated by the respondents. Once choices were made, ensuing support was a bonus for both groups. One comment came from a Principal - “My father strongly encouraged my study when at school. My goals were in line with his ” The father's attitude changed later in this woman's life with his not wanting her to work too hard in order to gain promotion. However the early support had given her the courage to continue her progress until she had achieved her leadership status

The father's role received many pertinent comments from Principals in this section. If they had demonstrated a more flexible attitude than the mother's, it was considered to be a motivating force for the women to make different pathways. “My father was a member of a British Political Party - because of his influence, I took part in...protests,” actions which were not seen as being traditional for women at that time. Strong parenting expectations led women to decide quickly upon a career particularly if

specific careers were emphasised such as teaching, which was seen as a valued and secure profession by fathers and as one Principal wrote “I shared his view.”. Fathers who were active in community organizations, political or economic, were also influential as indicated above. “I knew what I wanted and (gained) support.” was an example from one of the Teachers. Support from fathers also gave the women confidence to try anything and to be adventurous.

Fathers (or any family members) with University Degrees or who had worked in education were instrumental in transmitting essential information regarding careers, while other fathers impressed the Principal group by being very proud of their achievements or by ensuring that they were sent out of isolated areas to pursue Secondary education. Fathers who were prepared to change their minds re careers were very supportive for the Teacher group. The loss of parents was also very significant for one wishing for a career. One teacher explained that “My father died when I was eleven years old, my mother died when I was twenty five...I commenced my studies externally at the age of thirty one.” These deaths had become catalysts in themselves. Those fathers who also had had strong personalities and demonstrated strength of character were also seen as supportive role models for the Teacher group. Positive parenting, providing opportunities, and “emotional warmth” as described in the Literature Review were very evident in this category. The women were very similar in many aspects not actually related to their choice of a teaching career but more as a reflection of the state of the society at the time when these women were young.

Further Similarities Between Principals and Teachers

There were several categories where the two groups had a similar percentage of their members expressing views on certain aspects of this study. These included the presence of *Sisters* in the family environment, the acceptance of their *Birth Order* as *Normal* and having no *Conflict* in their early family lives. Additionally their *Aspirations* and *Attitudes* were similar, as was the *Emotional Support* received from their parents. Grandparents were also noted as being the “significant other” relative in their lives.

The Principal group had slightly more sisters than the Teachers - twenty one (70%) compared to thirteen (65%). Brothers as a contrast were higher in number for the Teachers - seventeen (85%) compared to

twenty three (77%). Both groups had two respondents each who were only children. For the greater majority then of the respondents, the presence of siblings was a common experience for both groups.

When the respondents were questioned about their reactions to their *Birth Order*, the percentage result for it being *Normal* was thirteen (43%) for the Principals and nine (45%) for the Teachers. The comments from the Principals focused on their giving it “little thought” or “having no reaction” or “I knew no different”. Two Principals (7%) were not “bothered” by their birth position while another was in a different cohort group (nine years older) and had left the family before any reactive situations may have occurred.

The Teacher group were also very acquiescent about the situation, by accepting their *Birth Order* or by considering it to be *Normal*. One Teacher, who was the middle child commented that she must have been isolated by the older and younger siblings because her parents gave her “some extra attention”. Being treated “equally with the others” in the family was a compliment for one set of Teacher parents.

Emotional Support had eighteen (60%) response from the Principals and a eleven (55%) response from the Teachers. The Principals had a wider range of comments for this category. They mentioned parents giving emotional support and encouragement for any endeavours attempted. They demonstrated understanding and provided assistance with any difficulties experienced by the women. As one Principal wrote, “They gave me time, space, freedom and responsibility to make my own decisions and were supportive of my choices”. The Teachers' responses were almost identical. One example explains their experiences “Support (emotional) obviously makes you feel confident and strong. (Consequently) I have always had a good image of myself”.

The women's *Aspirations (for Careers)* mainly focused on being Teachers. There were a variety of other occupations mentioned such as being Journalists, Pathologists, Commercial Artists and Engineers for the Principals. For the Teachers the only variations in occupations mentioned were being an Occupational Therapist or Librarian.

When the *Attitudes* of the respondents were examined, a similar score was obtained for each group with

three (10%) Principals and three (15%) Teachers commenting on this aspect. Even though the numbers of answers were the same, their responses were completely opposite. The Principals were very “positive” in their attitude to life, extolling “confidence” and noting “security” in their home situations. However the Teachers' remarks were very negative in registering that “things were not fair”, that they “felt powerless” and had to take the “advice of (their) mother” Perhaps this positivity was one of the keys to the Principals' success

When *Significant Others* were considered the Grandparents and Aunts were mentioned Grandmothers and Aunts were “significant others” in similar respects in providing models of strong women. For Grandmothers the result for the Principals was seven (23.3%) compared to four (20%) for the Teachers. For Aunts the Principals' result was five (17%) and for the Teachers four (20%). Two from both groups recorded Grandfathers as “significant others” in their lives This represented 10% for the Teachers and 7% for the Principals

There were instances where the Teacher group responded more frequently than the Principals to some of the survey questions These included the categories of *Higher Expectations*, *Brothers* (already mentioned) the *Power of the Mother*, as well as participating more actively in *Leadership Activities in the Community* and having lived in an urban or overseas environment (referred to in a later section).

Whilst the Principal group scored a very high result on the category of *Self Expectation*, the Teacher group scored a better *High Expectation* result and percentage - thirteen (65%) compared to sixteen (54%). This difference could be explained by the fact that the Teacher group had these ‘high expectations’ placed upon them but they had not always coupled these with ‘self-expectations’ which was a factor very prevalent in the Principal group

The studies of Hennig and Jardim (1979), Murphy (1991) and Cass et al. (1983) referred to in the Literature Review, all had women who were recorded as having high self-expectations. These women had felt different from the stereotypical woman but were still female. Additionally Hennig and Jardim's (1979) women had also recognised and questioned the traditional roles espoused for women and were unwilling to submit to these roles Components of this research therefore compare favourably with former

studies on this topic of women and their achievement of leadership.

The *Power of the Mother* had four respondents in each group representing four (20%) for the Teachers and four (13%) for the Principals. Their comments included the Teachers whose mothers were very keen for their daughters “to have careers” and wanted more opportunities for them. One mother had less power, her daughter felt, because she was “a very young” parent. The Principals' responses indicated that their mothers were also very determined to gain “careers” for their daughters as some had been “denied a career”, when they had been young

There has been a wealth of information analysed in this section. Whilst some of the women's experiences had been varied, their responses and narratives in most of the categories discussed had proven their basic similarities. In only one aspect *Self Expectations* had there been a significant difference. The similarity between the two groups has been an unexpected finding especially with respect to findings about women leaders from other surveys. ‘Grounded theory’ emerging from the data suggests that for this particular cohort of older women, the Tasmanian community was so patriarchal in orientation to women's careers that becoming a teacher in itself may have demanded special characteristics, which both groups had had but which the Principals' group had exhibited to a greater degree of intensity.

CHAPTER 5

**CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN PRINCIPALS
FINDINGS FROM THE TASMANIAN SURVEY
SOCIALIZATION WITHIN THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY**

Introduction:-

This first section will concentrate on the aspects pertaining to the socialization effects of the school on the groups of women surveyed. The main categories to be discussed include *Significant Others (Teachers)* and the *Academic Achievements of Parents and Siblings*. It was only in the Community aspects of Leadership Involvement (Some) and Participation in communities activities that statistically significant differences between the groups were discovered. Other categories to be discussed in the School Socialization section include *Personality Traits* of the respondents, the *Timing of Career* decisions and the *Intention* to become teachers.

Findings

Initially it was not surprising to discover in light of the Literature Review that the Principals and Teachers were very similar with a high percentage of both groups naming Teachers as being predominant in the list of *Significant Others* in their lives - twenty six (87%) for the Principal Group and fourteen (70%) for the Teachers which was not a significant category. When it was shown that the motivation towards the teaching profession had been very strong, it became obvious that much of inspiration to follow this career pathway had come from former teachers themselves and the respondents' enjoyment of schooling.

The participants' responses were categorized into two clusters. The Principals indicated the work Teachers had performed for these females beyond the prescribed transmission of skills and knowledge. This included the encouragement of students, the building of 'self-esteem', the provision of opportunities and influence plus "the extra tutoring and coaching they were willing to arrange" (Wood, 1997, 8). To these accolades, the Principal respondents also noted their appreciation for the advice and directions given by their teachers, the professional feedback, the value teachers had placed on children's gifts and the way in which they had recognised these attributes.

Teachers who were clever or assertive or who had spent time in discussing career and encouraging

participants, particularly Principals, to enter into tertiary training were good role models in the school situation. Subjects were not the key issue here but more the attitude and influence these teachers had had on education and career development. Where many family members and friends had all been teachers, the role model had definitely extended into the participant's life, although freedom of choice had also been permissible. "My Aunt taught me in Grade 5 - she really challenged me in all ways," confided one of the Principals whilst one of the Teachers admitted that her whole early environment was one full of teachers - "(My father) was a teacher. Mum was a teacher. Nan was a teacher. Our friends were teachers. Our holidays revolved around school terms. It was all I knew. But I was not pushed into teaching." This corresponds with Maclean's finding (1987) where large proportions of teachers in his survey had relatives who were teachers, so this was not a complete surprise (Maclean, 1987, 242). Following other women's options was the only career role model mentioned by the women, so teaching had been the only career model known, while for others it was natural to follow into the traditional roles of teaching or nursing. Two of the respondents in the Principal group mentioned that they hoped their present roles would be models for other women and that more were now moving into higher administrative positions within the education sector.

Further analysis about significant teachers demonstrated that Secondary teachers were more important for the Principals' group with approximate eleven (37%) compared to five (25%) for the Teachers. Primary Teachers were almost equal in importance for the two groups with results of nine (30%) and five (25%) respectively. When teachers were referred to in general terms, there was only an 8% difference, this time in favour of the Teacher group - eight (35%) for the Teachers and seven (23%) for the Principals. The range of subjects which were taught by significant teachers were mostly from the Humanities range (Appendix 4) which matches the research findings as to the favourite subject choices by the respondents as described in the literature review. This was expected given the experience that the writer of this thesis has had in the teaching service. Mathematics and Science teachers have always been in short supply with the majority of teachers being involved in the Humanities or the Creative Arts. The similarity between the two survey groups became evident when the Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test was applied. The result was 0.5 which is an incredibly close result and indicates the similarity of the two groups when subject choices were considered.

All the additional comments about schools made by the women were very similar and were grouped into four categories of achieving success, loving learning, having a social life with the peer group or having a secure environment. However, there were some qualifying statements given to this affirmation regarding schools, such as having only enjoyed schooling “after Grade 3” or not “liking Grade 4.” Another mentioned special subjects such as “English, Maths, Science and Foreign Languages”, while another isolated “schooling and sport”. Two others had noted that schooling had not alleviated their being “socially lonely” or “introverted” until their middle Secondary years. Most of the women in Murphy's study (1991) were recorded as enjoying school, wanting to achieve and being high achievers.

The second cluster of comments included all the personal characteristics of teachers such as enjoying teaching, providing subtle role models, “their demeanour and personality and their organised and caring nature.” (Wood, 1997, 8) They were also admired for their knowledge levels, their cleverness, their confidence and capability, their assertiveness and general image and very importantly for being progressive educationalists.

The overall culture and general environment of a school formed the thinking behind another category. As a part of this culture some schools “emphasised every student achieving their potential” One respondent from the Principal group commented that “We were considered to be academic students and therefore expected to achieve.” For two women, one from each group, school was their whole life “providing social interaction” whilst for one of the Teacher group, school provided “a great deal of security from extenuating family circumstances.”

The highest family levels of *Academic Achievement* between the groups produced no significant results but some interesting variations were discovered. Both the brothers and sisters of the Principal group scored higher when percentages in educational experiences were compared. The number of brothers in the category of *Higher Education* was thirteen (43%) for the Principal group and six (30%) for the Teachers'. The sisters of the Principals had different experiences in the area of *Secondary Education*. There were four (13%) from the Principals' and none from the Teachers' group. When Tertiary Education was investigated, the Fathers from both groups were very even with seven (23%) for the Principals with

a slightly higher result for the Teachers with five (25%). However the Mothers were slightly higher for the Principals' group in this category with two (7%), compared to none in the Teachers' group. The Teachers recorded a higher result for *Mothers* and *Para-Professional Training* with figures of six (30%) for the Teachers and seven (23%) for the Principals. These figures from the Mothers' points of view may have been caused by the lack of opportunities available for these women during the educational part of their lives. They may have had a positive effect on the educational aspirations of their daughters from the perspective of the mothers wanting more for their daughters or by being role models who had desired more in their lives.

“Significant others” in the family situation were parents in general and brothers in particular for the Principal group. Mothers as a single group over the two combined surveys of 50 respondents only received a result of five (10%) compared with eight (16%) for fathers

e) Which personality traits suitable for leadership aspirations were fostered within the family, school and community?

Other information which was provided by the respondents included descriptions of their personal characteristics, attitudes to gender barriers, teachers and schools in general and their own decisions regarding careers in teaching.

The first group of Principals spoke about their confidence, their definite self direction, their personal strength and their strong goals. They never doubted their ability to be successful with their University studies while the second group of Teachers had had similar personal characteristics and felt that failure only lay within the individual. They also had a strong self image “I've always had a good image of myself. I always expected to succeed in whatever career I chose ” explained one Teacher. They could make their own decisions and choices, knew their own minds and were confident enough to feel that the world was ‘their oyster’. Both groups of women demonstrated very similar motivation levels, with this similarity in characteristics being linked with their later career choice - teaching. However this motivation did not translate into leadership aspirations for the Teachers group as much as did for the Principals' group.

The Principals (9) and a small number of the Teachers' group (3) had very definite views regarding any gender barrier to their chosen pathways. These barriers were to be challenged and the women were not to be swayed in their endeavours. They recognized any parent bias regarding gender specific expectations and felt that being female was not a factor in career choice. One just had to be capable of the work involved, rather than be a woman who was capable. Girls should have no restrictions placed on them regarding activities and any impediment placed on them by society had to be managed, rather than being reacted against. These women noted that females resigned from work to raise families and questioned these practices which were compulsory in many work situations at this time, including teaching.

Timing of Career involving tertiary training was investigated with the aim of determining the educational stage of respondents. Both groups were identified as not making these decisions on a significant basis until entering Secondary School with Teachers scoring higher with fourteen (70%) compared to seventeen (57%) for the Principals. Both surveys also identified a small number which had made these decisions in Primary Schools - 17% (five) for the Principals and 10% (two) for Teachers. One Teacher respondent had chosen her career options at "aged 7". Most respondents had made decisions to become teachers before the end of Grade 10 with very few in Matriculation - only two in each group of respondents. The Principal group had been more explicit with actual grades, the lowest being Grade 7. The earliest age mentioned prior to schooling was "three years old".

When respondents were questioned about their *Intentions* as to their first choice - to become teachers as part of their career choices or not, the affirmative responses for both groups were very similar with sixteen (53%) of Principals and eleven (55%) Teachers. This similarity was also noted in the negative response with thirteen (43%) Principals and nine (45%) Teachers.

Socialization and the Community

g) What influences did early experience in leadership have on later career aspirations?

In this section there were two findings of significance within the *Influence of the Community*. The first was the aspect of *Leadership* while the second involved the women's participation in *Community*

Activities. (Appendix 5). Other categories for analysis include the types of *Communities* where the women were reared, the *Pathways* (financial) they took to achieve their career goals, *Conflict*, *Discrimination* and *Differences*.

The category of *Leadership* was analysed in two ways, *Yes* and *Some*. When responses for the *Yes* response were compared, the ensuing result showed that the Teacher group had been much more frequent in their replies with seven (35%) being positive about this issue, compared to ten (33%) for the Principals. It had been expected that the “leaders” (Principals) would have embraced this aspect of their lives with much more intensity, given that the background studies comment on such characteristics such as the drive to achieve and the enjoyment of competition (Hennig and Jardim, 1979, 3). Perhaps the explanation is encompassed in the following comment from one Principal who remarked, “(I) spent a great deal of leisure time making/creating my own games and fun.” The Principal group had alluded to being more solitary in nature, preferring their own company and activities. However when *Some* leadership involvement was examined in both groups a completely different picture emerged. The Principals were represented by twenty five (83%) and the Teachers by nine (45%). The result was very statistically significant between the 2% and 1% level.

Another significant result occurred when *Involvement* in group activities within the community was examined. The Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test was applied to the list of activities, social and sporting, undertaken by the respondents. The result was 1.76 which corresponds to a statistical significance level of 8%, showing the Principals were much more involved than the Teachers in these activities. To achieve this result a Miscellaneous category had to be formed to form totals of five or more for each activity group. (See Appendix 5).

Other aspects which were considered for any differences between the two survey groups concerned the types of *Communities* in which the women were reared, the *Pathways* taken by the women to gain their qualifications and the presence of *Conflict* and *Discrimination* in their lives.

More than half of both groups of respondents had lived in a suburban environment. For the Principals this was nine (31%) and eight (40%) for the Teachers. The figures for the category of the *Urban*

Environment were similar with the Teachers leading with seven (35%) and with nine (31%) for the Principals. Both groups only had one respondent each who had grown up in an overseas environment, representing one (5%) for the Teachers and one (3%) for the Principals. More similarities existed for the two groups when their *Pathways* to gaining a teacher training were compared. Both had benefited greatly from having an Education Department Studentship with twenty-three (73%) for the Principals and nine (45%) for the Teachers. Other scholarships accounted for six (20%) for the Principals and three (5%) for the Teachers. Part-time work was also listed as a pathway to gaining their teacher training with six (20%) for the Principals and two (10%) for the Teachers.

h) What influences did conflict situations and discrimination within the family, school and community have on career motivation?

Having no *Conflict* in the home situation was also a similar experience for these two groups. More than half of the Principals sixteen (53%) and eleven (55%) responded positively to this category. Their lack of conflict would have provided a more stable environment for them, relieving some of the burdens of the other aspects, already covered, in this study, such as a lack of power because of gender restraints or the caring for parents and/or siblings.

When *Discrimination* was considered the results were twenty-two (73.3%) for the Principals and eleven (55%) for the Teachers. The result for the Teachers may have been lower because only three of this group had wanted promotion and were happy to be classroom teachers. The difference between them using the Chi-Squared Test was not significant but again the narratives are useful in providing more light on this subject. For two of the women, gaining power in a Principal's role was often fraught with dilemmas because of the strong domination of males in this area. One wrote, "The Principal's Association was 'a Boy's Club' ...and it was quite intimidating." In the schools men with less ability and communication skills "were in these positions of power and it was the skills, hard work and dedication of the women working...who were really doing the backbone of the work."

This aspect of Discrimination had manifested itself in many ways and it had not always been linked to promotion situations but there was the significant factor that men were favoured for promotions.

However it was not an expectation for women, socially or educationally at the time of these women's careers, to aspire to promotions, especially if they were married and had children. In the early days of teaching there had not been equal pay and no maternity leave, so many women lost both in a monetary sense and in service time.

i) In which ways did women have to act “differently” to other females to achieve success?

From all the findings presented it could be argued that the Principals were women who acted differently from the Teachers in only a few categories already outlined. Their aspirations for a career and their desire to become teachers were very similar. There was some evidence that Principals were more solitary, enjoying a more isolated, personal lifestyle which provided them with a sense of autonomy away from group domination and detrimental persuasive influences, but when all the statistical and narrative evidence was taken into account, there were many similarities between the two groups of women.

Summary

Throughout all the discussion and reporting of the findings and results from this study, it had become very evident that the Principals had responded more frequently and fully to questions about life in general and to career questions than Teachers but the content of their responses had been similar. There were very few categories where the Teachers had made more frequent responses than the Principals, but the Principals proved to be different to the Teachers only in the respect of their self expectations, their adoption of leadership positions and their moderate involvement with community activities. However the lives of the Principals appear qualitatively to have been more stable, with less tangible burdens or traumas, for example disabled siblings, or extenuating circumstances such as having to study for a career, later in life, or to rely on many means of financial support for this chosen career pathways. The Principal group also appeared to have wanted both teaching as a career in the classroom sense and teaching also as a pathway to promotional opportunities, and in some ways the findings suggest their ability to make the most of those opportunities, when they arose.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Following the extensive analysis of all the relevant categories, a profile of characteristics for a typical Principal as a leader in Tasmania Education at this time has begun to emerge. It is important to note the time span for this study because, with gender equity, social changes and varying attitudes from women regarding marriage, child bearing and employment, more female teachers may be available for promotable positions and career opportunities in the future. As well as being able to identify the typical Principal, it is also possible to identify the characteristics of the typical Teacher from this era. Clusters of characteristics have been linked in the analysis to the women's family life, schooling, community experiences and personal qualities. Following this, specific categories have been examined to provide further insight into the forces impacting on the women in this study.

From the family analysis it is apparent that the typical Principal would have been in families with the presence of brothers and sisters and may have been a first born child. She could have been an only child or one of twins but these characteristics would not have been essential. She either accepted her birth order position or enjoyed her family situation. She was given responsibility, recognized that she lacked power in a male dominated world and was conscious of the gender expectations placed on women. She could have had one of two reactions from her father - either support or opposition. Generally parents were seen in a very positive light because of the high expectations placed on her, the level of support and encouragement that she had been given and the value which had been placed on her having an education. Conflict was not a major aspect of family life and there was no divorce. This woman was given freedom to choose her socialization processes and her career pathways. Fathers and brothers received greater recognition in the immediate family as 'significant others', possibly because the women envied the male superiority and associated status, while in the extended family Grandmothers and Aunts were the most influential. This Principal saw women not as the most 'significant others' but more as role models to emulate when qualities such as personal strength were needed. From this "snapshot" it can be ascertained that this woman had a very positive, stable, almost halcyon family life in her early years.

From her school experiences more layers can be added to her "appearance". The Principal would have

enjoyed school greatly, attended a State School and had Teachers as her most preferred 'significant other'. She would have always intended to become a Teacher and would have decided in Secondary School to do this. Her sister would have received the highest level of education in the family compared to other siblings while her Father was the parent with the highest level of education. She had high self expectations and aspired to gain a career in later life.

In the Community this Leader would have lived in an urban or suburban environment and would have been assisted with her career pathway by an Education Department Studentship Scheme. Parental financial support and part-time work would have also assisted her financially. She would have been involved in a moderate way with community activities, gaining rehearsals for leadership roles in these activities.

When the "picture" of the typical Teacher is "drawn", a similar "image" emerges. She too came from a family with brothers and sisters and could have been first born or an only child, but not one of a twin. She accepted her birth position with little additional information regarding whether she enjoyed it or gained pleasure from it as the Principal had indicated. High expectations were placed on her but she was not conscious of having a great amount of responsibility given to her except when family sickness or disability required this aspect. The experiences of the Mother appear to have influenced her in varying ways. She received a great deal of support and encouragement similar to the Principal and was not conscious of conflict in the home, but her family situation was not as stable as the Principals' because at times there was rearing perhaps by a single parent or difficulties with parental/sibling disability or sickness. The value of education was not as emphasised and the freedom to choose her career was not as obvious in her comments. She was aware of the gender expectations being placed on her but was not as aware of the lack of power in her life. Mothers and Aunts were the 'significant others'. There were some differences in the Teachers' characteristics but in many aspects she reacted to similar conditions and influences in the family as the Principal.

In the School environment the Teacher also enjoyed her education, had Teachers as her preferred 'significant others' but had more choice with the type of school attended - State or Private. She also

intended to become a Teacher and she also made this choice in Secondary School. She had had aspirations for a career and had some self expectation. Her sisters had the highest levels of education from her siblings and her Father also had the highest level when parents were compared

In the Community the Teacher had lived in a suburban or urban environment. She may have taken up an Education Department Studentship but she would have had many other methods of funding her pathway to her career e.g. Single Parent's Pension

There were many similarities between the two types of women but the Teachers appear to have a slightly more varied set of characteristics. The Principal's profile was more consistent and homogeneous, because the Teacher's early life appears to have been fraught with greater personal difficulties than the Principals.

The major contribution of this study was to discover that despite many similarities, the Principals were the group which recognized much more strongly than the Teachers that they had strong *self expectations* in their early lives. It is interesting to now connect this characteristic with others to ascertain the links between the traits of the Principals, so that a multi-dimensional picture is created. Many of the women who expressed this sentiment had *brothers* in their families and had experienced differential treatment but had been determined to realize their *aspirations*. Several had mentioned the *negative attitudes of the father*. Where these had been linked with their high *self expectations*, the ensuing frustration was likely to be expressed in negative terms but in the case of the Principals this was not so. There were many references to their being made more determined to succeed in life and to surmount any family or social barriers with an understanding and *awareness of gender expectations*.

From the positive comments from the Principals' group, *freedom of choice in socialization processes* and in the *choice of careers* was deemed to be very important. These two aspects could also be linked to the women's tendency towards having high *self expectations*. With these freedoms and the determination mentioned before, it would have been easier for them to visualize future success and to have decided early in life to aim for a full development of their capabilities. Additionally *self expectations* would have been augmented by the emphasis on the *value of education* being placed on the women by their parents as well as the *high expectations* expressed by family members and educators. The women's *aspirations* would

have been able to develop and with parental *physical* and *emotional support* plus the *encouragement* that these women had received, there would have been an ideal environment created to allow any career motivation and aspirations to develop.

The notion of being *first born* and having more of a potential to become a Principal was prevalent in the background literature. It was not significant in this study but there is a link possibly with the category of *responsibility*. There was only one Principal respondent who isolated this latter aspect who was not *first born*. This special position in the family would have allowed these women to develop a more mature approach to life with their first interactions being with adults and with their rehearsal of *leadership* roles in being care-givers or taking initiative in the absence of parents.

When the position of *brothers* was examined the women spoke of enjoying the caring of younger brothers and those without them had wished for *siblings* of either kind, After *significant others (parents)*, *brothers* were the next most significant group within the family. (Twenty-three of the Principals and seventeen of the Teachers had had brothers) The women have obviously identified with the power that these siblings attracted simply by being male and they in fact saw them as *significant others* through a hedonistic desire to have a similar power base. This desire for power and status could also have been associated with their singling out the role of the *father* as being the most *significant parent*. Was this because the fathers' need for male children had been satisfied so they consequently spent more time on the parenting role regardless of their children's gender? In the literature review it was stated that a lack of brothers was beneficial to women as their parents then would treat them as having the special place usually accorded to male children and as a result these women would gain high self esteem. This was not the case for six (20%) of the Principals who responded positively to having brothers within this study More research needs to be addressed to sibling relationships and to the father's reactions to female children as this study isolated some variances. Fathers' contributions to children correlate well with their well being, so there have been parallels before in the literature with this aspect. However the *father* was also the main parent to undergo *criticism*, not noted in other studies.

Family size was an important consideration in other studies and the 3.0 child family appeared to be the

norm. There were several families a little larger in this study but there were many of three or less children. For the Principals the average family size was 3.4 children and for the Teachers 3.7 children just slightly higher than in other studies. The largest family for the Principals was six children (4 families) and for the Teachers seven children (one family). Family size could be linked with *encouragement and support* because in smaller families there would be more time to provide these additional services. *Parental educational levels* were applicable in other studies but for these women, both Principals and Teachers only the *fathers' highest level of education* could have been a link for the women's *aspirations* as this group had had much more exposure to University training than the mothers. (This was more a reflection on the lack of opportunities available in Tasmania at the time these parents would have been educated, rather than an indictment of their lack of aspirations in this field.)

From the analysis of the school experiences of the Principals there was an obvious link between *significant teachers* and liking their *schooling*. There was not as strong a link with the *timing of career choice* and *Primary education* as there was with *Secondary* education but this is understandable considering the age of children when at the Primary School level. Within the community aspects there was definite link between the *Principals* taking part in a wide range of *activities* and in so doing rehearsing later leadership roles. Being mainly from an *urban or suburban environment* could also link with their *aspiration* levels because facilities would have been more available and they would have been able to foresee the possibility of achieving their goals.

Teachers also had links between *high expectations* and *aspirations* and at times with *self aspirations*. It was not as important for them to prove anything to themselves as it appeared to be for the Principals. There are more links between the *teachers' mothers* and *emotional* and *physical support* than there were with the Principal group. The only links with the *first born teachers* and family life was the connection with the *acceptance of birth order*. Their families had been less stable and they had had more difficulties so this could have accounted for their lack of response to their family situation although *conflict* was not always prevalent in these women's lives. There were some links between *aspirations* and the amount of *emotional* and *physical support* and this was important for their later career paths to become Teachers.

In the school environment the Teachers were very connected to their *school* and identified, as did the Principals, Teachers as the main type of *significant others*. The next group of significant people were women - in the form of *mothers, grandmothers and aunts*. They therefore may have been more conditioned to follow a more “feminine” lifestyle rather than seeking a more powerful masculine one. It was interesting that these women were more intensely involved with *activities* within the community, but had not sought *leadership roles* as much then or later in their career. Others factors such as raising families of their own, preferring the teaching role and/or adopting teaching later in life may have curtailed their leadership aspirations.

The women in this study generally concurred with the others in the former research projects with their desire for achievement and the concept that career - in either Teaching or Administration - was not terminal but a part of life. They also had the largest number of Principals at Band 3 Level 3 (or Primary Principal Level), eight (27%) which was true of other studies e.g. Shakeshaft (1987). However they were very far behind when the amount of Administration courses were considered. Only four (13%) of the Principals in this study had completed these types of studies compared to five (25%) of the Teachers. The Teachers response to these courses was interesting given their lack of interest in the leadership positions. Women in Tasmania still dominate in non-leadership roles as is the case in other countries. *Mentoring* of women to assist them was hardly mentioned at all in this study. Only four of the Principals (13%) mentioned the assistance of others in achieving their goals. Perhaps that provides a recommendation for educational administrators to include mentoring programmes within their school systems in order to address this situation in the future.

Many of the other findings were similar to former research on family aspects. This study's surveys revealed that over half (52%) of the women in these surveys were first born as reported by Hennig and Jardim (1979), Cass et al. (1983), Shakeshaft (1987) and Murphy (1991). However there were many brothers evident in the Tasmanian women's families. These were accepted by some of the women, but rivalry did exist because of the differential treatment meted out to females and males at the time these women were young. Having no brothers was considered to be better in the Henning and Jardim (1979) study while Cass et al's group felt brothers were important. Mention was made by Noller and Fitzpatrick

(1993) regarding the assistance sisters give each other. This was not a feature of this study but both groups of sisters did prove to have the highest levels of education amongst siblings in the women's families. Hennig and Jardim (1979) plus Murphy (1991) mentioned the positive contributions of parents also evident in this study. Fathers were the significant other parent for the Hennig and Jardim respondents and this was similar for the Tasmanian Principals. Mothers were influential for Cass et al.'s (1983) and Murphy's (1991) participants and also for the Teachers. Gross and Trask (1976) indicated that parents were not prepared to pay for girls' education but this was not a predominant complaint in this study, although parents' inability to pay for education was a factor at times. Happy childhoods as mentioned by Hennig and Jardim (1979) were not specifically referred to by the Principals or the Teachers, but the Principals gave the overall impression of stable families. Both Tasmanian groups indicated some freedom of socialization practices and this was accompanied with a large range of activities, both masculine and feminine, as also noted by Hennig and Jardim (1979).

Two of the previous studies, Hennig and Jardim (1979) and Cass et al. (1983) had respondents from socially advantaged families, with parents with a high degree of education. This was not as evident in these Tasmanian surveys but parents had assisted the Principals more financially than the Teachers, possibly with some sacrifice having been made by the parents as inferred by some of the responses. Fathers of both Tasmanian groups had the best education levels but the mothers were more limited in this aspect. Cass et al.'s (1983) women had had a different perspective towards careers. These were for academic progress and social mobility and not just for insurance against adversity or as a preparation for marriage. The women in these surveys had been more interested in gaining careers for status and security in the first instance and also for academic development. Leadership opportunities became important for the Principals as their careers had developed.

School and other education factors in former studies also produced similarities and differences when compared to this study. Murphy's group (1991) had excelled in academics and Hennig and Jardim's (1979) participants had been high achievers. There was some evidence of these descriptions in the Tasmanian surveys and the women had mentioned often that they had had the ability to perform well academically, had chosen those subjects which had been challenging and had enjoyed schooling. They

had mostly chosen Humanities type subjects and had been different from Hennig and Jardim's group (1979) which had specifically chosen a professional training (Accountancy) and who had been deliberate in their aim to choose a non-feminine career (at that time). Gross and Trask (1976) and Shakeshaft (1987) lamented the lack of administration courses their women had undertaken and the lateness of their entry into higher degrees studies. Few women in the Tasmanian groups had had access to these courses. The administration courses had only become available to teachers in the early 1980's. Women in Shakeshaft's (1987) study had had women who were devoted to their careers and this was evident with the Principals and Teachers who had both set out to become "good teachers". Cass et al.'s group (1983) had become pioneers in male dominated positions (in Universities) and this could be said to be true for the Tasmanian Principal group which still forms the minority group within the State Education system of Principals. High expectation had been placed on the women in Hennig and Jardim's study (1979) and these women had wanted rewards from their school efforts. These high expectations were also very evident in this study. Murphy's (1991) group also made very positive comments about schools and the value placed on education, both factors matching the findings about the Principals and Teachers.

Within the community Murphy's group (1991) had found that leadership positions had been better than joining clubs which had contrasted with Hennig and Jardim's group who had enjoyed these. Shakeshaft's (1987) research found that their women chose community activities while Murphy's (1991) group preferred cultural activities and were not interested in traditional feminine roles (e.g. playing with dolls). The Tasmanian women had enjoyed all these activities but "dolls" had not always been popular.

The personal qualities of the women in the former studies concurred with those in this study with such qualities as autonomy, independence, positive attitudes, risk taking, and competitiveness.

Discrimination had been prevalent for both the Principals and the Teachers but had been less significant for the latter group because they had not wanted promotion to the same extent, having concurred with Maclean's finding (1987) that teaching is seen as a career in itself and administration as another form of a career. None of these respondents mentioned divorce but there were a few instances of mothers being unhappily married, and for the Teachers, parents being separated or burdened because of sickness, work or travel or families being abandoned by a father.

The relevance of the key questions posed in the Methodology section now needs to be addressed. Both the Principals and Teachers had very positive experiences in the family situation. These included the support (physical and emotional) and encouragement of parents with their educational aspirations, the provision of responsible roles and for some the freedom to choose their socialization and career processes. For the Principals financial assistance from their parents assisted their “pathway” to a teaching career in the first instance. Being first born had not been as relevant as was first expected, but being in this position in the family had provided “rehearsals” for later leadership positions, in care-giver roles. Teachers were more important than family members as “significant others”, but the aspect of high and self expectations and the value of education were all present in these women's families. Strong personality traits (risk taking) were fostered within the women in this study. Freedom of choice was very significant also, whilst the Teachers embraced leadership activities with greater enthusiasm than the Principals who at times were more solitary. Conflict did not play a large part in the women's lives but discrimination had occurred. To achieve success the Principals had had to have clear goals for their future and a desire to achieve more than was traditionally available in women's careers.

Final Analysis

This study had produced three statistically significant findings regarding the special characteristics of women in educational leadership, as compared with women in classroom-teacher positions. Additionally much experiential, narrative evidence had been provided to demonstrate the similarities and differences between the two groups of women. Both had set out to become teachers and had had similar influences within their early years. The small group which has achieved leadership status had demonstrated just one example of what constitutes gaining a successful career. However, the teachers must also be considered as having succeeded in gaining a professional career (in teaching) and be applauded for this achievement. For the age groups studied in this thesis, this was considerably more difficult than it is for women today. Many of these teachers could have tried to gain leadership if they had aspired to it but most had made a conscious decision to remain at the classroom level. Both the Principals and Teachers had reached a formally recognized competent level in teaching. This competence level could have been used by the Teachers to aim for another “career” as a Principal but for the majority this had not been their desired

option. Tasmanian women in the survey had disclosed some similar experiences and some different experiences to other groups of women in previous studies and their responses had highlighted the patriarchal system in which the Principals and Teachers had been reared, but also their positive reactions to it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

*Women in Educational Leadership
*Questionnaire
*Respondent

*Q.1 Did you/do you have any brothers or sisters?

#Brother 1
#Sister 1

*Q.2 What birth order were you in the family?
#Birth Order 1st

*Q.2a How did you react to this?

*Q.3 Which parent had the most influence on your career or career
ambitions?
#Influence

*Q.3a In which ways did this parent/both parents influence you?

*Q.3b Did either or both parents actually assist your educational and/or
career goals?

*Q.4a Were you raised by one or both parents?
#

*Q.4b Were there periods of separation from either of your parents at any
time?
#

*Q.4c Did any of your family members have lengthy periods of sickness or
disability?
#

*Q.5 What were the highest levels of education and/or training achieved by
your parents
#Mother
#Father
#Brother
#Sister

*Q.6 What gender expectations did your parents have for you in your early
years?

*Q.6a When did you become aware of this?

*Q.6b How did these expectations compare to your own?

*Q.6c Did any of these expectations create any conflict situations for you
in your early years?

*Q.6d How did these parental expectations influence your image of yourself
and your career goals?

*Q.7 In what type of school(s) were you educated during your Primary years?
#

*Q.7a Did you enjoy your early schooling?

*Q.7b Were there any teachers who influenced you with your career goals?

*Q.7c What influence did peer group members have on your goals?

*Q.7d When did you decide to undertake Tertiary training?

*Q.8 Why did you aspire to Tertiary training?

*Q.8a What course of action did you implement to achieve entry to this type of training?

*Q.8b Which subjects did you take?

*Q.8c What financial assistance did you have to achieve this type of training and from whom?

*Q.8d Did you always intend to work in education? If yes, why?

*Q.9 Did you live in an urban, suburban, rural or isolated area?
#

*Q.9a What type of neighbourhood or community was it?

*Q.9b How many educational, sporting or cultural facilities were provided within this community?

*Q.10 What opportunities for community involvement existed in your local area?

*Q.10a Which activities did you undertake?

*Q.10b How much involvement did you have with them?

*Q.10c How much leadership experience did these activities provide for you?

*Q.11 Who were the significant others who influenced you in your early years?

*Q.12a What were your career goals when you were young?

*Q.12b What are they now?

*Q.12c To what extent have you achieved your goals at this time?

*Q.13 Did you notice any discrimination during your early life and in your later career?
#

*Q.14 If there was discrimination, how did you respond?

RSD 367
Mooreville Road
BURNIE TAS 7320
4th May, 1995

Dear

Survey of women in leadership positions in education

I should be very grateful if you would help me by completing the enclosed questionnaire as part of a survey of women in leadership positions in education which I am conducting for my Ph.D. thesis. (Supervisor Assoc. Prof. Joan Abbott-Chapman, Education Department (Hobart) University of Tasmania).

Your name was selected at random from a list of women Principals and AST3 teachers supplied by the Department of Education and the Arts. Ethical clearance has been gained from the University and the Department of Education and the Arts has given permission and support.

The aim of the study is to find out what early life experiences in the family, the community and at school help to shape the career motivations and leadership potential of women who subsequently go out to occupy positions of seniority and responsibility in education. I hope that some of the practical outcomes might influence the development of encouraging and improving learning environments for girls.

The questionnaire includes both open-ended and closed questions but should not take more than 30 minutes to complete. I realise that you are a very busy person, but I hope you will find time to take part in the survey. Your time and trouble are very much appreciated.

Obviously I shall treat any information you give me in the strictest confidence. No names will be used in the analysis and presentation, nor anything which could positively identify a respondent. Most analysis will be in the form of statistics but where qualitative materials are used these will be totally anonymous. The Questionnaires will be destroyed once my analysis is completed. I would also like to interview a small sample of respondents who are willing to expand on their replies. If you would be willing to take part in a confidential interview will you please indicate at the end of the form and give me a contact address and telephone number.

I should appreciate your completing the Questionnaire as soon as possible and in no case later than June 16th. Please also complete and return the consent form below, which is required by the University Ethics Committee, and return it with your Questionnaire. If you have any queries at all, please ring me on (004) 35 7441.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs) Derris Wood

Consent to participate in the Survey of ‘Women in Educational Leadership’

I have read the information about the project enclosed, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this investigation and I understand that I may withdraw at any time without prejudice.

I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.

Signature of participant:

Date:

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer as fully as you can and write answers where applicable. Your privacy will be assured and all information will be treated in the strictest confidence. If space provided is insufficient, please add extra pages. Please circle answer provided where applicable.

1. Did you/do you have any brothers or sisters?

Brothers Yes/No
Number?

Sisters Yes/No
Number?

2. What birth order were you in the family?

a. How did you react to this?

3. Which parent had the most influence on your career or career ambitions?

Mother or Father or Both

a) In which ways did this parent/both parents influence you?

- b. Did either or both parents actually assist your educational and/or career goals?

Yes

No

If “yes” in which ways?

4. a. Were you raised by one or both parents?

One

Both

If “one” please give details.

- b. Were there periods of separation from either of your parents at any time?

Yes

No

If “Yes” please give details.

(c) Did any of your family members have lengthy periods of sickness or disability?

Yes

No

If “yes”, did this affect you in any way?

5. What were the highest levels of education and/or training achieved by your parents.

School	Parents	No. of Years
a) Primary Schooling	Mother	.....
	Father	.....
b) Secondary or Senior Secondary Schooling	Mother	.....
	Father	.....
c) Commercial/Technical or Trade Training	Mother	.....
	Father	.....
d) Professional/Para Professional Training	Mother	.....
	Father	.....
e) Higher Education	Mother	.....
	Father	.....

f) What were the highest levels of education and/or training achieved by your sisters or brothers (if applicable).

<u>Schooling</u>	<u>Siblings</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>
Primary	Sisters	.....
	Brothers	.....
Secondary or Senior Secondary	Sisters	.....
	Brothers	.....
Commercial/Technical or Trade Training	Sisters	.....
	Brothers	.....
Professional/Para Professional Training	Sisters	.....
	Brothers	.....
Higher Education	Sisters	.....
	Brothers	.....

Add any extra information here.

6. What gender expectations did your parents have for you in your early years? (e.g Were you expected to behave in traditionally feminine or masculine roles?)

a) When did you become aware of this?

b) How did these expectations compare to your own?

c) Did any of these expectations create any conflict situations for you in your early years?

d) How did these parental expectations influence your image of yourself and your career goals?

7. In what type of school(s) were you educated during your Primary years?

a) Did you enjoy your early schooling?

b) Were there any teachers who influenced you with your career goals.

c) What influence did peer group members have on your goals?

d) When did you decide to undertake Tertiary training?

8. Why did you aspire to Tertiary training?

a) What course of action did you implement to achieve entry to this type of training?

b) Which subjects did you take?

c) What financial assistance did you have to achieve this type of training and from whom? (e.g. parents, scholarships, awards etc.)

d) Did you always intend to work in education? If yes, why?

9. Did you live in an urban, suburban, rural or isolated area?

Urban
Suburban
Rural
Isolated

a) What type of neighbourhood or community was it?

--

b) How many educational, sporting or cultural facilities were provided within this community?

10. What opportunities for community involvement existed in your local area?

a) Which activities did you undertake?

b) How much involvement did you have with them?

c) How much leadership experience did these activities provide for you?

11. Who were the significant others who influenced you in your early years?
(Consider teachers, relatives, siblings, friends, peer groups, community members.)

12. a) What were your career goals when you were young?

b) What are they now?

c) To what extent have you achieved your goals at this time?

13. Did you notice any discrimination during your early life and in your later career?

Yes

No

Not Sure

14. If there was discrimination, how did you respond?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX 2

CATEGORIES

FREE NODES (F)

1. RIVALRY
 1. Sister
2. ACCEPTANCE
 1. Pleasure
 2. Frustration
 3. Hatred
 4. Normal
3. RESPONSIBILITY
 1. Pleasure
 2. Frustration
 3. Hatred
 4. Normal
4. ENJOYED
 1. Position (Birth)
 2. School
5. TRUST
6. LESSER EXPECTATIONS
7. SIG. OF BEING TWIN
8. HIGHER EXPECTATIONS
9. NO REACTION
10. POWER
 1. Mother
 2. Respondent
 3. Father
 4. Lack of Power
11. SOCIALIZATIONS
 1. Father's Influence
 2. Mother's Influence
 3. Both
 4. Free Choice
12. SUPPORT
 1. Physical
 2. Emotional
 3. None
13. ENCOURAGEMENT

14. CONFLICT
 1. None
 2. Yes
 3. Other
15. VALUE EDUCATION
16. COURSES
17. FREEDOM
18. CONTROL
19. SELF EXPECTATION
20. PARENTAL SACRIFICE
21. REARING
 1. Both
 2. Mother
 3. Father
 4. Other
22. SEPARATION
 1. Sickness
 2. Holidays
 3. None
 4. Boarding
 5. No Sickness
23. CAREER
 1. Primary
 2. Secondary
 3. Young
 4. Present
 5. Extent
 6. Never
24. PATHWAYS
 1. Scholarship/Studentship
 2. Parents
 3. Both
 4. Work
25. INTENTION
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Before
 4. Now

26. OPPORTUNITIES

27. ACTIVITIES

1. Involvement
2. None
3. Some

28. LEADERSHIP

1. Yes
2. None
3. Some
4. Other

29. DISCRIMINATION

1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

30. REACTION

1. Positive
2. Negative

31. MOTHER

32. FATHER

33. DIFFERENCE

34. SUBJECTS

35. SICKNESS

1. Yes
2. No

36. COMMUNITIES

37. ASSISTANCE

1. Yes
2. No
3. Method

38. AWARENESS

39. MODELLING

40. ASPIRATIONS

41. ALIENATION

42. EXPECTATIONS

43. ATTITUDE

44. MENTORS

45. CAREER DRIFT

46. REACTION FIRST

BASE DATA

1. SIBLINGS

1. Brothers
2. Sisters
3. None

2. BIRTH ORDER

- 1st - 5th
6. Twins

3. PARENTS' EDUCATION

1. Mother
2. Father
1. Prim.
2. Sec.
3. Sen. Sec.
4. Higher
5. Para Prof.
6. Trade

4. TYPE OF SCHOOL

1. State
2. Private
3. Both

5. LIVED

1. Urban
2. Rural
3. Suburb
4. Isolated
5. Description
6. Facilities
7. Suburb

6. LEVEL

1-6

7. LOCATION

1. N.W.
2. N.E.
- E. N.
4. E.C.

5. W.C.
6. MID.
7. SOUTH
8. S. EAST
9. ISLANDS

8. SIBLINGS' EDUCATION

1. Prim.
2. Sec.
3. Sen. Sec.
4. Higher
5. Para Proof
6. Trade
7. Sister (As Above)

9. INFLUENCE

1. WHOSE
 1. Mother
 2. Father
 3. Both
 4. Neither
2. SIG. OTHERS
 1. Teachers
 2. Relatives
 3. Siblings
 4. Friends
 5. Comm. Members
 6. Mixture
 7. None
 8. All
 9. Peers

APPENDIX 3

Q.S.R. NUD.IST Power version, revision 4.0.
Licensee: D.Wood.

PROJECT: WIEL,

1:06 pm, Sept 6, 1998.

```
(1) /Basedata
(1 1) /Basedata/Siblings
(1 1 1) /Basedata/Siblings/Brothers
(1 1 1 1) /Basedata/Siblings/Brothers/None
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(1 3 2 3) /Basedata/ParentsEduc/Father/SenSecondary
(1 3 2 4) /Basedata/ParentsEduc/Father/Higher
(1 3 2 5) /Basedata/ParentsEduc/Father/ParaProf
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(1 5 3) /Basedata/Lived/Suburban
(1 5 4) /Basedata/Lived/Isolated
(1 5 5) /Basedata/Lived/! Description
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```



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(1 8 7 6) /Basedata/SiblingsEducation/Sisters/Trade
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(10 7 3) /Questions/School/PeerInfluence
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(10 8 3) /Questions/Aspiration?/FinancialAssistance
(10 8 4) /Questions/Aspiration?/Intention
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(10 9 1) /Questions/Community/Neighbourhood
(10 9 2) /Questions/Community/Facilities
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(10 12 2) /Questions/Career/CareerNow
(10 12 3) /Questions/Career/Extent
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(10 14) /Questions/DiscResponse
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(F 3 4) //Free Nodes/Responsibility/Normal
(F 4) //Free Nodes/Enjoyed
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(F 16) //Free Nodes/Courses
(F 17) //Free Nodes/Freedom
(F 18) //Free Nodes/Control
(F 19) //Free Nodes/Self Expectation
(F 20) //Free Nodes/Parental Sacrifice
(F 21) //Free Nodes/Rearing
(F 21 1) //Free Nodes/Rearing/Both
(F 21 2) //Free Nodes/Rearing/Mother
(F 21 3) //Free Nodes/Rearing/Father
(F 21 4) //Free Nodes/Rearing/Other
(F 22) //Free Nodes/Separation
(F 22 1) //Free Nodes/Separation/Sickness
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(F 22 4) //Free Nodes/Separation/Boarding
(F 22 5) //Free Nodes/Separation/No Sickness
(F 22 6) //Free Nodes/Separation/Other
(F 23) //Free Nodes/Career
(F 23 1) //Free Nodes/Career/Primary
(F 23 2) //Free Nodes/Career/Secondary
(F 23 3) //Free Nodes/Career/Young
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(F 23 5) //Free Nodes/Career/Extent
(F 23 6) //Free Nodes/Career/Never
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(F 24 2) //Free Nodes/Pathways/Parents
(F 24 3) //Free Nodes/Pathways/Both
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(F 24 5) //Free Nodes/Pathways/Other
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(F 25 2) //Free Nodes/Intention/No
(F 25 3) //Free Nodes/Intention/Before
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(F 27 3) //Free Nodes/Activities/Some
(F 27 6) //Free Nodes/Activities/Never
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(F 28 3) //Free Nodes/Leadership/Some
(F 28 4) //Free Nodes/Leadership/Other
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(F 29 1) //Free Nodes/Discrimination/Yes
(F 29 2) //Free Nodes/Discrimination/No
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(F 30) //Free Nodes/Reaction
(F 30 1) //Free Nodes/Reaction/Positive
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(F 30 2) //Free Nodes/Reaction/Negative
(F 31) //Free Nodes/Mother
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(F 35 2) //Free Nodes/Sickness/No
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(F 37) //Free Nodes/Assistance
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(F 37 2) //Free Nodes/Assistance/No
(F 37 3) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Method
(F 37 4) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Parents
(F 37 5) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Ed.Dept. Scholarship
(F 37 6) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Commonwealth Scholarship
(F 37 7) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Work
(F 37 8) //Free Nodes/Assistance/Other
(F 38) //Free Nodes/Awareness
(F 39) //Free Nodes/Modelling
(F 40) //Free Nodes/Aspirations
(F 41) //Free Nodes/Alienation
(F 42) //Free Nodes/Expectations
(F 43) //Free Nodes/Attitude
(F 44) //Free Nodes/Mentors
(F 45) //Free Nodes/Career Drift
(F 46) //Free Nodes/Reaction First
```

APPENDIX 4

Table 6	HUMANITIES		SCIENCE		TEACHER TRAINING		MANAGEMENT		CREATIVE					
	S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2				
English	14	13	Geography	1	2	Primary	3	1	Leadership and	Creative Arts	1	0		
Children's			Geology	1	5	Mathematics	7	0	Supervision	Art	3	1		
Literature	0	1	Maths	3	6	Early Childhood	1	1	Curriculum Issue	Music	3	1		
History	12	7	Biology	5	5	Education	5	1	Management	Dress and Design	1	0		
Child Develop.	1	1	Chemistry	1	1	Educational Studies	1	0	Administration	Speech and Drama	0	1		
and Behaviour			Physics	1	1	History of Education	0	1		Drama	0	1		
Arts	2	1	Botany	1	0	Infant Education	1	0		Handwriting	0	1		
Understanding			Science	2	1	Physical Education	1	0		Textiles	0	1		
Society	0	1	Physical Education	1	1	Diploma of Education	1	0						
Australian			Zoology	1	0	Principles and								
History	0	2	Human Development	0	1	Practice of Teaching	0	2						
British History	1	2	Health	0	1	Foundations of								
American History	1	1	Food	0	1	Education	0	1						
Ancient History	1	1	Home Economics	0	1	General Certificate								
Social Studies	0	1				of Education	0	1						
French	10	3				Librarianship	0	1						
LOTE	1	1												
Family Studies	1	1												
Social Psychology	0	1												
Psychology	7	1												
Philosophy	0	2												
Latin	1	0												
Home Economics	1	0												
German	2	0												
Language and														
Education	0	1												
Language and														
Literature	1	0												
Sociology	1	0												
Supporting Subjects	1	0												
Political Science	0	1												
Political Studies	3	0												
Economics	1	0												
Dress and Design	1	0												
TOTALS	63	42		17	26		20	9		4	5		8	6

APPENDIX 5

TABLE 5 ACTIVITIES

SPORTS		CULTURAL		RELIGIOUS		CLUBS		OTHER ACTIVITIES		MISCELLANEOUS (SOCIAL/SCHOOL)	
	1 2		1 2		1 2		1 2		1 2		1 2
Hockey	6 3	Theatre	2 1	Church	8 2	Guides	8 5	Bicycle Riding	1 0	Reading	1 0
Tennis	6 1	Dancing	2 1	Sunday School	5 1	Youth Groups	6 2	Bushwalking	1 0	Pottery	1 0
Netball	5 2	Concerts	0 2	Church Choirs	3 1	Brownies	3 3	Day Trips	1 0	Fêtes	1 0
Swimming	4 1	Library Visits	1 1	Sunday School		YMCA	1 0	Camps	1 1	Junior Councillor	0 1
Team Sport	2 2	Performances	1 0	Teaching	1 1	Young Communist		Calesthenics	0 1	Baby Sitting	1 1
Softball	1 1	Scottish Dancing	1 0			League	1 0	Own Games	1 0	Community Service	1 0
Basketball	1 0	Films	1 0			Friendship Societies	1 0	Competitions	1 0	Assisting Handicapped	
Athletics	1 0	Theatre Workshops	1 0			Young Farmers	1 0			Children	1 0
Golf	1 0	Piano	1 1			Children's Support				Child Care	
Volley Ball	1 0	Music Lessons	1 0			Groups	1 1			Organizer	0 1
Badminton	1 0	Ballet	1 1			Rural Youth	2 0			Family Activities	0 1
Skiing	1 0	Debating	1 0			Junior Jaycees	0 1				
Coaching	1 1	Museum Visits	0 1			Natural History					
Umpiring	0 1	Art Galleries	0 1			Club	0 1				
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TOTALS	31 12		13 9		17 5		24 13		6 2		6 4