

Chapter Two: The Leadership Archive

Of all the hazy and confounding areas in social psychology, leadership theory undoubtedly contends for top nomination. And, ironically, probably more has been written and less known about leadership than about any other topic in the behavioural sciences... we have invented an endless proliferation of terms to deal with it ... and still the concept is not sufficiently defined. As we survey the path leadership theory has taken we spot the wreckage of 'trait theory', the 'great man theory' ... The dialectic and reversals of emphasis in this area very nearly rival the tortuous twists and turns of child rearing practices ... (Bennis 1959 cited in Smyth 1994; p. 4).

In spite of prolonged and concerted efforts to advance universalisms regarding the nature of leadership, researchers struggle to uniformly clarify the phenomena's complexities. The fascination with 'leadership' has consumed the time of researchers, commands attention in texts across a variety of disciplines and provides the focus of heated debate. Bennis and Nanus (1985; cited in Owens, 1991) report that no less than 350 definitions of leadership exist in the literature. Within the last four decades (since Bennis' statement), the growing number of sites in which leadership has been investigated, the diversity of methodological approaches and outcomes continue to suggest that much is yet to be discovered. Uncertainties remain even for white, middle class men who have historically constituted the focus of inquiry. It is argued here that while leadership as a social phenomena has created considerable research interest, results, as suggested by Bennis, are negligible. Nevertheless, these approaches exert a powerful influence through the amount of space devoted to them in the research archive, in courses on administration, management and leadership and in institutional selection practices.

The initial purpose of this section is to provide a critical overview of the major empirical studies of leadership that have struggled to come to terms with providing an understanding of a socially derived construct which is 'complex, fluid and often ambiguous' (Foster, 1986; p.182). The latter part of this chapter

provides a review of studies centralising the experiences of women in general, of women of colour and finally of Maori women in particular, holding positions of responsibility in organisations.

Debate regarding leadership, for the greater part of this century, has progressed from theories based on the personal characteristics of men in identifiable positions of power or authority (trait theories), to behaviours displayed by those perceived to be leaders (situational theories) to more recently developed contingency theories that regard both traits and situation to be important. Such theories have more often than not ignored ethnic minorities, class groups (outside their own) and women, thereby excluding them from 'normalised' conceptions of leaders. Latterly, investigation into the political, ethical and moral dimensions of leadership, combined with gender and cultural analyses, are challenging earlier assumptions.

Leadership; A Critique of (His)story.

Initial scientific interest in leadership commenced outside of educational contexts and revolved around the assumption that leaders were born, not made. The primary emphasis was on distinguishing certain 'leadership traits' in the individual's personality or physical make-up (Watkins, 1994). The collection of empirical data commenced at the beginning of this century and continued to dominate research until the 1950's. Studies required the division of groups into two distinct categories: leaders and followers. According to Watkins (ibid) the search for correlations between physical characteristics¹, personality traits and personal behaviour constituted the focal point of inquiry. Leadership observed in military, political and economic spheres provided the

¹ Although not suggested by Watson, eugenics was popular as a means of differentiating between men and women and one ethnic group from another; principles of eugenics are also evident in attempts to differentiate leaders from followers.

sites of study, taking for granted that qualities of leadership resided solely in men.

However by the 1950's, Stogdill (1948 and 1970; cited in Watkins, 1994; Hoy and Miskel, 1991) and Mann (1949; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1991), among others, had begun to highlight many of the inconsistencies and contradictions apparent across a large number of studies. Stogdill (having reviewed 120 studies) concluded that, "the trait approach by itself had yielded negligible and confusing results" (cited in Hoy and Miskel, p. 254). Owens (1991) provides a synopsis of criticisms, suggesting that they encompass three main points. First, no systematic relationship between personal traits and leadership has been established that has not been refuted by subsequent studies. Second, at least part of the inability to establish a clear body of evidence lies in problems of research methodology², and finally that the situation in which leadership is attempted is probably at least as influential as the personal traits of the leader.

Nevertheless, although the lack of consistency in the data gathered had failed to provide the universal answers sought, Yukl (1981; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1989) noted, some 35 years after Stogdill (1948) and Mann (1949), the continued interest in the development of trait theories by industrial psychologists as a tool for managerial selection. For ethnic groups (hooks 1984) and women (Shakeshaft, 1989; Ouston, 1993) a lack of representation in the narrow cohort from which traits are drawn, is problematic. It is particularly problematic when those cohorts serve as a gatekeeping mechanism. They are often based on tenuous research findings that become entrenched in selection practices. Nevertheless in spite of diminished research interest the continued use of trait theory in the identification of potential organisational leaders remains a popular practice.

² Supported by positivistic theories of knowledge. See Blackmore 1994.

The change of research focus from innate qualities to external behaviour apparent in leadership style provided the catalyst for the development of alternative theories. Situational theorists began to view leadership in terms of the functions performed rather than the particular leadership traits displayed. A number of studies emerged from the Personnel Research Board at Ohio State University, the University of Michigan and Harvard University producing rating scales employed in contrived and work based situations. The scale having most impact for educational contexts was the Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), developed by Ohio State University.

Two dimensions became important in defining leadership behaviour: the way leaders perceived their subordinates and the way they perceived their own role, termed, 'consideration' and 'initiating structure'. Leadership was seen to be enhanced or diminished in situations dependent on the mix of interpersonal consideration displayed toward subordinates and the structure in place for goal completion. A significant correlation between effective school administrators' ability to balance consideration of people with initiating structure, leading to accomplishment of school goals was noted (Kunz and Hoy, 1976; Miskel, 1974; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1991).

Other studies confirmed these dimensions giving researchers an optimistic view that finally some of the complexities of leadership and its effects were scientifically unfolding. Four variables were cited as being situational determinants of leadership: structural properties of the organisation; organisational climate; role characteristics and subordinate characteristics. Leadership was moving into a phase where the ability to manage was also

seen to be a component³. Although this view of leadership was seen as a major step forward Chemers (1984) states that:

During both the trait and behaviour eras, researchers were seeking to identify the 'best' style of leadership. They had not yet recognised that no single style of leadership is universally best across all situations and environments (p. 95).

Primarily problematic, during this phase of inquiry, was the rigidity with which hierarchical male leadership was taken for granted; in which notions of power were seen as static and uni-directional (Smyth, 1994). Seen as a 'given' Eurocentric and androcentric assumptions remained unchallenged as the only way of conceptualising the phenomena. Watkins maintains,

... while the situationalist approach to leaderships was seen to be virtually worthless in its own terms, of controlling and extracting more work from subordinates, it has also been criticised for working by stealth in seeking to manipulate the employees of organisations. By ignoring inequalities of organisational power, it implied an acceptance of the power status quo (p. 15).

He further suggests that the main thrust of the research was more concerned with extracting greater productivity while legitimating the power status quo and perpetuating divided class relations within organisations which have more to do with power than leadership.

Research interest then moved to combining trait and situational hypotheses into contingency theories. Hoy and Miskel (1991) also cite Fiedler's contingency theory, House's Path-Goal theory, and the Cognitive Resource theory as the three most widely tested theories advocating this model. For Fiedler, effectiveness was related to the extent to which the group was able to accomplish set tasks, whereas House measured leadership effectiveness in relation to the psychological states of the subordinates. Different again is the

³ Educational texts on administration (Bolman and Deal 1991; Owens 1991; Sergiovanni 1984) in particular make clear distinctions between leadership and management. Nanus (1985 cited in Owens 1991) puts it simply as, "managers do things right, and leaders do the right thing". What is suggested is that while managers may implement procedural matters to do with the day to day running of organisations such as timetabling, resource acquisition.... leadership it implies thinking about underlying assumptions, long term goals and visions, part of which will be management of the every day affairs of the institution.

cognitive resource theory which aims to identify and explain the processes that produce leadership effectiveness.

Nevertheless, critics (Bates, 1989; Codd, 1989; Haller and Strike, 1986; Foster, 1986; Blackmore, 1994; Smyth, 1994; Watkins, 1994) challenge the static representation of 'followers' in which subordinate groups are seen to be acted upon; they are led. There is 'no hint of contestation or resistance which would bring about an ongoing dialectic of change' (Watkins, 1994; p. 16) evident in contingency approaches.

While many critics have recognised the advances made in theorising leadership few remain uncritical. Challenges to positivistic studies on leadership within educational administration could be summarised in three sections. First the findings arrived at via empirical studies have not only failed to illuminate the educational administrative field regarding the complexities of leadership concepts. They have also marginalised many by their continued avoidance of broader interest groups in much of their analyses such as; gender (Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989; Hall, 1993; Ouston, 1993; Blackmore, 1994; Klenke, 1996), and ethnicity (McKeller, 1989; Bravette, 1994; Foster, 1994; Henry, 1994; Davidson, 1996). Equally the theorising of leadership isolated from external as well as internal influences that place leadership within a historical time frame and socio-political context, leaves the impression that concepts of leadership advanced are culturally neutral. This has had the effect of entrenching findings from studies by white men, with men, for men as the only way of defining, operationalising and assessing 'valid' leadership roles.

For example, Clifford (1988; cited in Scheurich and Young, 1997) demonstrated how mainstream definitions of leadership served as a

disadvantage to a Native American tribe known as the Mashpee. In a U.S. trial held to determine the validity of the Mashpee's status as a tribe, the mainstream cultures definition of leadership was used to weaken the testimony of the Mashpee chief, especially in terms of proving whether the chief was a 'true' or 'real' leader. This 'proof' of leadership deficiency was then used to undermine the legitimacy of the Mashpee's claim to be a tribe. The idea that a Mashpee definition of leadership might be considered equal (or superior) to research definitions is typically not seen as reasonable or warranted in formal or informal social practices even in instances where so little, regarding leadership in the Western archive, is certain.

Although the results of studies have proved ineffective in advancing a body of knowledge considered universally enlightening, (even for those inside the group), they have been applied in detrimental ways to those outside of it (Neville, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989; Court, 1989). A proportion of the critique has centred on the methodological focus of research. Research derived from positivist assumptions, maintaining a rigid separation between facts and values has in effect supported gendered divisions in western contexts (identified in feminist analyses) and created new androcentric divisions for cultural groups with less stringent divisions of labour. This has been particularly identified by critical theorists who suggest research on leadership in education needs to decrease its interest in technocratic understandings of *what is* and address the *oughts* of education. In other words, what education *should be* about and therefore, what the functions of leadership *might need to be* in order to achieve liberal egalitarian goals (Sergiovanni, 1984; Foster, 1986).

Furthermore, the conceptualisation of problems in terms of dichotomies such as, facts and values, observation and interpretation, practice and theory

(Codd, 1989), ignores the moral, ethical, and socio-political facets of leadership. Schon (1983) and Burlingame (1979; cited in Smyth, 1984) maintain that the way social problems are framed closely affects the way they are analysed. An example derived from educational contexts is the school-as-a-factory metaphor which has at times reduced theorising about leadership to sets of technocratic ploys advanced to achieve organisational goals. The metaphor places standardisation and efficiency at centre stage and the broader views incorporating values, political and critical dimensions of educational leadership in the wings. Ashour (1973) suggests that considerations such as the class basis of organisations and the ideological legitimisation of organisational hierarchies are conveniently avoided, serving to entrench hegemonic norms. Ashour's class based criticism is equally applicable to gender divisions evident in the number of Principalships held by women in the primary sector, where disproportionate numbers of teachers are female, yet relatively few hold senior positions. Perhaps, even more telling (were the statistics available) would be the position of Maori women within the service.

The basis of the earlier studies has been an attempt to explain (and therefore inadvertently entrench) what 'is', advancing universalisms that are gender blind, culture and class bound and uncritical, in the advancement of the status quo. The entrenchment of tenuous findings as the basis for which leaders are identified, trained, employed and assessed acts as a gatekeeping mechanism when such research findings are generalised. This is contrary to the level of uncertainty and consensus reflected in research on the subject. For schools, leadership occurs in an educational milieu, constituted at a point in which historical, socio-political, demographic and economic factors meet. Each of these factors combine to shape the experiences of leaders, learners and teachers who spend their day there.

Codd (1989) maintains that interpretive theorists assume that leadership is a social construct and as such is open to maintenance, development, reconstitution or change, dependent on the shared meanings of the group. Foster (1994) advocates four minimum criteria for both the definition and practice of leadership. First leadership must be critical; based on the contention that all social science knowledge is derived from subjective meanings formulated over time yet accepted as common sense. Therefore, the need to be analytical is central to education. This critical component is pivotal to the remaining three criteria. Secondly, leadership must be transformative: critique may be the fuel for praxis but the orientation toward social change is the wheel upon which it advances. If leadership is to have a sense of 'doing with' rather than 'doing to', an educative dimension is required to support not only change of bureaucratic structures but also the way people think before changing social conditions. The fourth criteria is one of ethical and moral practice as a means of mediating personal benefits against the consequences of actions taken. Leadership is being reconceptualised as a consensual task that requires the sharing of ideas and responsibilities. It includes an accountability to higher authorities rather than that of empirically based scientific rigour; that is, accountability to the community in which leadership occurs. This suggests more than a replication of previous studies; rather it proffers both a methodological and ideological shift in focus.

Women in leadership

In the past studies that have investigated either experiences of Maori in education,⁴ or women within educational management have been singular in focus in that they have tended to highlight the deficit nature of the 'researched'. These studies have focused primarily on the cohort studied rather than the systems in which they operate and have emphasised the group's need to change in order to access existing opportunities. In recent literature, a change in focus is evidenced in the growing number of analyses of institutional arrangements incorporating discrimination and prejudice as actively shaping the experiences of both groups. While one highlights the differentiated experiences meted out to some based on cultural difference, the second highlights differentiated experience based on gender. However, the first ignores the further struggles and sites of contestation faced by Maori girls and Maori women with genderised colonial impositions, while the second marginalises ethnicity as a significant variable. The small number of studies (Neville, 1986; Court, 1989; Strachan, 1997; Henry, 1994; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Bowkett, 1996) within an Aotearoa/New Zealand grappling with the complexities involved with combining culture, gender and management as a central focus remains an issue.

Albans-Metcalf and West (1991) write on the matter,

Most of the literature on management ... is based on male perspectives of theories developed predominantly by men, typically on research studies in which females are in the minority, if at all present ... There will need to be dramatic changes in the attitudes, values and practices that pervade organisational life simply to kick start the process (of addressing women in management and leadership roles). But how can we expect such a commitment when in the most influential positions are men and little evidence exists in a change of attitude at the top? (p. 154).

⁴ The vast majority of studies on Maori within education provide a focus on those being educated (student experiences) rather than on those who have become the educators. Few studies with educators as the focus identify gender as a further demarcation point.

The lack of commitment to change perceptions of leadership is supported, in fact rationalised, by initial studies of leadership that advanced deficit views of women in general and ignored the status of indigenous women and women of colour altogether. Such studies fell back on commonly accepted myths and stereotypes emanating from Western views of gender differences (Henry, 1994) based on male hegemony (Neville, 1986; Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989). The lack of women's participation at management levels in the paid workforce has been explained in terms of not being tough enough to handle the job (Hunsacker, 1991), women's own choices or past socialisation (Statham, 1987; Fagenson, 1993) and the argument that the most competent people get promoted - women don't get promoted and therefore are not competent (Estler, 1975).

Shakeshaft (1989) writing specifically about women in educational administration condenses the number of studies into a typology suggesting that women's placement in this field has been explained by the following models: the Women's Place model, which assumes women's non participation in administrative careers as based solely on social norms; the Discrimination model, which draws on "the assumption that institutional patterns are the result of the efforts of one group to exclude participation of another" (p. 81) and the Meritocracy Model, which assumes those best suited to the jobs are the ones who are appointed. Conversely Atkinson (1981) analyses women's career barriers from sex role stereotyping, sex-role socialisation, career socialisation, organisational characteristics, and devaluation of women perspectives. Shakeshaft (1989) argues that male-defined and male-run models offer the broadest explanation for the lack of female representation in school administrative roles. She maintains,

Not only are all other models subsumed under this male-dominance explanation, but the cause of all barriers to women in

school administration that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony (p. 83).

Within intracultural contexts this maybe the case. However, ignoring indigenous and migrant women's struggle against colonial hegemony assumes all women's experience of organisational cultures is homogenous. It is argued here that the position of indigenous and migrant women cannot be completely understood solely within a critique of male hegemony particularly when feminist analyses have at times added to the repression of such groups.

Shakeshaft (1989) and Court (1989), provide comprehensive analyses of women in general in educational administration, the first of which is from an international perspective, while the latter is a localised study. They document the multifaceted nature of issues impacting on the practices of women in educational administration by alerting the field to the androcentric bias in both theory and practice. Nevertheless they do not address the further repressive factor of ethnocentricity beyond acknowledging its existence.

The colourless discourse on women of colour

The title for this section refers to the canvas that has been painted within a Westernised theoretical position. It is argued that the canvas upon which this picture evolves is white and male (Schein, 1994; Schein and Davidson, 1993; p. 16), and the sheer volume would suggest that it is painted in indelible ink.

Morouney (1991; cited in Henry, 1994) however in considering the further dimension of race in her analysis maintains that ethnic difference is related to experiential difference of leadership. She teases out the nature of the social construction of leadership which highlights 'the dynamics of exclusion through the cultural control of access to power and position' (p. 16). The analysis includes race as it is attached to men and women of colour, prompted by,

...the increasing number of women, and men of colour, entering the workforce; the neglect of gender and race by mainstream theories of leadership; the virtual exclusion of women and minority men from the upper most reaches of the managerial ranks; the need to address cross-cultural aspects of managerial leadership in the global economy (Morouney, 1991; cited in Henry, 1994, p. 16).

Feminist critique on the plight of women in leadership roles suggests that historically the term leadership has been treated as though it were synonymous with 'man' (Neville, 1986; Hall, 1993; Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989, 1993; Klenke, 1996). Similarly much of the current literature on women is equally equated to 'white'. Tracking the development of management and leadership theory within the literature provides an overview of a paradigm consistent with the value systems within Western industrialised societies (Smith and Peterson, 1988).

Equally much feminist critique collapses culture and gender into one. Klenke (1996) advances the notion of leadership as being 'contextual, shaped by situational, historical, temporal and spatial factors' (p. 188). Collins, in writing the forward to Klenke's book *Women and Leadership a contextual perspective* states that,

Dr. Karin Klenke has combed the existing literature, providing a *comprehensive* view of women in leadership... highlighting their contributions to politics, religion, business and medicine. This book provides a detailed historical overview, presenting a multi disciplinary perspective on culture and context. (Klenke, 1996; p. ix),

However, the 'cross-cultural' studies alluded to are not in reference to those studied but the position of the researcher in relation to the researched. The women in leadership roles identified are located within intracultural⁵ contexts. The primary focus of analysis remains on gender there is only one case study based on a woman working in intercultural contexts, the one identifiable

⁵ Women negotiating leadership roles within their own cultural boundaries. For example, Indira Ghandi in India.

exception being Harriet Tubman (pp. 46-49). Tubman, an Afro-American who having escaped bondage through slavery becomes a leader within a social movement. There is no engagement in an analysis of the historical or socio-political context in which this occurs nor any attempt to draw out the complexities of leadership issues encompassing power and ethnicity in relation to racism, classism, cultural domination, and arguably the least significant (in this instance) - gender. Although sport, political and religious movements in America are explored no distinction is made regarding ethnicity, subsuming all in the taken for granted assumption that the experiences of women of colour in organisations will be the same. This occurs in a country where ethnicity is believed to be a contributing factor to the type and quality of experience afforded groups in almost every area of social interaction.

Nevertheless, the recurrent themes apparent in the juxtaposing of these intracultural contexts does afford a view of women's leadership participation patterns within democracies which indicates that women have been more successful in attaining leadership roles in political arenas rather than private sector economic spheres. It is stated that these women often inherited their public positions from fathers or husbands, examples cited being Indira Gandhi, Benazir Bhutto, Isabel Peron. This may have further negative implications for women of colour working in intercultural contexts as we move toward new right marketisation. Genovese (1993; cited in Klenke, 1996) maintains, none of these women leaders fundamentally changed the patriarchal structure of her society - "an action that would have amounted to political suicide" (p. 239). For many indigenous women and women of colour simply attaining positions of responsibility in intercultural contexts inherited or otherwise is a marker of change. How women in intercultural contexts attain leadership roles, (not inherited), and what they do once they get there needs to be further explored.

Studies focusing on women of colour in intercultural contexts have found significant differences between females from the dominant group and females from ethnic minorities. Davidson's (1996) study on 'The Plight of White and Ethnic Minority Women Managers in the U.K.' found low participation rates by women of colour in management, even in sectors with high female participation. Her analysis of 30 in depth interviews revealed that the stressors linked to the role conflicts related to the complexities involved in living in a bicultural world. Hooks and Greenhaus et al's (1990; cited in Davidson, *ibid* p. 9) research in America confirms that black and ethnic minority managers (particularly women) are doubly disadvantaged in terms of upward mobility and high levels of pressure at work and home.

Bell (1990, p. 12) found, that the 71 career oriented Afro American women she interviewed perceived themselves as living in two specific cultural contexts, one black and the other white. As a coping mechanism these women tended to compartmentalise components of their lives. Some role stress highlighted by British black ethnic minority women (*ibid*) was evident in the 'persistent push and pull' between varying cultural contexts. For example the expectations, values and norms of predominantly white (male dominated) organisations in which they worked were very dissimilar to other black experiences/culture. Bravette (1994) also emphasised the conflict involved in the pressure to deny one cultural heritage, and the particular vulnerability of British-born black female managers.

Some [black women managers] recognised that they were walking a tight rope and that only as they adopted a mono-cultural (white) approach to their organisational existence, in other words deny significant proportions of their black cultural heritage, could successful career progression within an organisation be even seriously aspired to. Black women managers born outside the UK (but invariably educated here) felt that especially vulnerable were the British born blacks, socialisation into a myth of meritocracy and educated into a system which comes racism at three different levels: individual, cultural and institutional. Despite these women's

attempts at chameleon-like assimilation the white mainstream still rejects black people in positions of authority (p. 13).

This was also often the case for Asian, Caribbean and Indian women, many feeling the pressure of tokenistic views. While tokenism played a part in all women being viewed as 'symbols of their group' rather than individuals (Kanter, 1977), Davidson (1996) found for women of colour the negative effects of tokenism intensified. The factors associated with tokenism encompassed high visibility, performance pressure, being a test case, lack of role models and isolation (including exclusion from male groups), as well as distortion of women's behaviour by others in order to fit them into pre existing stereotypes.

While some factors were noted by white women managers the major problems of being a black female manager intensified factors by presenting a double bind where both racism and sexism provided barriers that required negotiation. Essed (1991) and Williams (1989) noted the pressure of having to work harder than others just to be considered equal.

Davidson (1996) expands on nine recurring issues for women of colour. Most noted performance pressure where they were required to constantly justify their professional status, cope with high expectations, prove themselves more than white women, face constant credibility testing, people just seeing black, not looking at contribution, having to sell themselves constantly, others (whites) being suspicious of them and expecting them to fail. These themes derived from studies carried out in the United Kingdom, were consistent with American based studies. Williams (1989) in a study of black female college administrators and Essed (1991) suggest that these women have to be bright and more talented than either their white male and female or black male counterparts.

These experiences were shaped by racial stereotyping. Davidson (1996) describes the struggle ethnic minority women had in order to keep their own identity. This struggle was often against a tide of colleagues expecting either aggressive or subservient behaviour, dependant on the ethnicity of the respondent. For example, even with growing rhetoric about individuals the expectation that unconventional images (of the respondents) such as being a 'timid Asian flower' or a 'black mama' proved obstructive for women attempting to be 'ones' self'.

Isolation related to colour and lack of role models (Bell, 1990; Essed, 1991) were also major structural problems encountered by black women in higher education in both securing and keeping jobs. Gilkes (1990) found that many left due to isolation. For example, Williams (1989) found that black female college administrators felt at times somewhat excluded from the information and support network. Characteristics noted related to dress, communication, interests, verbal and non-verbal behaviour. For Asian women religion (Muslim) became a further complicating factor. Business meetings involving meals and the consumption of alcohol being considered the 'norm' served to further exclude this group.

Token women remaining highly visible were subject to three 'peripheral tendencies'; those associated with unsuitability, contrast and assimilation (Kanter, 1977). Being female, in management and black exposes the black female executive to extremes of high visibility (Illes and Auluck, 1991). For some this entailed loss of privacy, mistakes being highlighted and getting attention for their 'discrepant' sex and ethnic characteristics, rather than for the skills for which they were employed. This often meant extra effort to be taken

seriously above and beyond other groups. Nevertheless not all studies viewed this as a negative factor, Epstein (1973) found that,

Being black and female gave these attorneys a unique status combination making them extremely visible and ensuring that news of good performances travelled speedily (p. 927).

This allowed other black women space to enter the profession, however conversely, poor performance of black female lawyers also unfairly disadvantages others black women aspiring to similar positions.

Further factors related to colour were tokenism and ghettoization of career options which were also considered prevalent amongst the groups. Illes and Auluck (1991) maintain, that in Britain, the black professionals interviewed were often directed away from main career tracks. This involved being 'sidelined' into routine 'token', 'showcase' or 'black jobs' in areas to do with personnel, welfare, dealing with black staff, customers or clients or in equal opportunity units. None of these pathways were believed to lead to the Chief Executive Officer's chair.

Davidson (1996) found that 63 percent of the sample experienced the pressure of being a test case for future black women. They were the first of their gender or race (sometimes both) in their particular job. The pressures of being the test case for the employment of future women of colour in their positions within the company was immense. For example, one respondent stated,

I am a test case if black women are going to proceed into senior management. I'm definitely being watched. Unfortunately no-one has told me the rules but I have to keep on playing anyway!
(Caribbean female manager, Private Sector, Davidson, 1996; p. 21).

Another respondent believed that,

My major problem is being a test case and having to constantly justify my professional status. In addition, I have to continue doing

this within the full glare of the organisation. You are breaking new ground and have no point of reference (Indian Female Personnel Officer, Public Sector, Davidson, 1996; p. 22).

Not being taken seriously, being under valued, a general lack of recognition due to colour and the lack of support from 'others-whites' were common threads across the group.

These studies highlight the multifarious ways in which ethnicity shapes the experience of women in colour in positions of responsibility. Migrant women, particularly for those that are visibly 'ethnic' experience management and leadership roles differently to white men and women, coloured men and possibly immigrants less distinguishable by physical appearance⁶. The majority of feminist positions maintain that female experience of organisations is shaped by male hegemony. However, migrant or women of colour identify eurocentric hegemony as the primary factor that mediates work based experience from which male hegemony is derived. The struggles faced by women of colour in intercultural contexts having to contend with eurocentric and androcentric hegemony requires the subjugation of cultural identity and a chameleon like existence. These studies deal with women contending with existing structures rather than addressing attempts to challenge those systems or effect change. As suggested by Genovese (cited in Klenke, 1996) perhaps this would involve action amounting not to political but to occupational suicide.

Little appears to be written about indigenous or first nation women who struggle with imposed discourse associated with colonisation in the countries in which this discourse has emanated or whether that similarly affects their participation in organisational structures.

⁶ Banks (1994) although not writing in relation to leadership and management specifically, notes, the variance across immigrant groups assimilating into American society based on the ability of others to distinguish difference based on physical characteristics such as skin colour.

Maori Women

Manchester and O'Rourke (1993), and May and Mitchell (1989), acknowledge the contribution of Maori women educators and identify their important roles within a variety of educational organisations. No exploration of their experiences as administrators in the primary service is developed in these studies. However, Meha's (1988) study of Maori women teachers and pupils in a variety of rural and urban schools provides some insight into issues that arise within this study. She found that the educators remained positive about work despite the constraints imposed by racist attitudes of colleagues and pupils, unsympathetic principals and the lack of any real commitment on the part of most schools toward their Maori pupils. What remains unanswered is how Maori women educators, in positions of responsibility, contend with these issues. Puketapu's (1993) thesis on Maori leadership in education while providing insight into the location of Maori women does not address their concerns specifically. Mead, A., (1994) documents the positive contribution of Maori women in traditional Maori society and challenges both Maori and Non-Maori organisations to relocate Maori women into positions that are central to governance and Tino Rangatiratanga.

Jackson (1996) speaking about the precarious position of both Maori organisations and herself as a Maori woman working within one states,

... there is a fallacy that because you are a Maori organisation you do not have the same business practices that others hold. In fact the general view held by other businesses on Maori organisations are that Maori operate with no business sense, you are an easy touch, and your business practice and ethics are substandard to theirs (p. 29).

Jackson says of herself,

I was the only woman in the country heading an organisation of this nature. I had no support, I had no examples or role models and I had no-one to talk to. I hid my fears and inner feelings of doubt and anxiousness. You could say that the skills I gained as a

gambler and having a poker face when calling a bluff served me well in those early days, even though I had stopped playing cards the year before (p. 29).

That Jackson placed more stead on her 'poker face' and lived experience of institutional racism above theoretical knowledge regarding business management and leadership mirrors the scepticism alluded to in Puketapu's (1993) thesis on leadership in education. In his study participants displayed a lack of regard for international knowledge and skills, that ideologically excluded them. This is reiterated in Henry's (1994) study on Maori women managers.

The motivation for Henry's (1994) thesis, "*Rangatira Wahine; Maori Women Managers and Leadership*" was primarily one of self understanding. As a Maori woman manager herself the desire to understand 'who and what I am as a Maori woman' provided the impetus for the study (p. 2). Across the 33 participants, she found that despite the impact of colonisation and effects of Pakeha hegemony on the perceptions of Maori women and their behaviour,

this sample indicates that traditional Maori women's leadership roles are still relevant and meaningful, to a significant proportion of women involved in the study (p. 206).

The common thread woven through studies of Maori women is that they perceive their experiences in work based contexts to be inherently different from their non-Maori colleagues in ways that are attributable to differences in ethnicity.

Tomlins-Janhke (1996) in her study of Maori women administrators working across a variety of educational sites adds the inheritance of a colonial discourse as a salient factor in these women's careers. This discourse casts Maori women as homogeneous in the face of tribal diversity. In identifying the unique position of these participants a historical socio-political context is brought to the fore. These women precariously operate in an educational

system where biculturalism is notionally advanced but what that means in each of the participants situations is unresolved. Thus they work in a nexus of resistant attitudes, supportive attitudes and changing perceptions in regard to who the participants are, what they represent and the contributive roles they fulfil in educational organisations. While highlighting the values of two cultural groups notionally with ideological discourse unmodified makes the realities for this group entering into organisation less than certain.

This study in many ways is similarly focused. It identifies Maori women educational administrators as opposed to educational administrators who happen to be Maori, which consciously brings cultural identity into the workplace. These women present a different mix of issues from studies on women of colour. They see themselves as tangata whenua which situates them in context that is tied to a socio-political history in Aotearoa that has struggled with issues of biculturalism since the formalising of socio-political arrangements in 1840. The study involves the identification of strategies eight Maori women educators have employed, as students, negotiating the path to be credentialled in order to enter the teaching profession. It explores the extent to which these early strategies form the foundation of strategies utilised in their current positions of responsibility in order to fulfil their career aspirations.