I heard there is a woman headmaster:

A study of women in principalship in Australian Lutheran Schools

Submitted by

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ACRONYMS

ALC	Australian Lutheran College
ACLE 1	Australian Conference on Lutheran Education 1999
ACLE 2	Australian Conference on Lutheran Education
ACU	Australian Catholic University
BLEA	Board for Lutheran Education Australia
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia
LCA	Lutheran Church of Australia
LDP	Leadership Development Program
LEA	Lutheran Education Australia
LEQ	Lutheran Education Queensland
LESER	Lutheran Eastern and South Eastern Region
LSA	Lutheran Schools association- Northern Territory/South Australia/Western Australia
MPP	Millennial Principals Project
TAFE	Tertiary and Further Education
UELCA	United Evangelical Lutheran Church

ABSTRACT

Lutheran schools have been operating in Australia since German Lutherans migrated in the nineteenth century to escape religious persecution, and they have a long history of preferring men as principals. In 2000, only eight of the seventy-eight Lutheran principals in Australia were women. In the new millennium, however, Lutheran Education Australia set a goal to increase the participation of women in principalship. Their strategies included the establishment of a 'Women in Leadership' task force, the introduction of a training program called The Millennium Principals Project [MPP], the adoption of the Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership positions in Lutheran schools, and a commitment to national targets.

With these strategies in mind, this study employs a feminist perspective and uses in depth interviews to explore the journeys taken by seven women as they prepared for and currently fulfil the principal's position. Participants were invited to discuss their teaching careers, their preparation for principalship, their experiences of the selection processes for principals in Lutheran schools and their current work as leaders. The major objective of this study is to contribute to the scholarly research and literature in the field of women in leadership. Concurrently, it provides a voice for those women who have become principals in Australian Lutheran schools in the new millennium to share their experiences and insights for the next generation of women aspiring to principalship.

The study reveals and creates knowledge around the complexity of women gaining principalship in Australian Lutheran schools as the gender division of labour in education continues and the domestic division of labour remains relatively unaltered. The study illustrates the many tasks women take on as mothers, teachers and leaders and how these roles impact strongly on women's aspiration to principalship. The interviews reinforce the reality that women often suspend their careers to raise children.

Involvement in the MPP or subsequent training programs gave women confidence and the support of principals and directors, important networks when applying for principal positions. Nevertheless, interviewees reported that they experienced discriminatory and patronising attitudes from the employing body, the School Council, despite the Gender Equity policy. Most found that in order to win a principal's role, often in small country schools in

conservative Lutheran communities, or larger isolated schools, they needed to conform rather than challenge the prevailing power dynamics.

The study also indicates how the intensification of principals' work impacts on these women as they manage home responsibilities and the challenges of leadership in Lutheran schools, including teaching and administration, isolation from family and colleagues, accountability and competition.

Although the statistics suggest that there have been some gains toward national targets with the number of women in principalship in Lutheran schools since the beginning of the new millennium, policies and strategies such as the MPP seem to have had limited success. The experiences of the women in this study suggest that they work in a system which continues to favour men as principals.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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Elaine Marie Andretzke

August 2014

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I dedicate this thesis to my mother,

Edna Adeline Andretzke

and my daughter,

Emeallia Louise Marie Nitschke,

two very special women in my life.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the research

As a novice principal in the Lutheran system in the late 1990s, my attention was drawn to the small number of women principals. This interest was heightened as I attended the Australian Conference on Lutheran Education [ACLE 1] in Queensland in 1999. Weckert and Hoff (1999) presented a paper to raise awareness of the gender imbalance of principals in Lutheran schools and to promote wider discussion. As part of their information gathering process, a short survey was produced and distributed to women serving in selected schools in each state. Given that there were 400 responses from women (out of 450) this seemed to be a significant issue. One response outlined some of the issues for women principals in Lutheran schools:

> I have been a principal now for 16 years. In that time, I have been quite 'lonely' as either a one only, or at most one of three SA women principals. As I now relinquish my position as principal at… one of my greatest wishes for the future is to see the role of women in the system throughout Australia be given a much brighter profile. There seems to be some level of inequity when the opportunities for study and experience are taken into account at the interview level. Women take time out for child rearing and while they are doing that, they cannot be gaining experiences in the schools, nor can they devote the same amount of time to study as their male counterparts can. If there could be some assistance financially or some consideration given to the value of child rearing, then I am sure we would be on the way to opening pathways to more women in leadership positions in our schools. (Weckert & Hoff 1999, p.6)

The issues raised in this extract, combined with the presentation by Weckert and Hoff (1999) sparked my interest in this topic and became the catalyst for this current study.

Lutheran schools in Australia

In order to provide the context for Lutheran schooling in Australia, a brief overview of the establishment of Lutheran schools will be provided. Lutheran schooling was established in Australia by German Lutherans who came to Australia in the nineteenth century to escape religious persecution. Approximately 800 Lutherans immigrated to South Australia between 1838 and 1841. The families who emigrated and developed farming villages were determined to provide religious education for their children as they had been accustomed to in their homeland Prussia. Each settlement built a church and a school which was designed to impart confessional Lutheran teaching and uphold German Lutherans' basic values, language and

traditions (Campbell & Proctor 2014, p 47). The teacher, always a man, and the Pastor assumed these responsibilities. Hauser notes that at this time of the early Lutheran Church in Australia, the 'pastorate and the office of teacher were closely allied' (Lutheran Education Australia [LEA] 2001c, p.6).

The number of Lutherans continued to grow throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century with settlements in western Victoria, southern New South Wales and parts of Queensland (Bartsch 2001, p. 16). The later immigrants came for economic rather than religious reasons. Support for Lutheran schools in Queensland was not as strong as in the other states and those who settled in Queensland were more likely to use free government schools rather than have the expense of sending their children to Lutheran schools (Bartsch 2001, p. 16).

The outbreak of WWI saw an anti-German sentiment develop and in 1916 the South Australian Government passed legislation which closed 48 Lutheran primary schools, all of which were led by male principals (Volk, 1962 cited in Bartsch 2001, p. 17). When they were allowed to recommence, development was slow. There was opposition to Lutheran schools again during WWII but it was not as strong as previously. Immediately following the end of the war a number of secondary colleges were established in Queensland and New South Wales. However, the shortage of teachers in both primary and secondary schools was acute and 'this was one of the factors delaying further school expansion' (Hayes, 1978, cited in Bartsch 2001, p. 17).

Growth of Lutheran schools was slow during the middle years of the twentieth century. In 1970, there were 24 primary schools with 2,200 students and six secondary schools with 2,225 students (Lutheran Church of Australia [LCA] Report 1970 cited in Bartsch 2001, p. 21). However, since the 1970s there has been significant growth in Lutheran schools, particularly in Queensland. Hauser argues that the growth was a consequence of meeting a growing demand for school places in growth areas in the community (1990 cited in Bartsch 2001, p. 21). With this growth came a growing concern in the LCA about the supply of future principals for its schools (Ruwoldt 2006, p. 5).

The new millennium

Following ACLE 1 in 1999, LEA set a goal to increase the participation of women in leadership, particularly principalship. The statistics were strikingly different from other sectors. In 2000 only eight of the seventy eight Lutheran principals in Australia were women,

with little difference between primary and secondary schools (LEA 2001c, p. 13). Table 1 illustrates the percentage of women and men serving as principals across the sectors.

Table 1: A comparative analysis of principal positions held by men and women in various sectors within the state of South Australia (Weckert & Hoff, 1999, p. 5).

% OF WOMEN AND MEN SERVING AS PRINCIPALS

%	DoE (women)	DoE (men)		Catholic	Catholic		Lutheran (women)	Lutheran (men)
100								
95								89.3
90								
85								
80								
75								
70								
65		57.4						
60				53.6				
55					46.4			
50	42.6							
45								
40								
35								
30								
25								
20								
15								
10							10.7	
5								

Department of Education South Australia   Catholic Schools of South Australia   Lutheran schools

women	men

A number of initiatives were put in place by LEA including the establishment of a task force, the 'Women in Leadership' group which was made up of six women from various

backgrounds and experiences of administration in Lutheran schools (Butler & Maczkowiack, 2004, p. 1). The three regions were represented; Lutheran Education Queensland [LEQ], Lutheran Schools Association [LSA] encompassing South Australia, Northern Territory and Western Australia, and Lutheran Eastern and South Eastern Region [LESER] including, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania. A meeting was convened at the Victorian Schools Office in Box Hill, Melbourne, by the National Director, Adrienne Jericho and school principal, Richard Hauser. The group were asked to 'consider the reasons for the strong gender imbalance in administrative positions in Lutheran schools and to recommend strategies to address the identified issues' (LEA 2001c, p. 3). The six women leaders were encouraged to tell their stories at the workshop. Some of them were enlightening but not surprising in a church and school system of strong patriarchal tradition. As one participant highlighted:

> My inhibitions go back even further. My mother always told us not to get too big for our boots. I was programmed. Every knockback I got seemed to reinforce the feeling that I was getting above myself as a woman looking for greater responsibility. (LEA 2001c, p. 7)

There were also family expectations of women's roles as one participant suggested she was advised by a male principal 'that married mothers should not be planning a career' (LEA 2001c, p. 7). Conversely, others found that men had the attitude, 'I'm a man; therefore I'll be a principal' (LEA 2001c, p. 7). On a brighter side, one participant spoke about her appointment as a leader, 'the wonderful thing, I found, is that someone finally took a risk with you. They believed in you and gave you a chance' (LEA 2001c, p. 10).

Training, policies and reviews

Following the initial 2000 workshop LEA established the Millennial Principals Project [MPP] (2001/2002). The MPP was designed and implemented to develop leaders for Lutheran schools. As Ruwoldt argues:

> The implication that the deputy principal class was not considered a sufficient source of future principals, and was not providing sufficient leadership development for the principal's role, was apparent from the stated desire to increase the pool of available leaders for principal positions. (2006, p. 5)

The MPP was provided part time over two years. Prior to this initiative, there was no specific course of study to prepare teachers for leadership and principalship. Most principals had a Degree in Education from various training institutions and a post graduate qualification in theology. The MPP was designed specifically to address the growing concern about the supply of future principals for the Lutheran Education system. The project aimed to develop

40 potential principals to take up positions of leadership, including principalship, in the subsequent five years (Ruwoldt 2006, p. 5). However, the progress of increasing the percentage of women in principalship was slow.

In 2002 LEA adopted a 'Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership positions in Lutheran schools' (2002a). At the same time LEA committed itself to national targets:

- Increase number of female applicants to principal positions to 50% in three years
- Increase actual appointments of females to principal positions to 33% in three years and the ultimate goal of 50%
- National average composition of interview panels for principals to be 50% female immediately
- National average composition of governing bodies to be 50% female in six years
- Compositions of schools councils and committees and secretariats of LCA and districts to be 50% female in three years
- Chairs of governing bodies to be 50% female in five years   (LEA 2002b, p. 1)

In 2003, LEA commissioned a survey titled 'Women Educators in Lutheran schools', to which 744 women responded (Butler & Maczkowiack 2004, p. 3). Butler and Maczkowiack tracked the progress of women in principalship from 1999-2004 against the benchmarks set by LEA and reported on the progress at the Australian Conference on Lutheran Education [ACLE 2] in 2004. Butler and Maczkowiack suggested that there had been 'some good progress towards the benchmarks in all regions and in all school sectors' (2004, p. 4). They also noted that Queensland had reached the current benchmark of 33% and suggested that they 'should work towards [a] benchmark of 50%' (2004, p. 4). They did argue however, that 'given the percentage of females teaching in primary schools, female participation in primary school principalship is quite disproportionate'(2004, p. 4). In addition to reporting on the statistics for women in principalship they also gathered data from women on the reasons for not considering leadership which are indicated in the following table:

Table 2: Distribution of responses from women for not considering leadership in Lutheran schools (Butler & Maczkowiack 2004, p. 7).

(participants could tick more than one box)

	Frequency	Percentage
I enjoy teaching more than administration	241	30.9
Family responsibilities	172	22.1
I'm not ready yet	154	19.7
Responsibilities a little overwhelming	113	14.5
No positions available	58	7.4
Rewards aren't great enough	55	7.1
Other	55	7.1
Mobility	31	4.0
Total	879	

The results indicated that the major reason for women not pursuing leadership was that women enjoyed teaching more than administration. Family demands were also a significant reason as indicated in the response by one participant who suggested that she did not have time for the requirements of a leadership role added to 'family/work and study commitments'. There were other responses which indicated that gender was still an issue, as was the need for encouragement, support and good role models. In addition, 'for many respondents the role of principal was not an attractive one, with concerns about the demands of the role, often related to lifestyle and stress' (Butler & Maczkowiack 2004, p. 10). The lack of schools advertising positions or pre selecting applicants and a lack of confidence in the leadership of the school was also an underlying issue. For many the requirement to be a practicing member of the LCA was a major obstacle and prevented many from being eligible to apply for principalship (Butler & Maczkowiack 2004, p. 11). As noted by one participant, 'in this system you need to be Lutheran and preferably male to get ahead – I am neither' (Weckert & Hoff 1999, p. 8).

In summary, the new millennium saw a number of new initiatives including; the establishment of a Women in Leadership task force, the introduction of the MPP, the adoption of the Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership positions in Lutheran Schools (2002a) and a commitment to national targets. During this time some significant issues had been discussed.

As previously noted, in 2000 only eight of the seventy eight Lutheran principals in Australia were women, however Butler and Maczkowiack reported in 2004 of some significant progress towards benchmarks. It was during this time that some of the women in this study were aiming toward principalship and gaining principal roles in Lutheran schools. The focus of my research is therefore based on the experiences and perspectives of the women who have become principals in Lutheran schools in the new millennium.

Research focus

This research is designed to investigate the career histories which led the interviewees to principalship. Of the seven women interviewed, three had completed the MPP (2001/2002) and one completed the subsequent Leadership Development Program [LDP] (2005/2006). The experiences of the interviewees prior to principalship, and their experiences whilst in the principal role will be discussed. In addition, I will examine how successful LEA strategies have been in achieving set goals in relation to women principals in Australia.

My major research questions will include:
1. What are the experiences of women as they aspire to principalship in Australian Lutheran Schools?
2. How do women negotiate the current selection processes for principals of Lutheran schools?
3. What does it mean to be a female principal in a Lutheran school community?
4. What challenges do women encounter as they carry out their role of principalship?
5. How successful have LEA strategies been in achieving set goals in relation to women principals in Australian Lutheran schools?

Significance of the Study

A study of women principals leading in Australian Lutheran schools is important for several reasons. Firstly, the study will contribute to the scholarly research and literature in the field of women in leadership. In addition, this study is expected to reveal and create knowledge around the complexities of women gaining and sustaining principalships within LEA, an area which up until now has been under researched. Although there is work in the area of leadership and principalship (Jericho 2004; Ruwoldt 2006) it does not address gender issues.

This study will delve into women principals' aspirations, opportunities and experiences, some of which have been achieved and others not (Cole & Gunter 2010). It will provide a voice for those women currently in leadership to share their experiences and insights for the next generation of women aspiring to leadership.

The stories of the participants will contribute to knowledge and understanding of the woman principal's place as it stands within the history of the Australian Lutheran Church and schools. It is also concerned with how women teachers of today can be encouraged to consider preparing for and applying for school principal positions in what has historically been a role dominated by men. This study will highlight the journeys taken by seven women as they prepared for and currently fulfil the principal's position.

This research coincides with a time where there is a growing body of research evidence to suggest that school education systems, both nationally and internationally, are experiencing difficulties in recruiting principals (D'Arbon, Duignan & Duncan 2002; Dorman & D'Arbon 2003b; Gronn & Lacey 2006; MacBeath, O'Brien & Gronn 2012; Watson 2007). According to Gronn and Lacey (2004) candidate pools are diminishing and some employers are unable to replace current vacancies. In relation to Lutheran schools Ruwoldt argues that:

> Since the 1970s, the Lutheran school system has grown rapidly in relation to church membership, and the issue of staffing schools with suitably qualified and experienced Lutheran leaders has become increasingly significant. (2006, p. 1)

Chapter outline

My thesis comprises seven chapters. This introduction has provided the context and significance of the study. It also suggests some of the complexities of women gaining and sustaining principalship within Australian Lutheran schools. In Chapter Two I provide a brief historical overview of the means that produced a gendered division of labour in state schools. Then I outline the establishment of Lutheran schools in South Australia, being the colony where the majority of Lutheran immigrants settled and where the culture endorsed men as principals in Lutheran schools. I discuss the role of women pioneers in Lutheran schools in the twentieth century which leads me to discuss gender and principalship in the contemporary setting.

Chapter Three outlines the methodologies and describes the method of data collection and analysis. I also outline the ethical considerations for this research and present the limitations and delimitations.

In Chapters Four to Six, I have arranged my analysis according to the participants' experiences and perspectives. Chapter Four, 'Juggling work, family, domestic duties and study', illustrates the many roles women take on as mothers, teachers and leaders. These roles impact strongly on women's aspiration to principalship which often also requires extra study through the MPP or the LDP. The interviews indicate that women often suspend their careers to raise children and move into principalship later in their career. The role of encouragers and involvement in the MPP and the LDP is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Five, 'He tapped me on the shoulder; gaining a principal position' opens with a discussion of the strategies LEA took in an effort to increase the participation of women in leadership. The policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran Schools (2002a) was introduced in addition to national targets which aimed to increase the number of female applicants and actual appointments to principal positions. The application and interview process is examined including outlining the criteria both explicit and hidden. I also discuss the role of mentors, encouragers and Lutheran networks in assisting women in gaining principal positions. Finally, I discuss the first principal position that women are most likely to gain which is in small country schools or larger isolated schools.

In Chapter Six, 'They called me headmaster: in the principal position', I address some of the aspects involved in being a woman principal in Lutheran schools today. The interviewees discuss the impact of a 'calling' to the role and also emphasize the hard work, long hours and commitment needed to fulfil the role, often made harder by being in small country and isolated schools with traditional community attitudes. Their experiences draw attention to the struggle of integrating teaching and administrative workloads, in addition to isolation from colleagues and family. The women also discuss the intensification of work at school as well as managing the household and parenting activities. Most of the women found that in order to be promoted to the principal role and to maintain that role they needed to take on male forms of leadership and conform rather than challenge the prevailing power dynamics. In this chapter I also discuss the role of professional support groups and mentoring young teachers, mainly men.

In Chapter Seven I examine and discuss the leadership gender statistics in Lutheran schools today. Given the introduction of gender equity measures in the early 2000s some changes would be anticipated. The statistics will indicate how successful LEA has been in its commitment to significant national targets. I also discuss the role of School Councils and the use of training through the MPP and the LDP in placing women in principal positions. Finally, I conclude my thesis with a number of recommendations in an effort to change the leadership culture and significant barriers for women as they aspire to principal positions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

While this project focuses on women's leadership in contemporary Lutheran schools, an appreciation of the history of gender and Lutheran schooling is integral to my research. This is especially helpful in understanding the challenges of aspiring to, and being successful in principalship in contemporary Lutheran schools.

The literature review begins with a brief historical overview of the means that produced a gendered division of labour in state schools. Then I outline the establishment of Lutheran schools in South Australia, being the colony where the majority of Lutheran immigrants settled in the nineteenth century. This leads to an exploration of women's involvement in Lutheran schools in the twentieth century as teachers and leaders. Finally, attention is drawn to the setting of this project, the Lutheran school system in Australia today, where I discuss gender and principalship in the contemporary setting.

The nineteenth century gendered division of teaching labour

In mid-nineteenth century Australia women and men both took on teaching roles in the home and in various forms of schools. In many households women were responsible for teaching early literacy, manners and morals, and this teaching became an economic and cultural contribution to the family. It was rarely enumerated in census statistics however, which focussed mainly on men's paid work (Whitehead 2007, p. 155). In addition to women teaching within the home, both men and women taught outside the home to generate income. Teaching was frequently a family affair with teaching teams consisting of 'husband and wife' as well as 'combinations of parents and children and women family members' (Whitehead 2007, pp. 154-155).

Schools took the form of day and boarding schools which were set up for middle-class boys and managed by men, as well as ladies schools which were led usually by middle-class women. Ladies schools or co-educational schools with a man and woman teacher were chosen for girls as there was a reluctance to entrust girls to male teachers. Women were therefore seen as moral guardians of the girls (Theobald 1996). Thus in the mid-nineteenth century most co-educational schools were staffed by both men and women.

When mid-nineteenth century colonial governments began to subsidize schools, men were preferred as licensed teachers and this further entrenched their privileged position 'as household heads and principal breadwinners' in their families and in the fledgling education system (Whitehead 2007, p. 158). Women continued to be very important as they taught the girls in co-educational schools. Women were also licensed to conduct young ladies schools. Some women were able to use their skills and agency to work within the early government systems. Mathilde Piper, a middle class German, was one such woman. Mathilde had immigrated with her widowed mother, sisters and brothers to South Australia in 1851. Mathilda became a nursery governess and then secured a position as a teacher of German in a Ladies Academy. In the mid-1850s Mathilde and her mother bought a new school in the predominantly Lutheran suburb of Stepney, in Adelaide. The school accommodated boarders and as a government teacher Mathilde successfully prepared students to participate in the dominant culture, as well as uphold German traditions. When education became compulsory in 1875 and her position became tenuous because of her insufficient command of the English language, Mathilde resigned from the government system and opened a private school which she continued for 20 years (Whitehead 2001a).

The introduction of free compulsory and secular state systems in the last quarter of the nineteenth century provided a driving force for educational growth. With this growth 'a gendered division of labour quickly emerged' (Blackmore 1999, p. 25). Whitehead explains that the 'state began to employ teachers individually and differentiate their wages on the assumption that men would marry and that women would be single' (Whitehead 2007, p. 154). As a consequence, the teaching family was dismantled and recreated with married men and single women, marginalising married women. The developments from the 1870s to the early 1900s saw compulsory and secular acts change education to ensure the dominance of state school systems and 'regulations, mandated curricula and standard school timetables proliferated (Campbell & Proctor 2014, p. 65). It also constructed a teaching workforce in which the majority of administrators were men, and 'the number of younger, unmarried women who became teachers increased dramatically (Campbell & Proctor 2014, p. 96).

At this time women, mainly single, comprised seventy to eighty percent of the teachers. The terms under which women were to be tolerated in the teaching profession were

clear: they were to teach briefly before taking on their 'natural destinies' as wives and mothers (Theobald 2006, p. 67). By the end of the nineteenth century the scene was set:

> Legislation ensured that women teachers taught under the male governance of head teachers, inspectors, and the men at head office; they were minimally trained as pupil-teachers; confined to separate and unequal career paths; denied access to headships; paid at best four-fifths of the male rate; and subject to formal and informal marriage bars. (Theobald 2006, p. 67)

The segregation of roles between men and women in the state schools was quite distinct. However, it was even more so in nineteenth century Lutheran schools in South Australia.

The Lutheran school setting in Australia in the nineteenth century

In South Australia Lutheran schools were introduced following the arrival in 1838 of the first Lutheran missionaries who came to work among the Aboriginal people. The vast majority of German migrants were Lutheran (Hauser 2009, p. 14). Although both parents were responsible for their children's education in the home, the Lutheran farming villages established their own schools and 'they were among the first denominational schools in Australia with a principle language of instruction that was not in English (Campbell & Proctor 2014, p. 47). As the Australian Lutherans established parish schools they also quickly took responsibility for providing the teaching staff (Whitehead 2001a). Formal schooling was seen as one of the integral activities of the church which ensured that each child received basic literacy in order to read the Bible, as well as pass on the teachings of the church. Hauser suggests that:

> This was in part due to the fact that Luther himself placed a great emphasis on education. His church, after all, grew out of a discovery of the Bible which Luther translated into the common tongue and made available to the people which, in turn, presupposed widespread literacy among the population. Literacy depended on education, usually provided by parish schools. (2009, p. 15)

In early Lutheran settlement days the man of the house made the major decisions and the wife was subservient. It was the expectation, held by both men and women, that women should devote themselves to family by looking after children, and domestic tasks, such as, washing, cleaning, cooking, sewing and mending. Women also took a subsidiary role in the community by being involved in church and school matters (Hauser 2009, pp. 25-28). Teaching and principal roles in all Lutheran schools were exclusively occupied by men. Hauser explains that:

> There was an assumption that leadership in the family, church and society belonged to the men. In part it was a result of Christian beliefs. They placed themselves under the authority of the Bible which, they believed, taught that the man should be the head of the house, that wives were subject to their husbands, that women should not speak publicly in the church and that only men could be ordained as pastors. (2009, p. 25)

Hauser rationalizes the actions and attitudes towards women as being a result of strong religious beliefs and consequently 'the Lutheran patriarchs presided over a system which was even more discriminatory against women than society in general' (2009, p. 25). In the mid-nineteenth century 'all of the teachers in Lutheran schools were men… who were required to undertake pastoral as well as teaching duties' (Whitehead 2001a, p. 58; Hauser 2009, p. 55). Thus, both state and Lutheran schools privileged men as leaders, but women were not included as teachers in Lutheran schools.

With the introduction of compulsory education in 1875, and in order to compete with state schools, the Lutheran schools 'aligned much of their curricula with that offered in state schools' in South Australia (Whitehead 2001a, p. 60). The requirement to organise sewing lessons and subsequently a 'sewing mistress' saw the introduction of women's involvement in schools. They were paid a small stipend and if numbers required were also employed as a 'pupil teacher' (Whitehead 2001a, p. 63). In essence the gendered division of labour in Lutheran schools was similar to state schools.

By the late nineteenth century many children of German origin were also attending state schools and in turn these students, both men and women, became state school teachers and leaders. However, this was not the case in Lutheran schooling where 'women sometimes took up supporting roles, but traditionally the teacher was a man who usually filled in for the pastor when he was away' (Hauser 2012, p. 91). Although women were employed in Lutheran schools they were in the minority and there was not one woman principal in Lutheran schools from the mid nineteenth century until the end of WWI (Hauser, 2009).

Women pioneers in Lutheran schools in the twentieth century

The impact of WWI was felt strongly by Lutheran schools 'even though German as the language of instruction was in sharp decline by the early twentieth century' (Campbell & Proctor 2014, p. 127). Hauser summarizes the situation:

> The first great wave of Lutheran schooling which had reached its full height at the end of the nineteenth century was now dissipating on the harsh rocks of anti-German sentiment that accompanied the war. Only a handful of Lutheran schools remained. (Hauser 2012, p. 13)

As Lutheran schools were closed many teachers were left without a job and teacher training ceased. Some teachers went to serve in state schools but many took up places in the general workforce. The legislation prohibiting the operation of Lutheran primary schools in South Australia was repealed in 1924 and during the next decade there was a slow emergence of Lutheran primary schools.

During this time there had emerged two major groupings of Lutherans in Australia: the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia [UELCA] formed in 1921 and the other which had grown out of South Australia, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia [ELSA] which changed its name to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia [ELCA] in 1944 (Hauser 2012, p. 13).

In South Australia, day schools established after WWI by the UELCA were dominated by women, and teacher training at Immanuel College graduated 7 females and no males (Hauser 2012, p. 92). In 1949 the UELCA 'noted that there were no longer any males in its day schools and at the 1951 synod there was a plea, to attract male teachers for its schools' (Hauser 2012, p. 92). Unlike the UELCA, the ELSA, which operated the majority of Lutheran primary schools, had adopted a policy in 1927 which stated a preference for Lutheran teachers to be male and allowed very few women to train to be teachers until 1945. With a critical teacher shortage in Lutheran schools in the 1950s, brought about as the result of WWII, there was a loosening of tradition as women were given teaching places in Lutheran schools and a small number in educational leadership.

One of the pioneers of this time was Gertrude Jacob, a spinster who spent her working life as a teacher and as a principal in Lutheran schools (Hauser 2012, pp. 91-93). She was born in 1921 in an era dominated by men, to a family where both of her parents had come from a Lutheran school background. Her father was a Lutheran school principal at Gruenberg Lutheran School, at Moculta, South Australia, until it was closed by the Government during WWI. Later he took up a principal position at Light's Pass Lutheran School, which was the first Lutheran school to reopen after the war. As numbers grew he employed his daughter Gertrude, a good student who had attended the local Government High school and had achieved her Intermediate examination. With the sudden death of her father in 1939, Gertrude, with no formal teacher training ran the school with an enrolment of 44 students for the remainder of the year.

In 1941 Gertrude went to Adelaide to live and study to be a teacher. In 1943 she took up her first job as a qualified teacher at Appila, South Australia, a new small school which was part of the drive to re-establish the Lutheran day school system. Gertrude was a creative and resourceful teacher who was praised by the local inspectors as noted by Hauser:

> During her first school inspection, she impressed her official visitor with the way she was applying various learning theories from her studies into the classroom. Two years later Gertrude Jacob was commended by another inspector for the variety of resources which were being used in the school, including a radio set. (2012, p. 95)

One inspector noted: 'the children and their teacher work together as a happy family' (Veteran Voices 1943-1946 cited in Hauser 2012, p. 95). After a most successful stint at Appila, Gertrude accepted a call to Loxton to start a new Lutheran school. At the opening service and induction of the new teacher Gertrude the local Pastor C Pfitzner commented, 'Miss Jacob has just concluded four years of excellent service at Appila Christian Day School' (Murray Pioneer, 1947, p. 10). Gertrude demonstrated creativity and resourcefulness in her schools. She worked hard within the local country community to develop a successful learning environment.

The Loxton School flourished under Gertrude's leadership and by 1956 'in the estimation of some locals, the school had grown to the stage where it needed a male to take it over' (Hauser 2012, p. 96). A male, recruited from the state school system was employed. As Hauser suggests, this created an awkward situation where;

> Gertrude Jacob, who had founded the school and was eight years his senior, could hardly be demoted from her leadership position. Yet, there was no question of a male Lutheran teacher serving under the leadership of a woman. They got around it by "sharing" leadership responsibilities. (2012, p. 96)

This was an unsatisfactory situation for Gertrude and she left Loxton the following year to take up a teaching role at Tanunda Lutheran School, which she held for 6 years.

In 1962, Gertrude was again asked to establish a new Lutheran school, this time at Angaston. Gertrude successfully expanded the school, but when she left to take up a teaching position in Adelaide the Lutheran community 'considered it was now imperative that she be replaced by a male' (Hauser 2012, p. 99). Gertrude's professional life illustrates the challenges and discrimination experienced by women in the mid to late twentieth century in Lutheran schools where they were 'not given the same opportunities for training, for pay, for public recognition and for promotion as their male counterparts' (Hauser 2012, p. 100). This type of discrimination was common and as Hauser states:

> The first women to become teachers and principals in Lutheran schools trod a delicate and difficult path, especially those who made teaching a lifelong vocation and attained greater experience and expertise than some of their male colleagues. (2012, p. 91)

Gertrude retired at the end of 1984, her career having spanned 47 years. In establishing 3 schools; Appila, Loxton and Angaston, Gertrude was a pioneer and according to inspectorial reports a creative and excellent teacher and administrator who established good relationships with her students and their parents. Despite being a teacher and principal who achieved to an equal or higher level than her male counterparts this was rarely acknowledged. Hauser suggests that women like Gertrude Jacob, were very influential in Lutheran schools, but it manifested in 'subtle and less public ways' with their main motivation for choosing a Lutheran workplace being a 'Christian one' (2012, p. 102). It could also be argued that the patriarchal culture meant that these women were not given credit where credit was due.

Women were historically recruited into the Lutheran school system when there were shortages. By the late 1900s women teachers outnumbered men in Lutheran schools, but leadership positions were dominated by men. Single women usually taught the lower classes and gave up their employment when they married. Women teachers, who never married, despite their experience and skill were rarely given a position of leadership. Gertrude Jacob established schools and when they reached a certain level of success and size, the position was handed over to a man. Married women were rarely employed except for occasions where there was a pressing need to fill a vacancy. This situation mirrored that described by Theobald in relation to the gendered division of labour that emerged as a result of free compulsory and secular state systems in the late 1900s where a 'three caste system of female teachers' had emerged (2006, p. 67). Firstly, there were the young women who taught briefly before marriage and then never taught again; married women who taught as temporaries in schools where no one else would go and lastly there was the spinster teacher who had not married and was 'in for the long haul' (Theobald 2006, p. 67). Female participation in Lutheran Education in Australia at this time was 'reflected in two main domains: their enrolments as students, and their employment as teachers' (Hauser 2012, p. 92).

As schools grew in size, the gradual introduction of the principal's office brought about a physical change as well as a change of school and organisational culture (Rousmaniere 2009, p. 125). Principals took on a role which sought to 'supervise other teachers and to manage the larger organisation' (Rousmaniere 2009, p. 215). The principal's office thus became the men's realm and management was conceptualized as 'masculine', and concerned with 'male'

qualities of rationality and instrumentality (Blackmore 1993; Blackmore & Kenway 1993). Haase notes that men accessed male power because 'the significations of "masculine" privilege are inscribed upon their bodies. In this way the male body influences social interactions' (2010, p. 117). In essence, 'patriarchal and male power has shaped the construct of leadership, its culture, discourse, imaging and practice' in state and Lutheran school systems throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Grace 1995, p. 187).

By the end of the twentieth century there were a few more women in leadership in Lutheran schools and Hauser suggests that:

> Female teachers and principals were assuming their proper place under the Lutheran schooling sun. Their male colleagues, brought up in a narrower tradition, learned to respect, appreciate and finally accept them as colleagues and equals. (2012, p. 108)

Nevertheless, this thesis will show that the patriarchal system which has existed since Lutheran schooling was established in the 1800s still impacts strongly on the number of women principals being employed in Lutheran schools today. The strongly held belief that 'men manage and women teach' is institutionalised in Lutheran schools (Whitehead 2001b, p. 8).

Gender and principalship in the contemporary setting

From a wider perspective it seems that women have made some inroads into the administrative roles within schools in general over the past decades, however these have also been slow. Studies across Canada (Reynolds & Young 1995; Wallace, 2006), the United States (Dunlop & Schmuck 1995; Shakeshaft, 1989; Wallin, 2004), Britain (Hall 1997), and Australia (Blackmore, 1999) have found that 'patterns of discrimination and disadvantage persist for women; especially those who wish to take on administrative roles in school settings' (Reynolds et al. 2008, p. 38). It is still common to see a dominance of males in leadership positions and a dominance of females in teaching positions whether it be in a university, Tertiary and Further Education [TAFE] or school (Blackmore & Sachs, 2007). Furthermore, Blackmore and Sachs argue that:

> The "problem" of the underrepresentation of women in educational leadership is not about women's lack, whether of ambition or capacities, but rather, it is the consequence of the limited opportunities created by the systematically gendered cultural, social, and structural arrangements that inform women educators' choices and possibilities relative to their male colleagues. (2007, pp. 12-13)

For women to gain leadership positions it often means negotiating their leadership at critical times. Over history, we have seen women's agency coincide with limited resources and women being appointed as the last resort (Rousmaniere 2009; Hauser 2009). However, once in the leadership position, women principals can then balance their own vision of professional behaviour and constructive educational practices, and adapt to their positions (Rousmaniere 2009).

The exploration of gender in school organisations exposes patterns of discrimination and disadvantage that continue for many women, particularly those who wish to take on leadership roles (Collard & Reynolds 2005; Wallace 2006; Young 2004). Traditionally, when male and female are considered, the 'female' is considered 'the less desirable or deficit category' (Reynolds et al, 2008, p. 37). Clark suggests that men and women may behave similarly, but women are more negatively evaluated because the 'chronic imbalance of women and men in the early settlements and the geographic and social isolation experience by Australian women meant stereotypes went unchallenged' (1999, p. 3). This has been the case historically in Lutheran schools.

Traditionally teaching has been considered a 'suitable' job for women, especially in early childhood and junior primary classrooms requiring a degree of 'nurturance and selflessness' which is often thought to be more suited to women (Rashid 2010, p. 209). Similarly, women are considered 'good' deputies and according to Blackmore (2007, p. 11) have become the new middle managers. However, in the middle management roles, women are still often assigned pastoral duties. As Rashid argues:

> It has not been easy for women to cast off this quasi-maternal role bestowed on them and to enter into the perceived 'masculine' world of managerial and leadership. (2010, p. 209)

Patriarchal gender relations have thus reinforced the concept that women are best suited as teachers, rather than leaders.

Another significant factor which works against women in gaining positions is that typical hiring policies and practices of local governing bodies are 'masculinist' in orientation and favour men. Many men believe that women are treated equally and that they have made great gains; researchers do not agree and argue that organisations ignore or marginalise interests (Blackmore 1999; Blackmore 2007; Currie & Thiele 2001; Reynolds et al 2008; Sinclair 1998). In effect, it is as if the issues of discrimination are invisible to men as illustrated in Chard's work with three male principals:

All three heads agreed that being male had affected their careers positively, with George stating "yes, absolutely no argument whatsoever". Daniel agreed: "I start off with huge advantages for getting the principal". Barry considered being male an advantage, although he had "never even thought of that at all. Because I am a man I've never thought about it". (2013, p. 173)

Chard's work illustrated that male leaders did not need to consider their gender which was a 'stark contrast to the majority of female leaders, for whom their gender has featured prominently in their decision-making and how they believe they are perceived by others' (2013, p. 137). Thus, although equal opportunity legislation requires schools to use the entire pool of potential candidates, policies, practices and organisational culture have worked to 'sustain insidious and subtle barriers to women accessing and remaining in leadership' (Blackmore, 2007, p. 8).

In addition, the linear model career path, from teacher to leadership, is an uneasy fit for an interrupted or late starting academic career woman. A dominance of men in leadership positions, particularly principalship, is upheld by the common belief that women will look after children and domestic family matters (Wolcott 1999, p. 10). For women, leadership positions often mean balancing the needs of their family and their profession, as the culture of 'motherhood and fatherhood remain stoically resistant to renovation' (Pocock 2005, p. 32). Although women may want to accept a principal position their domestic responsibilities do not change. As Pocock argues, 'there has been no compensating rush of men into unpaid domestic work as women have joined them in paid jobs' (2005, p. 36). Generally women have the role of primary caregiver for their children and then later in their career for their parents. Research by Lacey (2004) confirmed that 'personal life factors have a much stronger influence on women's career aspirations than they do on men's' (p. 13) and the difficulty in finding a balance between work and family is a significant factor when considering the principal position.

Additionally, women considering or entering leadership positions often believe they need to 'be fully prepared before they consider such a move', whereas, men are quite prepared to 'develop their skill base as they go and use their experience in the new position to improve their performance "on the run" (Watterston 2010, p. 2). Men, who often teach with female colleagues, seek out other males in the school for camaraderie and often find special alliances of support from male primary principals (Smith 2004). Thus, young males will commonly show an eagerness for career advancement early in their career as they are informally and formally mentored by the men who are already in leadership positions. The 'glass escalator

effect' for young men means that even if they do not meet the criteria they will be encouraged by their male peers and male superiors (Maume 1999, p. 501). This support and mentorship often leads to promotion along the leadership trail and ultimately principalship. So while women climb the ladder in female dominated professions such as teaching, their male peers glide past them on an invisible escalator, shooting straight to the top. Thus, as well as a lack of mentors, women also face the barrier of the old boy's network which privileges male teachers.

Many teachers enter the occupation in order to have an input into children's learning and the principal position is often seen as one not directly involved with children, but largely administrative. However, the deputy role can be attractive to aspirant teachers because it usually involves 'curriculum leadership' and it also maintains a 'direct teaching role' (Lacey 2004, p. 15). Once in the deputy role, teachers are often able to train in specific areas not commonly experienced in the classroom such as financial management and this helps them demystify these aspects of management (Lacey 2004, p. 14) making it easier to move into the principal role. In Lutheran schools however, it is not always the deputies who want to move into principalship. Ruwoldt suggests that this is in part because:

> In many schools, the leadership role of the deputy does not provide sufficient training for succession to the principalship. Deputy Principals are seen to focus on activity which supports educational leadership, but leaves them on the fringe of it. (2006, p. iii)

Thus, as experienced in other sectors within the wider education system, research indicates that an increasing number of qualified staff in senior positions is not applying for principalship (Neidhart & Carlin 2004).

Principal shortage has become a theme worldwide with nation after nation referring to a shrinking pool of applicants (Caldwell 2000). A growing body of research evidence suggests that Australian school education systems and the Catholic school system are experiencing difficulties recruiting principals (Dorman & D'Arbon 2003a; Gronn & Rawlings-Sanaei 2003; Gronn & Lacey 2006). Gronn & Lacey suggest that 'candidate pools' are diminishing and some employers are unable to replace current vacancies and meet project demand (2006, p. 104). The principal shortage has become a quantity and a quality issue (Draper & McMichael 2003, pp. 183-196).

Whilst current Lutheran school directors maintain that there is not a shortage of applicants for principal positions, supply problems do exist in pockets, especially in the more remote and

isolated schools. So whilst there may not be a critical shortage and selection panels are able to find the one 'good' applicant, an absence of quality may be more obvious 'when its pool of applicants is reduced' (Gronn & Lacey 2006, p. 104).

It is in the small country isolated Lutheran schools that women often gain their first principal position. These schools, often the less attractive, can be hard work for a novice principal as they deal with the double load of taking on a teaching commitment as well as an administration/management load (Clarke 2003), in addition to domestic duties at home. These country areas are also quite traditional and women have to deal with conservative attitudes of the community (Nolan, 1998) and often a long tradition of having male principals. The change process in these communities can also be complex and slow as conservative behaviour and attitudes produce a culture which is often resistant to change (Yarrow, Herschell & Millwater 1999).

In addition to the extra load and stress of being in a small country or isolated school Dorman and D'Arbon suggest from their research of Catholic schools that 'it is clear that there are added responsibilities placed on principals of Catholic schools compared to government schools' (2003b, p. 137). Faith schools exist as mission of the Church and as in the Lutheran and Catholic system 'the expectations of the principal have remained static with almost surreal, unrealistic demands' (Dorman & D'Arbon 2003b, p. 129). Church expectations require principals to manage changing and expanding roles and responsibilities of schools (Flockton 2001 cited in Dorman and D'Arbon 2003b, p. 136) in addition to the 'challenge of leading a faith-based school community in which their personal lives, faith-commitment and religious practices are placed under scrutiny by Church authorities, the (Catholic) education system, students and parents' (Dorman & D'Arbon 2003a, p. 35).

Unlike their Catholic counterparts, research on Lutheran schools in Australia is limited to that being carried out within the system. Hauser has made a significant contribution to historical work on Australian Lutheran schooling from early settlement times to the 1999s (2009; 2012). Similarly there are many school publications highlighting the journeys of specific schools over specific time frames. Bartsch's contribution focusses on the topic of theology and education, and more specifically on Lutheran theology as a confessional approach for the Lutheran school (2001). He examined closely Australian Lutheran schools and their development, aims and purposes. This involved the first phase from early settlement 1838-1966 through to the second phase, which historically was a growth phase of Lutheran schools

in Australia from 1966-1996. The issue of gender in Lutheran schools and particularly principalship is a topic which was touched on in the late 1990s to early 2000s (Weckert & Hoff 1999; Butler & Maczkowiack 2004). It became a topic at national Lutheran conferences during this time. However, further research by Jericho (2004) and Ruwoldt (2006) does not address gender issues. Even the LDP which provides an avenue for intellectual discussion and study fails to examine this topic.

This thesis suggests that the patriarchal system which formed the construct of leadership and principalship from early settlement times is still present in Australian Lutheran schools today. The structures and processes within the system maintain the status quo despite the teaching force being predominantly women. In essence, for women to break through the barriers and gain a principal role they are required to conform rather than challenge the prevailing power dynamics (Reay & Bell 2000; Gunter 1997) and have the influence and support of directors and principals, mainly men. Thus it is commonplace to see women take on male forms of leadership and to reproduce, not contest the patriarchal structures.

There appears to be limited research on gender equity for women in principalship in Lutheran systems in other countries. In countries such as Finland and Norway where a significant percentage of the population are members of the Lutheran church and where Lutheran theology underpins the education systems (Moller, Eggen, Fuglestad, Langfeldt, Presthus, Skrovset, Stjernstrom & Vedoy, 2005; Ministry of Education 2007), gender distribution of school leaders at both primary and secondary levels in government schools varies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the history of education in Australia illustrates the gendered nature of the teaching profession; teaching is considered women's work and administration/leadership men's work. Within the Lutheran Education system the role of principal has been dominated by males since German Lutherans migrated from their homeland in the 1800s. Although females now have congregational voting rights, are able to be elders, lay readers and synod delegates this has only been a recent phenomenon (Hauser in LEA 2001c). In the Lutheran Church of Australia today there are still no female clergy. From early settlement times, males have dominated the positions of pastor and principal. In fact, in some instances they were the same person. The woman's role was that of homemaker.

Despite the implementation of training courses, the opening up of positions within the church and equal opportunity legislation, women appear to remain the reserve when it comes to principal recruitment. Notwithstanding women's sense of 'call' to the principal role (Bartsch 2001; Schmidt 1987), ingrained attitudes and beliefs within the church and Lutheran communities maintain significant barriers. Children, domestic and family matters, training and the application and interview processes all impact on women as they consider principal roles in Lutheran schools in the twenty first century. These factors will be addressed in the following chapters where women in this study reflect on their personal experiences.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I present and justify my use of a feminist position and semi structured interviews. I discuss the role and impact of myself as the researcher and outline the data collection process including; recruitment, interviewing and data analysis. The limitations, delimitations and ethical issues are also considered. Finally, I give a brief description of the participants and the schools which they lead.

Feminist research

This study is based on the stories from the work and lives of seven women principals currently serving in Australian Lutheran schools, consistent with the view of Hesse-Biber that 'most feminist views and perspectives are not simply ideas or ideologies, but rooted in the very real lives, struggles, and experiences of women' (2007, p. 117). This research aims to share valuable knowledge gained from the interviewees and at the heart is the belief that 'women's voices should be heard' (Hannam 2012, p. 7).

Prior to the expansion of feminism in the 1960's it was assumed that 'whatever was found to be true for men would be true for women' (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004, p. 3). In essence, much research was not only biased in favour of men but women were 'left out of both the research questions and their respective answers' (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004, p. 3). From the 1960s women began critiquing research and questioning why women were being excluded from knowledge construction. As a consequence feminists argued that 'women were different from men and that "feminine" qualities should be valued in the public as well as in the private sphere' (Hannam 2012, p. 8). They began to add women into the research arena and created a significant shift to the concept of who could be considered a 'valuable source of knowledge' (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004, p. 4). Since this time feminist research has developed in both epistemology and method with a growing discussion amongst feminists about what makes a research project feminist. As Hannam suggests:

> Throughout the history of feminism there has always been debate about what it means to be a feminist, which goals should be pursued and which tactics should be used. Feminism in the twenty-first century is no exception. It simply has to deal with different patterns, priorities and contradictions. (2012, p. 93)

Thus, despite the lack of agreement on what specifically feminist research is, most scholars agree that there is a difference between feminist and traditional mainstream social science research (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004) and as a result of the diversity of perspectives feminism is now discussed as feminisms (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2007; Olesen 2000). What has emerged from these debates is that feminist methodology aims at 'creating knowledge that is beneficial to women and other minorities' (DeVault 1999, p. 31).

This study is particularly concerned with the culturally and historically specific views of male and female, and in particular who benefits from these dominant understandings of gender. I am seeking to use this research to better the position of women as they aspire to principalship as I 'give voice to the experiences, concerns, attitudes, and needs of women' (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004, p. 22). In turn this study will create knowledge and give 'hints toward concerns and activities that are generally unacknowledged' (DeVault 2004, p. 235) with the aim of changing women's lives of the future through the development of social policy (DeVault 1999).

Role and impact of the researcher

I bring to this research experience as a teacher and leader in the state school system and as a teacher and principal in the Lutheran school system. As such, I recognise that 'we are part of the world we are studying and that the researcher's own interpretative processes and authorial position need to be taken account of' (Goldbart & Hustler 2005, p. 17). I approached the interviews, collation, analysis of data and reporting with a high degree of reflexivity, being mindful of my 'personal positioning and that of the respondent' so that the research was not compromised (Hesse-Biber 2007, p. 117). As Coffey suggests:

> The research self is part of the qualitative research endeavour, and that the experiences of the researcher are integral to data collection and analytical insight. Where contestation occurs it is in the extent to which our private experiences are (made) public – in both framing of our research problems and in our writings. (2007, p. 1)

The design and methodology is based on the premise that 'the integrity of the researcher – his or her honesty and fairness, knowledge and experience' will be the basis for making sound ethical decisions (Kvale 1996, p. 117). Therefore, although I am part of this qualitative research endeavour it is the interviewees' stories which I have explored within this study

rather than my own. The research data has therefore been studied from the perspective of the seven participating principals and focused on their comments.

As the interviewer I was aware of the nature of my relationship to the women I interviewed: 'I am cognizant…I am both an "insider" and an "outsider"' (Hesse-Biber 2007, p. 114). Although I have been part of the principal world, I am also a researcher with an agenda. I have aimed to minimize the status difference by being understanding, honest and developing trust through self-disclosure, resulting in a good range of responses and rich data (Reinharz 1992). Throughout the interviews I was aware of developing high level rapport and reciprocity and maintaining a level balance of power (Bryman 2012, p. 491).

I was aware from the beginning that my personal history as a principal provided the impetus and direction for this study. I used a 'commonality of experience' to listen, develop rapport and use appropriate questions to move the interview along and delve into the work and personal lives of the participants (DeVault 2004, p. 237).

Data collection

- **Recruitment process**

The recruitment process as approved by Flinders University and Lutheran Education Australia, involved all women principals leading in Australian Lutheran Schools receiving an Introductory Letter from Professor Kay Whitehead, Research Supervisor, via email outlining the study and requesting their willingness to participate (Appendix A). Attachments to the email included; Information Sheet, Letter of Support and Consent form (Appendix A). Seven participants indicated their willingness to be involved by completing and returning the Consent Form to the researcher. The process in which principals were invited to participate in the study enabled me to draw from all women principals currently leading in Australian Lutheran schools.

- **Semi-structured interviews**

The method for this research is grounded in qualitative sociological inquiry and in relatively conventional methods of conducting semi-structured interviews. As an interviewer I was interested in gaining knowledge from the respondents in order to understand and explain

human and social reality within the context of Australian Lutheran schools. In addition to asking questions and exploring issues that are of particular concern to women's lives I am also drawn to issues of 'social change and social justice' (Hesse-Biber 2007, p. 113).

The qualitative interviews began with the assumption that the perspective of principal participants is significant and meaningful (Hesse-Biber & Yaiser 2004). The purpose of the interview was to find out how participants saw their world and to identify the complexities of their individual experiences and perceptions relating to their role as a school principal. The interviews enabled me to attempt to understand the participants' worlds and worldviews relating to their positions as principals.

A one-on-one in-depth, semi-structured interview was used to gather data from each participant. This took place in a previously arranged venue, which was a private, comfortable setting where the interviewee was able to talk freely. The interview process involved me inviting each participant to tell their individual life story around becoming a Lutheran School Principal and their perspective of being in that role. There was therefore one major question which started off the interview and other questions were used as a guide (Appendix B).

Once the initial question was posed I followed the journey set by the interviewee, listening attentively to their input, offering encouragement and giving gentle prompts for detail within their story. Some participants were more articulate and forthcoming than others; however all of the respondents were willing to offer their story. The 'shaped yet emergent' interview style was informal and conversational allowing the 'individual respondents some latitude and freedom to talk about what (was) of interest or importance to them' (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2011, p. 102). Familiarity with the questions and carefully following the theme-line of the participant was important in successfully gathering data. The semi-structured interview was therefore a 'flexible, emergent technique; ideas and issues emerged during the interview' and I was able to pursue leads (Charmaz 2006, pp. 25- 29). I was able to reflect on the interviewees' responses through clarification and open-ended questions and this enabled the 'conversation to flow more naturally, making room for the conversation to go in unexpected directions' (Hesser-Biber & Leavy 2011, p. 102). The interviewees covered a variety of key events and themes including:

- o The interview experience
- o Work and life balance

- Perception of themselves as a woman, teacher and leader in the Lutheran school system
- The impact of professional development and training
- Significant others who have been encouragers and role models
- Career paths, choices and the 'call' to serve
- Isolation
- Challenges and rewards of the principal position

The interview length varied with the respondents from 29 to 139 minutes, with an average of 60 minutes.

Each interview was unique as it combined the specific needs of the interviewee and the personal style of the researcher. The interview was designed to collect significant data which was audio-recorded and later transcribed as the main text for analysis. Transcription enabled me to rethink the conversation and to listen to it in great detail with the opportunity for reflection. I was able to capture particular types of language, hesitations and pauses. The transcriptions were then returned to the interviewee for editing and review. Any further comments and elaboration was welcomed.

- **Data analysis**

Understanding narrative data requires two levels of understanding; firstly the interviewees overall personal life experiences, and secondly, these experiences as they fit within the broader social context in which the interviewee lives (Faraday & Plummer 1979). Through detailed observation and interviewing it was also possible to understand the interviewee as a political being; being influenced and influencing others around them. Within the interview, questions relating to how the participant became to be a teacher, leader and principal gave some useful insights into the social contexts in which women principals live and work.

As suggested by Liamputtong, 'as with immersion in the field, through immersion in the data the researchers attempt to understand what they have obtained. This is data analysis' (2009, p. 277). Through a process of reading and re-reading the transcripts, I compiled a chronology of participants' lives and work and then identified key themes or commonalities across the cohort. This exploration involved moving back and forth from the specific to the general, and the thematic interpretation included the identification of key quotes. Consequently, the

individualized and diverse stories were brought together. In common with Cole and Gunter's (2010, p. 14) work, the interviews revealed 'complexity, contradictions and tensions; the opening up and closing down of aspirations, opportunities and experiences, some taken, some achieved, some missed'.

The interviews and analysis have given access to 'cultural insights' and a way of understanding women's experiences of school leadership and social justice issues in Australian Lutheran schools (Taysum & Gunter 2008, p. 184). The themes and information gained through this study and discussed in the following chapters will provide knowledge and insight for women aspiring to and gaining leadership in the future. This project therefore 'aspires to be for women as much as it is about women' with the objective of creating social change (Burns & Walker 2005, p.66). As Cole and Gunter argue:

> It is about the creation of opportunities by others in the past for their daughters' daughters in the future. It is about how we are creating possibilities for our own daughters in the future. It is also about the way in which different contexts, historical, political and sociological, all play their part in this creation of opportunity and complexity. (2010, p. 14)

Limitations and delimitations of the study

In this study I followed the definition by Creswell who suggests that 'delimitations address how the study will be narrowed in scope, whereas limitations identify potential weaknesses of a study' (2003, p. 150). The main delimitation of this research project lies in the fact that it was narrowed in scope by a word limit and a timeframe within which this study was carried out and reported on.

This study is limited in that the findings could be subject to other interpretations. I acknowledge that both the researcher and the participants brought their social biographies and realities to this research and although a set of questions was used during the interview to draw on specific topics, what I selected and presented from the interview provides one account of social reality. The second limitation is in relation to the data collected. It was expected that the participants offered particular accounts of their life experiences for the study, some stories were told and others not. Finally, the number of women currently in principal positions in Australian Lutheran schools is relatively small at 28 (LEA 2013h, p. 30) and 25% volunteered from this group. It is not known whether the participants were a representative sample of all women principals currently in Lutheran schools and this could therefore be a limitation.

Ethical issues

This study had the conditional approval of the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee and the written support and approval of Mr. Stephen Rudolph, Executive Officer, Lutheran Education Australia (Appendix A). Standard protocols such as informed consent, freedom to withdraw at any time and participants being given a choice to have the research conducted at their school or another suitable place ensured maximum ethical conduct. There is no deliberate deception involved in this research and interviewees could withdraw any comments up until the time of publishing. The research data is stored securely for at least five years from the date of publication.

As the research pool is relatively small at 28, anonymity cannot be entirely assured, as noted in the letter of introduction. However, each participant was given a pseudonym by the researcher. The researcher also aimed to disguise and/or generalize responses to maintain anonymity. In addition, the researcher has not identified specific schools and locations in any research reports, and all institutions and individuals participating, or referred to, were de-identified.

Participants' profiles

The participants of this study came from a variety of school types including primary and composite primary and secondary schools scattered throughout Australia. The schools represented two of the three regions of Lutheran schools in Australia, and they were located in rural and urban outer metropolitan areas.

The seven women principals in this study vary in age, teaching career profiles and family circumstances. Six of the women were married and had children and one was single. The age range of the women varied from being in their mid-forties to mid-sixties: two were in their late forties; three and two were in their mid-fifties and mid-sixties respectively. Currently the national data of principal age in Lutheran schools shows that 'statistically 45% of Lutheran principals are below the age of 50, 42% are in the 51-60 age group and 13% are 61 or over' (LEA 2013g, p. 1). This sample was therefore older than the national average. Five of the women had entered principalship in their early to mid-forties and two entered when they were in their mid to late fifties. Five of the respondents entered principalship in

the Lutheran system after their children had completed primary education. One entered the system when her child was in primary school.

The respondents started teaching between the 1970s to the 1990s. Three of the women had completed the MPP in 2001/2002, one completed the LDP in 2005/2006 and the remaining three had completed neither. Six of the participants completed theology training prior to entering principalship and one respondent completed her theology training whilst in principalship.

Conclusion

By underpinning this study with a feminist perspective the main emphasis of my research is on the public and personal lives of women within a social and cultural context, Australian Lutheran schools. My personal history as a principal provided a commonality of experience as I used semi structured interviews to gain insight into the personal and professional lives of the seven participants. The semi-structured interviews were opened with a leading question which then allowed for spontaneity on the part of the researcher and interviewee as the respondents constructed data about their personal and working lives. The journeys of all seven participants to principalship are different; however there are key events and themes which will be examined throughout this thesis, with the ultimate aim to improve opportunities for women aspiring to principalship in Australian Lutheran schools in the future. This feminist study is therefore guided by Weiner's (1994) three principles:

> Feminist research involves a critique of unexamined assumptions about women and dominant forms of knowing and doing; it involves a commitment to improve life chances for girls and women; and it is concerned with developing equitable professional and personal practices. It is thus critical, political and praxis–oriented (cited in Burns & Walker 2005, p.66).

CHAPTER 4

JUGGLING WORK, FAMILY, DOMESTIC DUTIES AND STUDY

This chapter explores interviewees' reflections on their career paths from their early teaching days to their decision to apply for principal positions. This chapter will firstly discuss the impact of having children and taking care of domestic and family matters on women, which often involves a loss of continuity as they suspend their careers. School structures, especially the timetable in secondary schools make it very difficult to work part time, resulting in women taking time away from teaching whilst they care for young children. Secondly, I will focus on women's under estimation of their leadership capacity and lack of confidence once they decided to apply for leadership roles and principalship. This is often found to be the result of a lack of opportunity to gain leadership experience because of their interrupted career path. Furthermore, I will explore the issue of training including the MPP and subsequent LDP developed by LEA in conjunction with the Australian Catholic University [ACU] and the Australian Lutheran College [ALC] to train and equip leaders for Lutheran schools in the twenty-first century. Finally, I discuss the role of mentoring and the interviewees' perspectives of the programs.

Suspending careers to raise children

Of the seven women interviewed in this study six were in a married relationship and had children prior to entering principalship. A number of interviewees took a break from teaching completely to have children and care for them. Andrea and Anne both put their teaching career on hold, and stayed home whilst their children were young. Jodie started her teacher training when she was pregnant with her youngest child. A number of the women, after having some time at home whilst their children were very young, went back into teaching in a part time capacity. This worked better for some than others, depending on the child care available, extended family support and the school structures. As Elizabeth commented:

> I was able to go back to part time work there very comfortably. So I did work at .6 full time equivalent, when I went back after my eldest was born. I had every intention of coming back to work full-time. How stupid and naive was that?

The timetables of school, particularly in secondary schools, made it quite difficult for women to work part time because 'most classes have one lesson each day, so a part-time teacher can be required at work for five days a week' (Brady 2006, p. 12). This was the case for Andrea who although part-time, her teaching was spread over five days. As she explains she did this to work in with the secondary timetable:

> Yes, to fit in with the timetable…because I live so close to the school I was quite happy to come in, drop my children off at school, bring them in, teach a lesson, go home and do my washing and cleaning, and then come back and teach lesson six and then pick the children up. I think in that situation you do work more hours than what you are paid for.

Andrea, like many women, took on all of the domestic work, including caring for her children, washing, cleaning and cooking. Although Elizabeth did not have to attend work every day like Andrea, she was often required to teach for part of a day, as she explains:

> One day, on Thursday I was in for lesson 1 and for lesson 8. So I used to have to pay for childcare for the whole day because they didn't like children being picked up during the day and being brought back. I did that for a while… I stayed .6 and had my second child 3 years later. And then we got someone to come into the home to look after the two and take the eldest to kindy and that worked quite well.

The secondary school timetable influenced Elizabeth's life as she performed a balancing act between 'work obligations, childcare and personal expansion' (Tamboukoo 2000, p. 471). Brady suggests that 'secondary school structures have failed to reflect the reality of women teachers' lives' and because the timetable does not affect men in the same way nothing much has changed over the years (2006, p. 12). When Elizabeth had her third child she almost gave up work as suitable childcare for her youngest child was difficult to find, as well as meeting the needs of her other two children. As she states:

> And then we had the third child…we had a lot of trouble with childcare for him to the point that I was thinking of giving up work…I came back early once and didn't ring to say I was coming early and my child was in a cot, in a room with the door shut screaming his head off and we never went back…childcare was always an issue.

Elizabeth, like Andrea saw it as her responsibility to care or find suitable childcare for their young children. It was never a consideration that her husband would interrupt his career. For these women then, in addition to finding suitable childcare, there was often the added problem of long waiting lists, the issue of cost and closeness to work or home. As Pocock suggests, 'childcare also illustrates the institutional lag in Australia...the public provision of quality, affordable, accessible childcare is weak' (2005, p. 42).

Elizabeth went on to claim that the school has become more accommodating for mothers, 'better now than what it was' in relation to female staff who have children. She goes on to say that it is now a 'consultative process':

> It has gone from the stage, when I had my children…you had to make sure that your kids did not interfere with your work. That was definitely the vibe in the school and I don't think our school is any different to any other, to now when the employer bends over backwards to accommodate the needs of the family.

Although Elizabeth suggests that schools are going to extreme lengths to accommodate mothers, this would not be the case in the majority of Lutheran schools. Elizabeth is probably more sensitive to the needs of teaching mothers than her male counterparts.

In telling their stories, it became obvious that these women achieved principalship in Lutheran schools later, rather than earlier in their careers, and certainly not when their children were infants or toddlers. Some had entered principalship when their children were in primary school but it was more common for their children to be high school age or older. Thus, women set their goals and ambitions on becoming a principal after the responsibility for dependents is most intense because principalship is a job that does not leave enough time in the day to do family jobs (Pocock 2005, p. 33). This contrasts strongly with men who rarely interrupt their teaching career to stay home to care for their children or family responsibilities. As Elizabeth suggested:

> I still think that women, and that would be my experience here at this school, are more likely to put their careers on-hold to raise children… not totally, we did have a male, a Physical Education teacher, with each of his boys, his wife took leave and then he took leave after for a year. For a year or six months or so…quite…for a bloke a significant amount of time. But that is a rarity.

Elizabeth's comments reinforced the concept that men rarely interrupt their career to take up child care duties and if they did she comments that it may be for a short time. Her comment that, 'for a bloke a significant amount of time' is telling in that our culture sees things differently for men and women in relation to taking time out to raise children. This is supported by the work of Pocock who suggests that 'the dominant culture of the maternal care of children means that part-time work is a main means of work/care combination for Australian women' (2005, p. 41).

Elizabeth's youngest child was nearly 20 when she and her husband felt they could move for Elizabeth to take up a principal role in the country. Elizabeth commented:

> He was nearly 20 and old enough to look after himself. Would I have moved when they were at High School? No. We couldn't take them out of a school that they liked and couldn't have disrupted their education at that stage, so you are probably left with older people like me, able to move, because of their family circumstances.

Here Elizabeth is making two points, firstly, that she would not disrupt her children's education or take them away from their friends and school. Secondly, there is the assumption that she would have to move to take up a principal role. Most of the participants had to move to isolated areas or small country schools to secure their first principal position and this will be discussed later.

Comments by Anne highlight how a break taken to raise children can significantly affect the skillset as well as being away from the profession and its contacts. In relation to applying for a principal role she makes the following comment:

> For whilst I thought it would be great, I put it off while I had children, and then when of course I had children, I took some time off, and you need to get back into it and grow your skills again and it got later and later. So it was then that I started to think seriously that my kids are sufficient now, what I am going to do for me.

The impact of a career break or working part time to manage women's domestic and care responsibilities can have a significant impact on a woman's career path. Women who take maternity leave for either short or longer periods may then find themselves disadvantaged for promotion and having to compete with candidates who have similar experience but are younger and therefore viewed more favourably by interview panels (Hutchings 2002). Being out of the workplace for a period of time may also impact on networking and sponsoring which can be crucial for career advancement. Lacey found that:

> Teachers who do not follow a typical lock-step career progression path appear not to be sufficiently valued. Teachers believe that selection panels, particularly in county areas, discriminate against aspirants who do not fit into a known and trusted mould, (generally male). (2004, p. 9)

The interviewees highlighted the issue of finding suitable childcare and the loss of continuity in the job. Other disadvantages include the negative impact of part time work as 'the decision to work part-time carries a hefty penalty: it is mostly casual, which means lost security, wages and working conditions' (Pocock 2005, p. 42).

Women who leave their teaching position, which is usually full time, to take maternity leave in Australian Lutheran schools are not guaranteed a position which will allow them a 'suitable balance between work responsibilities' despite this claim in the Enterprise Agreement (Lutheran Schools Association [LSA], p. 32). If the teacher was full time prior to

maternity leave and then wants to return on a part time basis in order to care for their young child/ren this needs to be negotiated with the principal. If the request for part time work cannot be accommodated, 'the employee is entitled to be provided with reasons in writing. A principal may reject a request for part-time work on reasonable business and education grounds' (LSA 2014, p. 32). Some principals will therefore only accommodate women returning to their previous fulltime classroom position. The culture in Lutheran schools, as in Australia's institutions in general does not support women with young children who wish to work in paid employment part-time. This is supported by Pocock's study of work/care regimes which suggests that:

> Australia's institutions have channelled much of women's paid work effort into either insecure part-time work or full-time jobs in the image of the care-free male worker, while unpaid labour has not changed much at all. Australian culture norms remain firmly attached to the idea of maternal carers, 'proper mothers' who are available to care generously, as well as 'proper workers' who are male, full-time and care-free. (2005, p. 43)

Thus, in an attempt to reduce work-family conflict by using work-family policies women then suffer career consequences and penalties such as loss of pay, position and promotion (Leslie & Manchester 2011, p. 415).

Deciding to apply for principalship: lack of confidence and support

When women did decide to apply for principalship in Lutheran schools their confidence was often low as a result of time away from the workforce whilst caring for children, a lack of role models who supported them in developing their leadership skills, and the lack of opportunities to take on a role as deputy or acting principal to hone their skills. Most of the women had also been brought up in Lutheran homes and educated in Lutheran schools which historically were patriarchal. There were therefore few female role models or encouragement for girls to aspire to leadership as noted by a participant in the Women in Leadership Workshop Report; 'and role models, there are so few women to set the example, to give you something to base yourself on' (LEA 2001c, p. 9). In addition, their early life experiences reinforced their understanding and belief that women in Lutheran schools and homes were not 'leadership material' as described by Hauser who uses 'the old German adage about the woman's place: Kinder, Kirche, Kuchen (children, church, cooking)' (LEA 2001c, p. 9). As Blackmore suggests:

> How students imagine themselves as agents in their future life course draws from wider symbolic and cultural references within their school and society, in terms of who leads and how they lead. Often they are confronted with symbolic domination of white/female teachers

and white/male leaders, which offer a particular message to students, parents and aspirant minority leaders. (2010, p. 2)

In addition to learned beliefs through an upbringing and education system which discouraged women aspiring to leadership roles research suggests that generally many women have difficulty identifying themselves as potential school leaders and commonly underestimate their own capacity for the position of principal (Lacey 2005). In this thesis the interviewees spoke about their feelings of inadequacy and lack of confidence (Lacey 2004, p. 9). When Elizabeth successfully applied for a leadership role as Head of Middle School she explained her feelings of inadequacy:

> If I had known that that was what the role was I would not have applied…I would have been too scared…I would've thought that I would not have been able to do it…there would be someone better than me.

This is where the reactions of men seems to be quite the reverse. Men take on positions being quite comfortable knowing that they will learn along the way and do not seem to question their ability to do the job once appointed (Lacey 2004, p. 9). Women however, need to know that they have the experience and will be able to do the job. As Watterston states, many women underestimate their 'leadership capacity and organisational capability' (2010, p. 7).

In addition, there is also a sense by women of needing to have experience before applying for a principal role (Lacey 2004; Watterston 2010, p.17). Lyn discusses how she would have liked some leadership experience before going into principalship. However, she comments that schools at the time were not big enough to have Head of Junior, Middle or Senior or Curriculum officers. As she says:

> Schools [in this region] weren't big enough to have a Head of Junior school…it was a single primary school when I went there. So there were no real leadership opportunities at the time.

She states that in relation to her taking on a principal role, 'I don't think I would have chosen it if there had been a Junior Head of school position'.

Elizabeth and Andrea both had a range of leadership experiences before applying for principalship. After teaching in a number of state schools over a period of 12 years, Elizabeth took up a position at a large Lutheran school in the city, the school where her father-in-law, husband and children attended. Elizabeth taught at this school for a period of 14 years in which time she took on a number of senior leadership roles in different areas of focus including curriculum and special needs.

Elizabeth was then successful in gaining the Head of Middle school position at another large school in the same city. Initially, Elizabeth dismissed the idea of applying for the position because it would have added at least 15 minutes to the daily trip to work. Although she was 'quite comfortable' at her current school she explained that 'a couple of my close friends had moved on to other schools in the previous couple of years so I was probably getting a bit restless'.

Elizabeth applied for the position and was successful. However, she found the job to be a much higher level of leadership than she anticipated:

> I only found that out when I had a chat to the principal and he said, 'now when I am away the Head of Senior School and the Head of Middle School take it in turns to be Acting Principal'.

Elizabeth fulfilled the role successfully and said, 'I really enjoyed my 5 years there'. This leadership position gave her experience and confidence and put her in a good place to apply for her current principal position. Similarly, Andrea taught in the state system upon graduating as a teacher, took time out to have children and then went back to teaching. She also had the opportunity to take on numerous leadership roles which also lead to her successfully applying for principalship.

Anne and Rachael both had experience as a deputy before they took on the role of principal. Louisa had worked in another system as a principal and found the transition to a Lutheran school quite straightforward. Jodie, like Lyn, went from a classroom teacher to the principal position in a small Lutheran country school and found the first few years extremely hard work.

Study prior to principalship with the Millennial Principals Project (2001/2002) and the Leadership Development Program (2005/2006)

In addition to experience in middle management and as part of their preparation for principalship, Elizabeth, Jodie and Rachael participated in the MPP (2001/2002) and Anne participated in the subsequent LDP (2005/2006). Rachael mentioned one principal who encouraged her to participate in the MPP:

> The key person for me was…my principal, he was a big influence…when I was there it was the first time they were doing the Millennial Principals Project…we actually had four of us from the school at the time who went into the first program. Of the group that were there in that period that I was there, there are at least three of us that are currently principals. So for me personally he was very encouraging and he said I think this is definitely a way or a path that you could go down.

All of these women except Rachael completed their Masters prior to principalship. Andrea, who neither completed the MPP nor a Masters but had undertaken theological studies, suggested that the vast number of different roles she had taken on in previous years had to a large degree prepared her for principalship. She was also working in an area that was isolated and not a popular choice for principal candidates. Louisa on the other hand had followed a different path to principalship in another sector and was later encouraged to move across into the Lutheran sector.

Until the MPP was offered, the recruitment to school leadership positions was via teacher education with all applicants having successfully gained teacher registration within their state (Moller 2002, p. 2). Under this system it was most common for young men to be moved along the 'glass escalator' towards principalship early in their career (Maume 1999, p. 501), at a time where women were having children and putting their careers on hold. These men would have completed a Certificate or Graduate Diploma in Theological Studies, a requirement for all teachers in Lutheran schools who teach Christian Studies and for those who move into principalship.

As noted in Chapter 1, the MPP was developed by LEA in the early 2000s to address an increasing concern within the church regarding the next generation of principals. At the beginning of the new millennium it was apparent that an increasing number of deputy principals were disengaging from the principal position (Ruwoldt 2006, p. 1). The MPP thus aimed to identify and develop future leaders for Lutheran schools. Participation was not limited to deputy principals but others were invited to apply. The MPP was based on the need to prepare principals specifically for Lutheran schools.

Since the MPP in 2001/2002 there have been three more LDPs (as it is now known), offered over the past decade: 2005/6, 2010/11 and 2013/14 (LEA 2013g, p. 7). In partnership with the ACU and the ALC, the program aims to develop leadership capacity within the Lutheran Education system. Its guiding principles for the participants include:

- Greater understanding of the nature of leadership and administration of Lutheran schools.
- Reflection on their own abilities and how God might be calling them to serve in the context of the Lutheran school.
- Achievement of necessary skills and understandings to be an effective leader in the Lutheran school.
- Greater level of confidence in leadership capacity. (LEA 2013g, p. 7)

The LDPs have changed in focus from the MPP. Whereas the MPP's major focus was to develop principals, the LDP is taking a wider approach and preparing participants for a variety of leadership positions within schools. LEA argues that 'when teachers perceive themselves as leaders and are able to engage as leaders in the teaching and learning process, schools are transformed as learning communities' (2013f, p. 1). The LDP therefore aims 'to explore the often divided worlds of teaching and leading in a conceptually sophisticated and strategically powerful way, so as to nurture sustainable educational change, led primarily by teachers' (LEA 2013f, p. 1).

To be eligible for admission to the course, an applicant must have completed the following prerequisites:

1. Four year Bachelor degree in education ; or
2. Bachelor degree in an area other than education and a Graduate Diploma in Education; and
3. 3years of teaching
   (ACU, 2014, p. 2)

The LDP has two components. The first stage is a leadership profiling exercise which gives 'participants the opportunity to identify and reflect on significant experiences and achievements in their leadership journey and provide a basis for planning future personal and professional formation' (LEA 2013a, p. 1). The profiling is carried out with the use of a questionnaire which is completed by the LDP participant and is discussed with the LDP managers, all men who have the role of the Deputy Director in each region.

The second component involves formal study, spread over a two year period, involving four units including a research project and a Leadership Conference. This course is 'directed towards educators who want to be people of influence in education' (LEA 2013f, p. 1). The course offered by the ACU together with the ALC provides the context and experience to help students understand concepts such as 'authentic leadership and management, learning communities, spirituality, professional development, quality learning and educational change' expressed within Christian values (LEA 2013f, p. 1). The course aims to explore the often divided worlds of 'teaching and leading', highlighting the partnership of 'teachers and administrators in building a culture of leadership in schools' (LEA 2013f, p. 1).

The formal study contributes to a Postgraduate Certificate in Educational Leadership, and comprises four 10 credit point units spread over a two year period. Unit 1, Perspectives on Leadership from the ACU is delivered via a Leadership Conference. The final day of the leadership conference comprises discussions in groups of mentors and mentees. Students are

encouraged to apply the theories and information presented at the conference to 'understand, explain and critique particular school practices (LEA 2013f, p. 2). This conversation will lead students towards Unit 4, 'The Project' where they will apply theories of leadership and organisation to recognise, describe and evaluate particular practices (LEA 2013f, p. 2). Students can choose an area of professional interest to engage in this work-based learning.

Unit 2, 'Education and Theology in dialogue' is delivered via a workshop mode and online by ALC (LEA 2013f, p. 2). The theological themes include; creation, the two kingdoms, law and gospel, Christian as saint and sinner, theology of the cross, church and ministry, sacrament, and vocation (LEA 2013f, p. 2). Contemporary and perhaps controversial themes, including women leaders as spiritual leaders and women's ordination are not covered. Unit 3, 'Values and Leadership' is delivered online by ACU and ALC (LEA 2013f, p. 2). This unit is designed to prepare leaders for situations which will require ethical and value laden decisions, an area according to the data from this research that is not well managed by many School Council members.

The conference speakers, LDP managers and Directors are largely represented by men and include themes revolving around leadership, organisational theories, theology and deep seated values. Historical influences such as patriarchy and contemporary themes are not addressed and thus the status quo is maintained. Today's leaders and principals in Lutheran schools are a reflection of what has been in the past, dominated by men, with a male way of operating.

An important aspect of the program is the mentoring relationship set up between the course participants and a mentor. This is an aspect of the program which has undergone some revision from its initial form in the MPP. Although mentoring was seen as valuable in the MPP it appears to have been the weak link in the program. There were issues with 'choice of mentor, ongoing support of mentors, purpose of mentoring' (LEA 2004a, p. 1). It appeared that the personalities, skills and situations were not well matched and time was also an issue (LEA 2004a, Appendix B). Further development in this area has seen a change in focus and now in the LDP mentorship is considered 'a supportive relationship for reflection and growth…mentoring will commence with reflection on the leadership profile report and support ongoing formation and career planning' (LEA 2013a, p. 1). None of the participants in this study discussed the mentoring they received through the MPP and the LDP. The absence of any comment suggests that the mentoring process was not a significant part of the

program. Elizabeth did mention that she was now mentoring two men who are currently in the LDP 2013/2014 and she meets with them when she travels to the city for professional development or meetings. None of the other participants in this study were mentors in the LDP. However Louisa did mention that she is preparing her male Deputy Principal for a position of principalship. She explained that 'my deputy, he says he wants to be a principal one day. So I have been involving him very much in getting him ready for being a principal'.

Both of these women were preparing and mentoring younger men for future leadership roles. Louisa said that she also prepared women but this was not a specific focus. These women are therefore assisting LEA in mentoring men for principal roles within the system.

On successful completion of the two year tertiary component, at Masters Level, participants graduate with a Postgraduate Certificate in Educational Leadership from ACU. Participants are then eligible to complete a Master's degree through the ACU or the ALC if they wish. Elizabeth, Jodie, and Rachel had completed the MPP. Jodie explains that she continued studying:

> So that gave me the Graduate Certificate in Educational Leadership, and then because I had done the Australian Lutheran College Graduate Diploma of Theology in Education they offered me the Masters if I wanted to continue on and do some more subjects. So I went on and did that.

Jodie completed her Masters and then applied for leadership roles in other schools. Anne completed the LDP and continued on to complete her Masters:

> I had studied beforehand so I did some of my Masters, I think it was almost a third of it …a quarter to a third when I was working fulltime and I had young children and I decided that I really would like to take a year off and concentrate on it and get it done, and not take several years. So my husband and I have always been very good at tag teaming within the family. So he had a year off a couple of years ago and I decided that it was my turn. So I took a full year off to finish my Masters. As it happened my mum got ill and I actually nursed her. So I didn't finish my Masters off. So then I took the first semester off the next year. So I was able to finish that.

Although Rachel completed the MPP she is still working on her Masters, over ten years later. As she states:

> I have done the Millennial Principals Project, and at that stage I did the Graduate Certificate in Educational Leadership…I am currently trying to finish my Masters in Educational Leadership.

So for these women the process of completing the Masters became quite a chore and took a number of years because of the pressures of the job, family responsibilities and in one case the need to nurse a sick mother.

Regional Assistant Directors, all men, are involved in overseeing the organisation of the course, assisting with conference details and general encouragement to participants. Once participants complete the program the Regional Directors also assist the graduates in seeking out leadership opportunities. It is noted however, that completion of the course does not necessarily guarantee a position of leadership (LEA 2013c, p. 1). However, for those who assume the position of principal, 'LDP will be followed by ongoing development and support. This will be a regional responsibility', presumably that of the Regional Director (LEA 2013e, p. 1).

Participation in the MPP and the LDP does seem to have assisted some of the women interviewed in gaining a principal role at a time when there was a shortage of leaders aspiring to principalship. In Elizabeth's interview she noted that:

> The principal said, have you thought about the job? He said I've been looking at what you have been doing with the Millenial Principals Project, and the director says you should apply.

This prompting did encourage Elizabeth to apply and she was successful in gaining the position. Similarly, Jodie used the MPP study to situate herself in a place for promotion and even though she was initially not successful in gaining a position, once the Director knew she was actively searching for leadership roles he suggested that he had 'a perfectly good position for you if you want to apply for it'.

After some consideration she did apply for this position and was successful. The activities of the MPP and the LDP mean that participants are in direct contact with Directors, Deputy Directors and principals who often sponsor aspirant principals and are persons of knowledge and influence when it comes to appointing principals.

One significant change to the responsibilities of being selected in the current LDP is that participants must have a 'willingness to be mobile and actively seek to serve in formal leadership positions where the need arise' (LEA 2013c, p. 2). This has always been the case for women even though it was not formerly stated, as Elizabeth commented that 'you can't do the course and think you will get a leadership role in your current school or even that the role will be in [the same region]'. However neither of the two men whom she is mentoring in the

LDP, is prepared to move to an isolated or interstate school. Furthermore she comments, 'that concerns me and I think it is harder for women to move than men because most blokes won't move with their wives'.

It appears that aspirant principals are enrolling in and completing the LDP. The statistics show that of the 86 principals in Lutheran schools today 33 are graduates of the MPP (2001/2002) or the LDP (2005/6, 2010/11) (LEA 2013g, p. 7). The impact of these programs on women taking on principalship is inconclusive as Paterson writes:

> Of the 166 graduates there is an approximate 50/50 split in gender (however, further investigation needs to be undertaken to see if this translates to females taking up leadership positions in the same proportion). (LEA 2013g, p. 7)

It should be noted however that with women representing a much greater proportion of teachers in Lutheran schools, the statistics show that of those completing these LDPs only 50% are women. It is unknown however, whether a greater proportion of women apply and are not successful in getting into the course, or whether those registering are 50% women and 50% men. Additionally, although women have had places within the MPP and LDP there is no follow-up data to support the assumption that this has impacted positively on women gaining principalship or leadership positions in Lutheran schools within Australia. It may in fact be simply training teachers to be given leadership and principal positions if there is an under supply. One of the research participants Lyn makes a very important observation regarding those women who are now completing the LDPs. She states:

> I have noticed a big difference in the women coming through in the Leadership Development Program. A number of them have very clear intentions, this is what I am aiming for…and I think it is just so positive with some of them coming through with that attitude.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the experiences of the women in this study supported the existing research that women will look after children and domestic family matters, often at the expense of their career. They either took a break completely from teaching or took on part-time work which carried a heavy penalty through the loss of security, wages and working conditions (Pocock 2005). The implications of a career break or working part-time often meant that women were disadvantaged for promotion as they had lost skills, confidence, networks and sponsorship. Thus the women in this study gain principal roles much later than their male counterparts. As Elizabeth highlighted, 'motherhood obviously effects the time of entering principalship for women'.

A number of the interviewees had completed the Lutheran training through the MPP and the LDP to equip them with skills to advance their career. The focus on this preparation is on the public sphere, never on domestic relationships, work/family conflict and issues raised by the women in this study. The training, use of male presenters/regional directors/mentors and content all lead to conforming behaviour to maintain the status quo and did not guarantee promotion to a principal position. The women are mentoring aspirant men rather than women. Finally, women might be being prepared for principalship in the LDP, but Lyn raises an equally important issue 'I only hope they are treated fairly in the whole application… interview process'. This issue will be discussed in the following chapter which focuses on achieving a principal position.

CHAPTER 5

HE TAPPED ME ON THE SHOULDER: WINNING A PRINCIPAL POSITION

As stated in Chapter 1, following ACLE 1 in 1999 and the establishment of a task force, the 'Women in Leadership' group in 2000, LEA set a goal to increase the participation of women in leadership, particularly principalship. Their first strategy was to implement a policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran Schools (2002a) and in addition they set national targets which aimed to increase the number of female applicants and actual appointments to principal positions to be reached within particular time frames (LEA 2002b). Their stated goal was to:

- Increase the number of female applicants to principal positions to 50% in three years
- Increase actual appointments of females to principal positions to one in three in three years toward the ultimate goal of 50% (LEA 2002b)

Some of the women in this thesis were preparing for and applying for principal positions at this time. Their experiences showed that they were still significantly discriminated against during the application and interview process, despite the introduction of the new policies. When these women were successful in gaining a principal role it appears that they had learnt to be conventional and conforming, often through training in the MPP and LDP, and they also had the critical support of principals and directors. Most of these women gained their first principal position in small country or larger isolated schools, which created its own set of issues to be discussed in this chapter.

Gender equity in leadership positions

One of the outcomes of the 2000 workshop was the development of a policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran Schools, adopted by the Board for Lutheran Education Australia [BLEA] (LEA 2002a). In relation to leadership positions it states:

> Those aspiring to leadership positions should have equal access to and encouragement towards those work experiences and training opportunities, both formal and informal, which promote responsibility and leadership at all levels of management and governance. (LEA 2002a, p. 1)

Currently the most significant training program offered by LEA to experienced teachers is the LDP. As noted in Chapter 4 it has been reported by Paterson that there is a '50/50 split in

gender' (LEA 2013g, p. 7). This does not create equal access as women represent a much greater proportion of teachers in Lutheran schools.

In addition LEA state that:

> We affirm the right to work as inalienable and recognise the right of women and men to be equally valued and to be given equal opportunity in employment. Benefits and conditions should be equitable for both men and women, and reflect a willingness to adopt family-friendly practices. (LEA 2002a, p. 1)

Data gained in this research project together with statistics provided by LEA (2013h p. 30-31) does not support the statement that LEA gives equal opportunity to the employment for both men and women. Additionally, conditions are not equitable for men and women. Women still carry the load of domestic work and child care and as a consequence enter principalship much later in their career. Women continue with a double workload and there is no evidence to suggest there is a 'willingness to adopt family-friendly practices' for those aspiring to principalship (LEA 2002a, p. 1). In contrast, to equip themselves for leadership through participation in the LDP women need to take on the additional task of study which creates a further burden for those aspiring to principalship.

In addition to the policy for Gender Equity, LEA committed itself to national targets which aimed to increase the number of female applicants to 50% and actual appointments to principal positions to 33% by 2006. Furthermore, it aimed to increase female presence on interview panels, governing bodies, committees and secretariats of the LCA (LEA 2002b, p. 1). While the aforementioned policies were being written and adopted, the women interviewees in this thesis did not necessarily experience equal opportunity when they sought principalship in Lutheran schools in the new millennium.

Called to the role of the principal in Lutheran schools

The focus of leadership in the Lutheran school as outlined in the Leadership Framework for Lutheran Schools (2005) is in the school's mission:

> To provide to Church members and to others in the community, a formal education in which the gospel of Jesus Christ informs all teaching and learning, all human relationships, and all activities. (LEA 2005, p. 1)

The principal carries out the mission and ministry of the Lutheran Church and uses core qualities including; 'personal, moral and relational disposition' (LEA 2005, Attachment 1). The focus of leadership is carried into action through a versatile person who integrates; 'knowledge, skills, personal qualities and understanding' (LEA 2005, p. 2). The Lutheran

principal goes about his/her daily tasks using capabilities which are; 'theological, personal, relational, professional, managerial and strategic' (LEA 2005, p. 2). Theological capability involves 'witnessing to the Christian faith in the Lutheran tradition based on an understanding of scripture and Lutheran theology' (LEA 2005, p. 2). The principal endeavours to be ethical, caring and conscience driven, whilst nurturing trusting working relationships which encourages others to be the best they can be. The principal embraces professional capability which shows a good understanding of curriculum and pedagogy. In addition, the principal is accountable for the management of all school resources and demonstrates a strategic capability through visionary and strategic thinking (LEA 2005, pp. 1-5). The principal is the spiritual leader of the school with the following responsibilities:

> As a spiritual leader of the school community, the principal represents the LCA (Lutheran Church of Australia) in all she/he does, and works with pastors, congregations and Lutheran school departments at national and state levels to enable the school to function as an effective agency of the church. (LEA 2004b, p. 1)

LEA is resolute that principals of Lutheran schools need to be Lutheran and fulfil the role of 'spiritual head' of the school and this was recently acknowledged and confirmed by a recent survey of Lutheran school staff (Worthing in LEA, 2014, p. 1). Worthing summarizes a number of things learnt from the study:

- 92% of serving principals support the concept of the principal as spiritual head of the school. The remaining 8% are neutral.
- 83% of serving principals support the policy of principals being active members of an LCA congregation. The remainder are evenly divided between those who are neutral and those not in favour of this policy.
- 78% of non-senior leadership teaching staff support the concept of the principal as spiritual head of the school, with 13% neutral and 9% opposed.
  (LEA 2014, p. 1)

Most of the interviewees spoke about a 'calling' to serve others in their public life, which for some influenced their decision to apply for a particular principal position. Elizabeth who was raised in the Lutheran faith, talks about the position of school principal as something different from other employment. Elizabeth explains:

> And it's quite interesting that when I thought about what I wanted to do I felt a genuine sense of 'calling' to apply for this job…if I wanted to just be a principal, I guess I would have scattered applications to any school that I could apply. But I quite consciously only applied for this one, and I think that was as I said, I felt a genuine sense of calling…it just fell into place.

While women spoke of a 'calling' to principalship, the application process does not serve them well, particularly not equally with men.

The application process

There is now a common process for the interview and selection of principals for Australian Lutheran schools. The positions are advertised on the LEA website, 'Teachers on net' and sometimes in the newspaper. To assist an applicant to prepare the application, the School Council will establish selection criteria, provide a position description and an information pack which gives specific information about the school and its community. The following is an example from a Lutheran school advertising for a new principal:

Applicants should include the following in their application:

1. A covering letter, including relevant biographical information and contact details.
2. Experience and career history.
3. A statement that addresses the Key Selection, outlined under Selection Criteria
4. Cultural interest, sporting and recreational pursuits.
5. The names and candidates of at least three referees, including your current school Principal (if candidate does not already hold this position) and your congregational Pastor.

Please note that the referees of shortlisted candidates may be contacted prior to further communication with the applicant. (Trinity Lutheran College Mildura 2014, p. 8)

There are a number of criteria that are often listed as mandatory. The applicant must be an active member of the Lutheran church, as testified by the local pastor.

The applicant must also be accredited to lead a Lutheran School which involves completing a Certificate or Graduate Diploma of Theology. Women who apply must therefore combine work and study together with the added demands of family. As in Louisa's case, she gained the principal position without having this qualification and she then needed to complete this within five years of being in the principal role. Although not usually stated, it would be looked on favourably to have completed the LDP, the training specifically set up by LEA to develop leaders within Lutheran schools.

To work in a Lutheran school, as in state schools, the applicant must be registered in the particular state or be eligible to be registered which also involves having a police check. Additionally, to apply for a principal's role it would be assumed that the person has had successful experience in teaching and educational administration. This does not necessarily mean that the applicant has had principal experience but they may be in a leadership role such as a deputy or Head of School. Some applicants have moved from classroom teacher to principal. In addition, some positions now require the applicant to have a qualification in leadership/management. This means that women preparing for principalship need to combine

study with work and family responsibilities, whereas their male colleagues usually manage to combine their study and work roles, leaving the family responsibilities to their partner.

There also appear to be some hidden criteria, not advertised, but on the wish list for many School Councils. Women in this study identified some of the hidden criteria as:

> Some big strong male figure…in his suit and tie…emanate this power and this strength…physical strength…being able to control everything…a knight in shining armour…and have all this wisdom as well.

This description shows how the significance of 'masculine' privilege is inscribed upon men's bodies and influences social interactions (Haase 2010, p. 177). Women in this thesis believe that this account illustrates what School Councils are looking for in a principal and illustrates how the principal's position is still seen as men's realm and management is still conceptualized as 'masculine' (Blackmore 1993; Blackmore & Kenway 1993; Haase 2010). This supports the work of Sinclair who suggests that leadership is very much a 'bodily practice, a physical performance in addition to a triumph of mental or motivational mastery' (2005, p. 287). She also proposes that 'bodies cannot be understood outside of the social context, culture and history' (2005, p. 391).

In the above example the school is asking the applicant to list any cultural interest, sporting and recreational pursuits. This immediately disadvantages women as they are often too preoccupied with family responsibilities to pursue outside interests such as these (Moller 2002). Moller found in his study of Norwegian School Principals that men often talk about 'their belonging to many communities of practice outside the school' (2002, p. 14).

Unlike state schools where there is a merit system, the Lutheran system gives no written guidelines as to who can apply or how much experience the applicant must have. In relation to experience, the women in this study usually had some leadership experience prior to gaining the principal position; two had been Head of schools, two had been deputies and one had been a principal in another system. Of the two who had no leadership experience, one had been involved in specific projects involving literacy and numeracy and had always aspired to principalship, and the other had been involved in curriculum writing. Their experiences are unlike their male counterparts who often had short stints as coordinators and deputy before they took on the role of principal.

The inclusion of the Curriculum Vitae could significantly disadvantage women as it shows up gaps in their service in schools as they take on mother and home-duties. As stated by Miller & Morgan:

> Such hidden work is often highly gendered and it is perhaps not coincidental that such work does not readily find a place in the construction of CVs. (1993, p. 142)

As noted by a woman principal in the Weckert and Hoff survey in 1999, the value of child rearing is not evident in the application and interview process. She explained that:

> Women take time out for child rearing and while they are doing that they cannot be gaining experiences in schools, nor can they devote the same amount of time to study as their male counterparts can.

A woman's Curriculum Vitae [CV] will therefore have gaps and inconsistencies not evident in men's CV. Women also tend to underestimate their skills and achievements in their CV which may disadvantage them in gaining an interview.

The belief that a man had to be the principal or in charge of the secondary school is still as evident as it was in Gertrude Jacobs' era. The school at Loxton, in the late 1940s was flourishing under Gertrude's leadership. However, once the school reached a certain size it was seen as 'necessary' by the local community to have a man leading the school (Hauser 2012, p. 96). A man was recruited from the state system to fill the leadership role and even though Gertrude shared the leadership responsibilities for a year, this man ultimately took over the principal role the following year when Gertrude took up a teaching position at Tanunda Lutheran School. Similarly, when Angaston Lutheran School reached a certain size and Gertrude, the founding principal, left to take up a teaching position in Adelaide it was considered 'imperative' that a man took over the role of principal (Hauser 2012, p. 99). There is the common belief held by members of School Council and the school community in general that men in schools are needed for the positive example they will provide for boys, a concept challenged by researchers today. Wright and Challender suggest that more importantly than sex 'the key factor was the capability of the teacher; the ability to teach and support learning' (2012, p. 931). This supports Elizabeth's comment on the positive impact she has had on boys throughout her teaching and leading career, 'I have usually managed to handle boys very, very well and that has never been an issue for me'.

Other hidden criteria include the concept of mobility, where principals need to move to take up principal positions, something which is often hard for women as men tend not to move to follow their partner. Additionally, the principal position in Lutheran schools is a fulltime

position with no consideration for this position to be part time as in other sectors (Lacey & Anderson, 2009). For many women, sharing the principal position with their domestic and home duties is not a realistic option and they therefore forego the idea of principalship.

The interview process – 'you don't meet the wish list'

The application forms are usually requested to be sent to the Executive Director of the Region or the School Council Chairperson to be considered by the interviewing panel which is often made up of: the Executive Director or his Assistant, the School Council Chair and additional School Council members, a Pastor of the supporting congregation or a Pastor involved in the school and another Lutheran School Principal. The current Executive Director for LEQ is a woman and the other two regions, LSA and LESER have men in the Executive Director positions. All of the Regional Assistant Directors are men. The statistics show that currently there are only 25.6% of women chairing School Councils of Lutheran Schools (LEA 2013h, p. 30). Pastors are all men because women's ordination is not accepted within the LCA. Combining all these factors it is common for the interviewing panel to be dominated by men.

The Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran Schools (LEA 2002a) gives guidelines for School Councils and specifically states that schools should 'eliminate all attitudes and practices that reflect a gender orientation and discrimination' and in relation to procedures for employing staff 'there is gender balance on interview panels' (2002a, p. 2). However, even if there is equal gender representation it 'is not sufficient to ensure that the panel has an understanding of gender bias' (Lacey 2004, p. 7). In addition there is no process for the system to deal with conflict of interest, and panel members often have little or no experience in the interviewing process.

The interviewing panel short lists, interviews the applicants and makes a recommendation to the local School Council. Some School Council members, especially in well-established, small Lutheran country schools, have negative views of women being principals. In Jodie's case when the interviewing panel put forward their recommendation to the full School Council:

> They said, look we have found an amazing educator and she is very, very good at what she does, she is excellent in her field. I had worked in numeracy and literacy etcetera, and one of the Council members who was male said, couldn't we have less excellence and a male? And that is what I walked into basically…a male oriented society.

When men and women are both considered for the principal position the woman will be considered the 'less desirable' (Reynolds et al 2008, p. 37).

There is still a discriminatory attitude amongst School Council members of discrimination that existed in early settlement days where only men were sponsored by the Lutheran parishes to be the teachers and leaders in their settlement schools. Clark suggests this is due to the 'chronic imbalance of women and men in early settlements' where the 'stereotypes went unchallenged' (1999, p. 3). Later in the history of Lutheran schools when Gertrude Jacob led a number of schools she also experienced widespread discrimination (Hauser 2012). Another interviewee, Andrea, felt the School Council had definite ideas about their ideal school principal. She explains:

> It is that whole male-female thing, and you know, and I knew that the ideal, in the ideal world they were looking for a knight in shining armour to come in. Some big strong male figure.

She continues:

> And so for me … being a short, youngish female…I just didn't fit the picture…you know what is wanted, or what the wish list is, and you know that you perhaps don't meet the wish list, you sort of think, well you are not…it is that you are not being valued for who you really are…and for what skills you do have…I know that I had strengths in management particularly… and I did feel that this school needed that.

Andrea could see that the School Council was looking for masculine characteristics, something she could not offer as a young woman despite her many good management qualities. Thus, patriarchal gender relations and role expectation continue to reinforce the concept men lead and women teach.

The process from submitting the application for the job, to an interview was often long and drawn out. Andrea believes the time lag was due to the wishes of the School Council not being met in the applicants that did apply. The whole process took about three months and Andrea was eventually the successful candidate. Her experience suggests that there is little accountability, a lack of direction for the process, with practices being 'masculinist' in orientation (Blackmore 2007). Like Andrea, Elizabeth also experienced a long wait for a decision to be made by the School Council regarding her appointment:

> It took them a long time to decide who should be principal here after the interviews. A long time, to the point that I thought I didn't have the position. I found out later that they were deciding between me and a bloke. And it was obviously a very hard decision for them to make. It's not…they had had female principals here in the primary school but there was the feeling that a male principal had to be in charge of the secondary school, and once he

left…the previous principal, we were left with the Head of Primary who was female, and a Head of Secondary who was female. So it meant the whole leadership team was female.

Although Elizabeth was successful after a very lengthy process, the attitude from the School Council suggested that they had reservations about her being the principal. She shared what was written in the schools' promotion policy:

> Whenever I make a public statement I should have the male Chair of the Council with me so that they could see that there was a male presence in the school.

Elizabeth goes on to say, 'that was said in 2007!'

It would appear that from the accounts of the women in this study there is no gender specific training for School Council members who are on selection panels. Thus, in summary, despite equal opportunity legislation, policies to do with the selection of principals, contemporary practices and traditional patriarchal culture maintain barriers that make it difficult for women to access principalship in Lutheran schools. It is therefore essential to have Lutheran networks, mentors and encouragement from people in power, such as principals and directors when applying for principal positions.

The influence of mentors, encouragers and Lutheran networks

A number of the interviewees highlighted the role of senior management and colleagues who provided motivation, encouragement and direction to their career development (Watterston 2010, p. 7). Elizabeth found that as Head of Middle School she had the opportunity to learn from mentors and two male principals who were good role models. As she explained:

> I worked with two principals there. I also liaised fairly closely with the Primary school, so I saw a lot of that principal at work as well…He's a really good role model. He's a real thinker about what he wants his school to be like, and carries through on that…. Being in that role was a very important stepping stone to come through to principal.

Elizabeth was approached by male principals for both the leadership job she held prior to the principal role, and also when the current principal position became vacant. The director also encouraged her in applying for the principal's role. She also had significant Lutheran networks:

> I have been in Lutheran Education for a long time… I have got the networks there to call on … we have been on the same committee for a while, so you sort of…you have got the connection.

Initially she was encouraged to go into a leadership position by a principal who had observed her work in the MPP (2001/2002). This training, led by senior male colleagues would

involve training and cultivation into the way things are done in the Lutheran system, which also means increasingly operating with male frames of reference and supporting an unequal system.

In this study a number of the participants indicated that they were encouraged to apply for specific principal positions by male principals or directors. Most of the women interviewed did not recall initially planning as young teachers to enter leadership and/or principalship except for Jodie. Jodie, who had commenced teacher training after having her children, recalls meeting with the District Director on completing her initial training and being asked where she would see herself in 10 years-time. She vividly recalls answering that 'she wanted to be a principal'. She puts this down to encouragement from her father who would say, 'you strive to be the very best that you can in the field that you are in …you can do this'. So for Jodie it was ten years exactly to the year that she took up a principal role. Jodie also spoke about the support she had from a woman principal, citing some of the things she learnt and now uses in her role as principal:

> She had the most incredible understanding of how to turn things around and get people to think…probably coaching it would be called now. She would never tell you what to do, she would ask you the right questions, and then you would know the answer basically. She was incredible. Yes, she was the next big influence. The hardest bit is since she's gone and I've got older I suppose…and now I am the one.

The majority of the women in this study took on a principal role later, rather than earlier in their career. Louisa states that she was approached by a male principal in the Lutheran system and explains:

> He tapped me on the shoulder and said we are opening up a new school and I think you would make an awesome principal…because I had been a principal…but in a different sector.

Although Louisa was leading in a different sector she had the relational networks of growing up in a Lutheran home, attending a Lutheran Secondary College, being a member of a School Council for a Lutheran school and knowing significant others such as pastors, principals and directors in the Lutheran church and school system.

Because there were so few women principals when the interviewees were aspiring to principalship, most had to rely on men for encouragement and mentorship. However, not all of the women interviewed had experienced support and encouragement in their senior roles or when applying for principalship. As Anne states:

> No, I probably didn't have other people saying anything in particular. I mean the principal with whom I had worked with, when he knew I was going for it (principalship) he was really pleased.

Anne's husband however, was not sure that applying for principalship was a positive thing. As Anne stated:

> My husband was…he didn't want me to go for principalship. Really he was concerned about the effect it might have on me, the effect it might have on the family, how I would cope, you know how as a family we would logistically do things. He was supportive, of the fact I wanted to do it, he never tried to stop me, but he would rather that I had taken a different course.

Anne suggested he was concerned for the balance within the family and for his wife. Perhaps he was also concerned about how much extra 'domestic work' he would be required to do. Although their last child was in Year 12 and had therefore almost completed high school he was concerned with how they would 'logistically do things' as a family. The issue of balancing work and family will be addressed in the following chapter.

Rachael was also encouraged to consider a principal role by a colleague who became a Director.Rachael recalled:

> There is a job I would like you to consider. So she kind of encouraged and pushed me towards that path I guess and I don't know if I would be here today if she hadn't said, well why don't you have a go at this.

Rachael considered the position and was successful in gaining the role. It could be determined then that the encouragement of her former male principal to participate in the MPP training program, the encouragement of the Director, being well connected to the Lutheran Church and having attended a Lutheran primary and secondary school, all contributed to Rachel gaining the principal position.

The previous examples highlight the impact a supporter plays in winning the position of principal and because of the gendered nature of hierarchies in education, promotion relied strongly on the support of more senior male principals or directors from within the system. It also involved learning the 'male' way of doing things so that achieving a position of power as a woman is 'the end product of a process of conformity and collusion with, rather than challenge to, prevailing power dynamics' (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 149; Gunter 1997).

The first principal job

Five of the seven women participating in this study won their first principal position in either a small country school or a larger isolated school. Jodie, Lyn and Anne's first principal position were in small country Lutheran schools after having applied unsuccessfully for other roles. Jodie had unsuccessfully applied for a Deputy and Head of School position interstate and was then encouraged by the Director to apply for a small school in her home state. He said that, 'I have the perfectly good position for you if you want to apply for it'. After hesitating and withdrawing her application, 'because it was such a long way', she resubmitted her application and was offered the job.

Anne, who had been a Deputy Principal for about four years also applied unsuccessfully for a principal position. However, the position was readvertised and Anne applied and was successful. But as Anne said, it was not an easy decision, 'It took a lot of courage to apply again. Because I thought, are you mad, you have been knocked back once, would they re-look?'

Lyn had not planned to be a principal when she entered teaching however, later in her career, after completing some time as a curriculum writer she came back into the classroom and 'I found it hard to go back to teaching…the passion wasn't there, so I needed to do something else'. She then applied for principal positions. Before this time Lyn commented:

> It wasn't in my wildest dreams. Probably when I was in my early 40s and going back to teaching after being oversees and having children that was when I was very career focussed.

Lyn however, had to look further afield than her home state. She applied unsuccessfully for two principal positions locally and was finally successful in winning a position interstate in a small country Lutheran school. This meant relocating with her husband and family. In taking up the principal position she not only had the challenges of working in a new environment and a role she had not done before, she also had to deal with the relocation of her husband, who needed to find a new job, and her children relocating to new schools. This meant that Lyn's husband had to accept unemployment, in the short term at least (Dorman & D'Arbon 2003a). Lyn commented that 'it was really hard because he left everything that was familiar, and he needed to re-establish himself, reinvent himself here'.

It was not only a big move for the family unit, but the job was very hard at first, because Lyn had no previous leadership experience. The schools in her home state were too small at the

time to warrant Head of Schools or Deputies, so she went straight from the classroom into principalship. As she noted, 'the first years were really, really hard…because I had never been in a leadership position… Yes, it was a very different journey…sink or swim'.

Jodie suggests that the small country school in which she won her first principal role 'was fabulous to cut my teeth in', however she also talked about how hard the job was, 'it was hard; it was tough, probably the hardest 12 months of my life, the first year, and the year later it got 50% easier'.

It is in these small country schools that women often gain their first principal position. These schools, often the less attractive, can be very hard work for the novice principal (Clarke 2003). I will discuss their work in small Lutheran communities in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the women in this study had varying career paths which led to principalship. However, once the participants decided to follow the path of principalship there appears to be significant factors that encouraged or inhibited that pathway. In most instances the women had significant networks and family relations to members of the Lutheran church and schools which seemed to help them along their career path. In addition, most of the women in this study felt a distinct call to principalship in Lutheran schools. Their personal reflections during the interviews however, show that they experienced a gap between policy and practice, usually through discrimination by School Councils and interviewing panels. The belief that a man had to be the principal is prevalent in Lutheran schools and influences practice. However, despite the interviewees being disadvantaged in many ways during the application and interview process, it was in most cases the influence of directors and principals which assisted them in gaining the principal position. How these women managed the job, which often meant being in small country schools and isolated areas is addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THEY CALLED ME HEADMASTER: IN THE PRINCIPAL POSITION

In this chapter I will address women principals' current work in Lutheran schools. Firstly I give an overview of the interviewees' careers since their initial appointment as principal. Most had experienced their first principal position in rural areas, and subsequent positions included both rural and urban schools. I will explore the interviewee's belief that they had a distinct 'calling' to their role of principalship and I will also examine the ongoing challenge of dealing with traditional community attitudes, the difficulty of managing both administration and teaching roles, and isolation from both colleagues and family. Furthermore I will discuss the hard work, dedication and commitment needed as these women balanced the demands of work, personal life and family. I will then discuss the forms of leadership taken up by the women, issues of accountability and competition, their support groups and the importance of mentoring and appointing men, supporting Lutheran values and in many ways ultimately supporting the status quo.

Overview of principal positions

Elizabeth and Andrea both gained their first principal position in an isolated school and they are still in the same position. Andrea's school is well established and Elizabeth's school is continuing to grow.

Anne, Jodie and Lyn also gained their first principal roles in small country schools. Anne is still currently leading in the same school. Lyn however, after a period of about 6 years moved to an urban school which has grown in the time that she has been in leadership. Jodie stayed at her first principal position for about 5 years until she felt the 'call' to another Lutheran school principal position, again in the country.

Rachael commenced her principal role in a small school in the suburbs and after three years moved interstate to take on a principal role in a small country school. Louisa also gained her first principal role in an urban Lutheran school and she is currently in the same school. Thus, at the time of this study five of the seven principals were currently serving in either small country schools or larger isolated schools. The most experienced principal had served in Lutheran schools for fourteen years, whereas the least experienced had served as a principal

for less than two years. The average time of being in the principal role for these women was six and a half years.

A common theme for these principals was the challenge to maintain student numbers or to accommodate new growth. Two of the principals established new schools and had the extra challenge of overseeing the preparation of the site, organising buildings, interviewing parents with enrolments and interviewing staff. Both of these principals summarized their time at their school as being hard work but worthwhile in that these schools were growing and developing.

Historically, Gertrude Jacob experienced similar challenges as she accepted 'calls' to small country areas to establish new Lutheran schools. Hauser writes about Gertrude's journey to her first job as a qualified teacher in 1943, at the age of 22:

> Gertrude Jacob's first journey from Adelaide to her new school included catching a bus, then a train, and changing to another train on a different gauge before finally being picked up in a horse and buggy. (2012, p. 95)

Gertrude was the only teacher of the school which was at Appila in the mid north of South Australia:

> The school had an enrolment of between sixteen and twenty students in the four years she spent there. She was responsible for all aspects of the program, including the curriculum for one Grade 8 student whom she utilised the American Dalton plan she had learned about at teacher's college. (Hauser 2012, p. 95)

Gertrude was a progressive teacher and it was reported that 'during her first school inspection, she impressed her official visitor with the way she was applying various learning theories from her studies into the classroom' (Hauser 2012, p. 95). Like the women principals in this thesis, Gertrude was resourceful and resilient in carrying out her role of teacher and school principal.

Challenges of working in small rural communities; attitudes, workload and isolation

Although the first teaching post required a lot of hard work, passion and resilience, the women in this thesis spoke about a distinct 'call' to the position of principal. According to Bartsch this 'calling' refers to their understanding of vocation. As a Christian they are responding to 'the call as a citizen to serve the world' (Bartsch 2001, p. 123). It is not about gaining for 'their own benefit in well-paid or powerful positions' but rather the calling means

serving others in their public life (Bartsch, 2001, p. 123). As highlighted by Andrea in her comment:

> I have always had the sense that I am not really in control of what I do, and that things just happen because that's the way God has planned them…and so you know, that is why I am sitting here today because that is just what it is I am supposed to be doing…and I just do it. So it's not for really any gain, for me personally, it is all about me just being used I guess, and I say that in a positive sense, for this is just what I am supposed to do and so I do it, and I do get a lot of pleasure, I do enjoy my role and I have enjoyed all of my roles here.

Schmidt describes this 'calling' from a Lutheran confessional viewpoint implying that it is service to God through service to others 'with as much justice and compassion as possible' (Schmidt 1987, p. 484). Similarly, the Catholic church sees staff as living out a 'calling' as illustrated in the commissioning of staff by the Bishop of Toowoomba, William Morris: 'I commission you to undertake your vacation, a service to society grounded in a work of love' (Catholic Education Office 2009, p.1).

Jodie talks about her experience of working in Lutheran schools as a 'calling'. Even as a teacher Jodie felt a 'calling' to teach at a particular school and then further into her career as a principal. She explained:

> It is that feeling that you get…and the same thing happened here. If anyone would have told me that I would be here, I had never been here for a start, and there was never any intention for me to come here. But it was right, it was what I was thinking about a lot, so I applied for the position and they accepted or offered me the position.

For both of these women their language gives the sense that there is no ambiguity or mistake that they are meant to be in this job.

Louisa too was brought up in a Lutheran home and went to a Lutheran boarding college to complete her secondary education. She taught briefly for two years in a Lutheran College. Then she travelled and taught at various schools including a Catholic College. Later in her career, coming back into Lutheran schools, she has developed a growing, thriving school. Although she does not talk expressly about a 'calling' to this school, she commented that 'starting a brand new school I can see God's plan here'.

Most of the women in this study were confident in being Lutheran and sharing this amongst their school community. This is inconsistent with the work of Dorman and D'Arbon who suggest that the requirement to overtly show their faith could be seen by some as an inhibiting factor for leadership succession (Dorman & D'Arbon, 2003b). Their discussion, based around leadership succession in Australian Catholic schools, suggests that:

Church expectations that principals be leaders of a faith community and practice their faith in a traditional, overt fashion puts expectations on principals that do not exist in secular schooling systems. (Dorman & D'Arbon 2003b, p. 129)

Dorman and D'Arbon comment further that in a time where there is 'slippage in practice' by the Catholic population they pose the question as to whether the school can be a 'genuine faith community' (2003b, p. 129). Bartsch would suggest that 'Lutheran schools are now catering for a new clientele and students in "Lutheran" schools are no longer predominantly Lutheran' (2001, p. 23). He suggests that:

The provision of schooling for large numbers of non-Lutheran students has sometimes occurred in response to the request of parents in the community for such educational opportunities. At other times, a planned outreach strategy has been in place to try to involve families in Christian outreach through the school and a congregation has been formed around the school. (Bartsch 2001, p. 23)

This is the case in Louisa's school where the school has become a place of worship and the school community together with staff had arranged for a worship time on Friday evenings. Unlike many other Lutheran schools where the congregation has been responsible for starting the school, in this instance the school is developing the church. Louisa explains:

The first Friday night of the month we have what we call a community celebration. It is youth activities from 5.00-6.00 o'clock. We have a fairly informal service with Communion. Very family orientated, guitar and keyboard and that stuff.. And then we have a sausage sizzle from 6.30-7.00pm.

This worship time has become quite popular and now the families want to have worship more often. As Louisa explains, 'the first Friday of the month will be a community celebration and then on the third Sunday of the month will be a more formal church service'.

According to Bartsch these changes have meant:

That the Lutheran school has moved from being somewhat separatist in outlook, with a German-Lutheran religious, cultural, linguistic and social background, to being mainstream and middleclass. (2001, p. 23)

The changes in population of some schools is resulting in a very low percentage of students from Lutheran families. Principals need to ensure that the 'Lutheranism' of the school is maintained. In addition to teacher training in theology, one school principal, Louisa, was very strategic about employing Lutheran staff or teachers who had worked in Lutheran schools. As Louisa explained, 'I was very, very strategic with my appointments…everyone is either a Lutheran or has worked in a Lutheran school'. Louisa was fortunate to have ample applicants when she advertised for jobs as she was in a location where many teachers wanted to live and work. As she said, 'fortunately we have always had so many people apply for

positions, in fact last year we had two vacancies because we were growing and I had 250 applicants'.

When appointing staff Louisa was looking for a spiritual understanding and commitment as well as the applicant being an excellent classroom practitioner. As Louisa states:

> So I have to make sure, when people are paying top dollar [in school fees], this is the most expensive school in the area, so when people are paying top dollar they have to have a top facilitator for their child's learning.

Louisa was also able to employ men who were often scarce in schools, particularly in the primary section and like many or her colleagues and School Councils, Louisa was favouring men and not using merit selection. This has not always been successful however, as Louisa explains:

> When we moved into Year 11 I thought, we can get some more male teachers, because they tend to be more in the secondary…there were a number of new teachers I had that year, but two of the male teachers I terminated.

This was quite different to Jodie's situation where the school was in the country and still establishing itself. The tight financial situation meant that graduates from the city were the common source of staff. However, this is slowly changing as Jodie suggested, 'now we are finally employing staff that is experienced, so until recently we probably had to choose the cheaper option'. In relation to staff, Jodie comments that there is usually a period of time before staff really commit and work well within the school culture. As she says, 'it takes two or three years for staff to get us and get on our journey'. Jodie was talking here about the spiritual aspect of being a Lutheran school and what that means in relation to relationships, worship and the general school culture.

In addition, these small country schools were usually in areas that were quite traditional. As Lyn suggests about her first principal position, 'Yes, very traditional…Yes very traditional in the church as well. It was very much a typical rural school… very traditional and there was also mistrust'. Because of the gender imbalance in Lutheran schools historically, women principals were uncommon and almost a novelty or not to be trusted, as Lyn recalled:

> I remember one of the retired pastors of the Lutheran Church called in one day and he said "I heard there is a woman headmaster around here and I had to come in and see it".

She also went on to say that 'for years I was called Headmaster. It was very typical'. Although Lyn had been successful in gaining a position in a Lutheran school in a small country town, she was treated with wariness from the Lutheran community. She was also

looked on with suspicion by the Pastor, who was accustomed to working with male colleagues, as ordination of women Pastors in Australia is not accepted, and principals in Lutheran schools had traditionally been men as well. Despite this, Lyn worked hard in her first school community, using her 'passion for curriculum' to develop the school and increase numbers. Working effectively and fruitfully at this small country school gave her the experience to apply successfully for a large urban primary school in the city a number of years later. As Lyn says, 'so yes, if I look back at the things I feel good at achieving… curriculum…at both schools'.

It was common in these small country schools for principals to face conservative attitudes in the community (Nolan, 1998). Staff would comment to the principal 'this is how we do things around here'. The principals in this study responded in a number of ways and in particular Anne spoke about taking things 'slowly…slowly'. Jodie agreed that it was very hard work in a school which had quite ingrained traditions and staff that did not move to other schools. She explains:

> It was quite a strong Lutheran traditional school; they had just celebrated one hundred years. It was quite tough, with staff too that don't move on. You know, how can they move on when there is no other school close by? So you have staff of twenty-five years that have been there, and possibly need to move. You know just because it is nice to move around.

This well-established community had a long tradition of male principals. Therefore, Jodie, a newly appointed woman principal, encountered systems and policies which had grown into a culture of shared aims and comfortable reality (Clarke & Stevens 2006). The change process in this community was complex and slow as conservative behaviour and attitudes produced a culture that dictated the behaviour of residents and also of the teaching principal (Yarrow, Herschell & Millwater 1999). It was a difficult task for Jodie as she interacted with the community which had developed a strong male-dominated ethos. Even before Jodie arrived at the school some School Council members had expressed their wish for a male principal with 'less excellence', rather than a woman with excellent credentials. Similarly, Lyn was referred to as Headmaster for years after being in the school. From this perspective, parents and school community members have viewed the leadership role of the principal as that of the traditional, preferably married man (D'Arcy 1995).

Leading a small country school would have been challenging in Gertrude's time as it is today. Clarke (2003) suggests that part of the reason for these positions being so difficult is that these small country schools create a double load for the principal as they take on a teaching

commitment as well as an administration/management load. All of the women in this study, except for two, had teaching loads in addition to their principal role. This would usually not be the case in larger city schools.

In addition, the workload in these small country schools is also often greatly increased because the principals are much more immediately important to the day-to-day running of the organisation. This was highlighted by Rachael who talked about the power failure on the morning of our interview and the expectation that she would know how to fix it. In small schools there are heightened expectations and demands for accountability from parents, staff, system administrators and policy makers.

Elizabeth was successful in her application to a larger isolated school which bought about different challenges. Elizabeth and her husband were willing to move as their children were past secondary school age and independent, and Elizabeth's husband was working in a highly sought after profession. Securing a job for him in this country town was not difficult. Furthermore this school was in a part of the country with which Elizabeth was familiar and where she had lived as a child, and was therefore already known by the community. This position worked well for Elizabeth and her family as her children were independent and her husband was able to easily secure a job in the new location.

Elizabeth highlighted how being in an isolated school impacted on collegiality and support. The long travel times by car, or the expense of an air fare often meant that these principals had limited opportunities to exchange views and practice as they were restricted from attending meetings and professional developmental events. As Elizabeth explained:

> Distance is a really big issue. And in terms of leadership, it is a massive issue; I am very isolated from my peers…I don't know that there is any easy solutions…more money, but that doesn't help you with more time out of the school. If they would recognise that leaders in country schools have to spend more time out of their schools because of the distance they have to travel and gave us some money to put another leadership position to cover that that would work brilliantly.

> We have got to a stage this time of the year you chose your PD very carefully because we have got no money left in the PD budget…

Because of distance Sue and Elizabeth both chose to collaborate with leaders from other sectors who were either in the same vicinity or close by.

Jodie also talks about the loneliness and isolation of being in a country school:

> You know yourself; nobody wants to be friends with the principal. Nobody wants to socialize with the principal…they are worried about socializing and having one or two many drinks…yes it is lonely…and that would probably be one of the hardest things…I have a couple of friends here, affiliated with the school; the business manager and a couple of other people but on the whole teachers don't particularly, or the other staff, don't really want to be my friend…and that's fair enough, I totally understand it…it is just hard.

Loneliness is a common theme that was talked about by the interviewees and has been experienced and noted by other women principals in Lutheran schools over time (Weckert & Hoff 1999). Although being a principal in a country Lutheran school is often the 'stepping stone' for better positions, Jodie suggests 'it is like doing your time' with the hope of getting back into a city school. Thus, taking up positions in the country often meant moving away from family, friends and support systems. To alleviate the loneliness and isolation some of the principals explained that when they go to the city for meetings or professional development they also use this opportunity to catch up with their adult children. As noted by Jodie in relation to attending meetings in the city:

> I go there on a Thursday for the board meetings, I make sure Friday is a work day where I visit schools or meet with the Director or whatever, and then I have the weekend…or at least Saturday and catch up with my children, and then Sunday back here.

Similarly, Elizabeth used these meeting times to catch up with her grown up children, in addition to meeting with colleagues and friends.

I have the enthusiasm but I don't have the energy

All of the women in this study talked about the hard work, dedication and commitment in carrying out the job of principal (Moller 2002, p. 10). The principal role required long working days which were intense, and fewer holiday breaks than teachers. It is not surprising then that these woman talk about their job as a kind of life dedication. Their stories are about strong commitment, working long hours, and being closely connected to their school. It is also not unexpected that they struggle to find a balance between their public and private life (Moller 2002, p. 10) as they cope with the excessive workload (MacBeath, O'Brien & Gronn 2012, p. 422). Lyn talks about her commitment to her work and that she has invested a lot of time. She has however found this draining and more than a decade in principalship feels she no longer has the energy to keep going and 'conveys a sense of winding down' (Gronn 2007, p. 202). As Lyn states, 'I have the enthusiasm but I don't have the energy'. She talks about the hours required:

> I have been working hard to reduce my hours from 65 back to 55. It is a lot of hours though. It has been reduced this year. I know there are meetings I should have been involved in. Generally, I leave home; I aim to leave at about 7am. Winter it is later. I leave school at 6pm… Night meetings really knock me out. I take 2 days to get over a night meeting.

Lyn not only works long days but also has the feelings of guilt of not being at meetings which she feels she should attend. Striking a balance is essential for Lyn if she is to persist with her vision and avoid burning out. As Lyn suggests, maturity and previous experience does not necessarily assist in developing sustainability.

Although women in principalship have accommodated different work patterns Blackmore also suggests that the intensity of the job particularly impacts on women principals because of the discourses that are circulating about women as typically being:

> More democratic, collegial, caring, curriculum and student focussed compared to male principals. They are also met with the expectations of being good change agents and at the same time being efficient administrators. (Blackmore 1999 cited in Moller 2002, p. 11).

Andrea for instance says she has 'good managerial skills…and deals with issues as they arise'. Jodie talks about strategies she learnt from a previous principal whereby she involves staff in the decision making processes. Jodie, Elizabeth and Louisa all talk about their involvement with and caring for children. Louisa teaches so that she gets to know the children. She comments:

> I still teach year 8's so that I get to know those kids at High School…it means that I really know those kids. It is all about developing relationships with them.

Similarly, Elizabeth taught the secondary classes when she first moved to the school; however this was more as a cost cutting measure. She still teaches but in a more 'casual capacity' which fits in better when she has to be out of the school for meetings. Jodie also teaches the secondary students Christian studies. This concept of developing relationships and being caring and supportive is in line with what Blackmore (1999) would describe as the stereotyped version of female principals and adds to the pressure of women principals.

Working long hours at demanding and complex tasks can cause conflict and be seen as incompatible with family responsibilities that women often hold (Moreau, Osgood & Halsall 2007, p. 243). Elizabeth believed it was her responsibility to manage the household and parenting activities and she experienced obvious work-family conflict as she considered meeting her work obligations whilst also maintaining the family functions such as getting her son to school (Cinamon & Rich 2005, p. 366). She commented:

> So there were logistics about getting him to school…My husband worked 2 days on and 2 days off…but when he was working he had to be at work at 7 o'clock, so he couldn't do the transporting of our youngest to and from school, except on days when he was off.

As Elizabeth went on to explain:

> So there were things like that, that I had to think about…I don't know whether male principals think about those things in the same way…I don't know…I guess you have that responsibility. My husband is very good at looking after the children but that is when he was off work.

So it was an assumption that it was Elizabeth's role to ensure her son got to school regardless of the requirements of her job. Similarly, Andrea talks about the difficulty of a leadership position which required extra hours and responsibilities. She says that 'when I look back on some years I think, I don't know how I survived those years and having a family'.

Being in the principal position meant that hours increase significantly with extra meetings, often extending into the evening, and extra work on weekends. Six of the seven women in this study entered principalship later rather than earlier in their career as the impact of having children and taking care of domestic and family influenced their career paths.

It was more common for these women to have two full time jobs, one during the day at school and the other at night in the home. Although now in the principal position, Andrea is still the main carer in the family, as she says, 'I am still now the one that does all the cooking. It is not like I go home and have my hot meal for me on the table. I go home and start cooking'. Andrea also talks about the difficulties when she is expected to attend meetings or conferences and has to be away from her family. This is difficult because she is the main carer, and even though her children are older and 'really good' she still struggles with being away from them. As she says, 'I know they survive, but there is that home-work tension there'.

Moller also suggests that the intensification of the principal role impacted largely on the women in his study because of the expectations of both their public and private lives (2002, p. 15). Rachael talks about the balance between work and home, something she is struggling with at this time when she has just moved to take up a principal position at another school. She says, 'this is where I am not doing too well at the moment…having a good balance in life'. The theme of keeping professional and personal lives in balance is hard to achieve. The woman principal needs to be a 'superwoman' to manage the long hours demanded during the week and also on weekends in the principal position, in addition to the unpaid work

required of them in maintaining a household. Women feel the pressure to cope with the two roles which both require physical and emotional energy. The majority of domestic and home tasks still fall to the woman regardless of whether she has an intense, time consuming job during the day. Moller suggests that it is particularly difficult for women in this point of time when 'a dominant discourse is that women should be as ambitious as men are, should make a career, and at the same time invest in their personal lives' (2002, p. 11).

The Leadership Capabilities endorsed by the Board for Lutheran Education Australia [BLEA] highlights that 'personal capability integrates faith commitment, honesty, integrity, ethical reflection and self-critique, which result in a sense of self-efficacy and personal identity' with one of the indicators being 'integrates work and personal life' (LEA 2005, p. 2-3). This indicator applies to both men and women in leadership; however the form personal and family life takes is very different for men and women. Women bear the brunt of the family and home responsibilities which means that women are shouldering a greater total labour share than men. As Pocock highlights:

> There has been no compensating rush of men into unpaid domestic work as women have joined them in paid job. The double day for women has become more entrenched and burdensome, not less. (2005, p. 36)

The expectation on the woman principal is therefore much greater than that of her male colleague when it comes to integrating work, personal life and family. With the fragmentation of the traditional breadwinner model of family/work life women can expect to spend 'many years of combining jobs and caring work at home' (Pocock 2005, p. 38).

Changing nature of the role and forms of leadership

The patriarchal system which shaped the construct of leadership and principalship from early settlement times is still present in Lutheran schools today and for women to be promoted to the principal role and maintain that role they need to conform rather than challenge the prevailing power dynamics (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 145; Gunter 1997). It is commonplace therefore to see women take on orthodox (male) forms of leadership and modify qualities normally associated with femininity (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 148).

Louisa was an example of conforming to male forms of leadership as she connected and networked with the business world through her involvement in the Chamber of Commerce, a group dominated by men. She also commented on how she had to lobby particular members of the School Council to pass certain business developments. She says, 'I had to lobby and

play a lot of politics with people on the College Council'. This ability to lobby and play politics is a quality recognised by the Board for Lutheran Education as being desirable, if not essential, for its leaders (LEA 2005). The leadership quality framework states that:

> The capable organisational leader builds organisational capacity, responsiveness and engages in positive politics.
>
> - Develops policies, procedures and action plans
> - Builds alliances and networks
>   (LEA 2005, p. 2)

Similarly, Elizabeth works alongside her male colleagues from the other local schools as a support and to promote the school within the community. In order to obtain professional success, women have to modify the qualities traditionally associated with femininity (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 148). For some principals taking on more 'masculine' attributes can create a conflict with the way they have been conditioned to act, however as Reay and Ball suggest:

> The inherent tension between being female and being a leader invariably results in adaptations and adjustments and the assumption of a femininity that is more congruent with leadership than traditional variants of femininity which are grounded in positions of relative powerlessness. (2000, p. 147)

At a time where schools are being required to be more accountable and competitive, and are being forced to respond to increasing demands of the state and the market, now is not a period conducive to soft ways of managing by either men or women. As Lyn comments about her school day:

> And now I have…It has just been overtaken by legal, industrial…All the things that come across your desk and they have nothing to do with Education…Yes, it is very managerial…and those things are very draining…emotionally taxing.

Schools have to meet the demands of rising, if not unreasonable, parental and societal expectations (Blackmore 2007, p. 9). Schools also need to deal with the intensified media gaze on their performance and reputations which are now openly displayed on the internet and are directly related to gaining future student enrolments (Blackmore & Thorpe 2003). Principals are at the front of this image management (Blackmore & Thomson 2005), their success and future intimately linked to their school's success. Lyn discusses how the role of principal has changed:

> And I just…I notice how the principal role has changed. There is now just so much legal knowledge that you have to have, and it is really, really difficult. And there is another whole cycle coming through now with the Government Education Act, or whatever happens with the Gonski. And they require a whole new set of skills.

The role which used to be about the learning and growth of children has changed to one now being dominated by compliance and legalities. The 'increasingly litigious communities in which schools are embedded and a more demanding and critical society' add to the challenges for principals today (D'Arbon, Duignan & Duncan 2002, p. 469). Thus, more attention is given to assessing and monitoring work, speedy decision making and reporting, and less to 'democratic decision-making, consultation and participation' (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 148). The majority of women principals in this study are operating in a context of male power and as a result management is commonly conceptualized as masculine, concerned with male qualities of reason and logic (Grace 1995; Blackmore 1993).

In the current performance driven market it appears that women principals are recruited into competitive ways of operating in an environment that encourages schools to see themselves in competition with each other (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 153). This is particularly evident when enrolments are low and a rise in numbers can be the difference between surviving and thriving as noted by Anne: 'We need twenty more students. It would make it more viable'. On several occasions Louisa refers to an aggressive market plan that she has developed to ensure good enrolment numbers for her school. Louisa recognises that the school is a faith based community but at the same time it is a business which needs to show positive figures to maintain future operation.

Louisa is not only in competition with other state schools in the area but also with other Lutheran schools. However, being in an area which is experiencing large growth, Louisa can market forcefully in the area without it impacting significantly on other Lutheran schools. As she comments in relation to advertising along the rail branch line which also services another Lutheran school:

> It could be quite advantageous for us, it is only a couple of stops and our fees are only half of those of …. So you have to be always thinking, how can we target that market?

Similarly, Elizabeth set specific targets to be achieved in particular time frames, 'so in the secondary area our goal is to look at 50 kids per year level…we put that notional goal there…and it happened'.

In contrast, in more traditional small country Lutheran schools there is often not this opportunity and more 'care' is taken to avoid encroaching on the catchment area of other Lutheran schools. Anne appears to be hesitant to take students from areas that are marked as

another Lutheran school catchment area. As she says, 'it is always a bit dicey though, encroaching on other schools areas'.

The different positions in relation to marketing and numbers can make a significant difference to the growth and future of a school, especially if it is a new school development or one moving into secondary education. All of the women in R-12 schools in this study were quite thorough in planning for enrolment growth. There was an expectation to increase enrolments and these principals were strategic in planning various ways to achieve this; from organizing bus services, linking with train lines, advertising in specific local newspapers and providing regular open days. These women planned carefully, setting goals and putting strategies and processes in place to achieve these goals. There was no room for complacency or soft nurturing management (Reay & Ball 2000), but instead a strategic capability. This way of operating aligns with the Lutheran Education Australia statement on leadership capabilities in relation to strategic planning:

> Strategic capability requires visionary and strategic thinking and builds research based mission-driven culture. The capable organisational leader builds organisational capacity, responsiveness and engages in positive politics. (LEA 2005, p. 4)

This is indicated when the leader:

- Shapes and encourages visionary and future-oriented thinking and practice
- Develops policies, procedures and action plans
- Responds effectively to a changing environment
- Is open to new and innovative ideas
- Builds alliances and networks (LEA 2005, p. 4)

These capabilities were evident in these principals as they sought to increase enrolments within their respective schools. Thus, as women entered the performance driven market their strategies to remain competitive often took on forms referred to as male qualities of management.

Ongoing support for principals and mentoring aspirant principals

Once in the principal's position, all of the women in this study belonged to a professional support group. Those who attended the regional Lutheran support group would find that these groups were made up of mainly men. Although the women found these groups helpful, especially if they were a novice principal, discussions would operate with male frames of reference. One principal, Anne, spoke about this group as being a great support to her in dealing with a difficult situation. She said that 'the principals were really supportive. If we

are talking about what got me through a difficult situation, I would credit it to the other principals in the region'.

Similarly, Rachael spoke about the regional support group providing an opportunity for problem solving and collegiality. She did comment that she was the only woman in this group, but added that she was used to that from her previous principal position. Women principals commonly expected Lutheran regional support groups to be made up of men. This situation has not changed significantly over the years, and this problem was noted by a woman principal in the survey taken by Weckert and Hoff (1999). As highlighted in the Introduction to this study, this woman wrote about being 'quite lonely' being in the minority group of women principals (p. 6).

Other avenues of support included being members of; Curriculum Committees, Association of Independent Schools and Secondary Principals for Independent Schools. Although these bodies may have had a greater percentage of women than in the Lutheran groups, the women principals would have been accommodated in what remains a largely continuing culture of male leadership (Grace 1995, p. 190). Elizabeth spoke about these groups as being of great professional support:

> You need face to face, so I joined the Association of Heads of Secondary Schools. It's a moment of sanity. We will have a business meeting which doesn't last very long, and then there is usually a guest speaker, and then dinner at one of the boarding schools. It is a bit of a luxury but it keeps me in contact with other people outside of the Lutheran system. And topics come up…and again that feeling of collegiality and it is a break from the school routine.

None of the participants spoke about belonging to other communities outside of those linked with school and church, unlike their male colleagues who were often involved in sporting communities. Thus, the women in this study placed themselves within the religious and social context of the school and within their family, and this applied even when their children were grown up and living away from home. These women were school principals and mothers who took care of duties at home and at school (Moller 2002, p. 14) and continued to maintain links and visits to grown up children. They also maintained strong relations with the church as noted by Rachael:

> I know that part of my employment was that I would be somebody who would be prepared to be a member of the congregation…that goes without saying…that is part of what you are about as a Lutheran principal.

The women principals in this study are treading a new path and generally one which they have not been prepared for by more senior women principals. Their role models and encouragers have been predominantly men. The MPP has been a significant form of study which has helped these women prepare for and acquire a leadership role within schools and ultimately principalship, but this form of study is delivered from a male perspective. This generation of women who are leading in Lutheran schools today have much to offer aspiring women for future principal positions.

Louisa and Elizabeth are now mentoring younger teachers aspiring to principalship. Elizabeth commented on the positive worth of her mentors when she was in middle management. Now she is mentoring two younger men who are part of the current LDP (2013/2014). She did not mention that she had mentored any women participating in the LDP. Jodie was also encouraging men in leadership positions in her school. The Head of Junior School and Head of Middle School were both males. Jodie spoke about them gaining these positions:

> My Head of Middle school was in his third year of teaching when he got Head of Middle School…But he was the right person for the job, but there was not a lot of choice. He was very good, don't get me wrong. It would've been very difficult for him because he was still learning his teaching craft. He is now a great Head of Middle school but that has been challenging for him and… has been Head of Junior School that has been fine…because we are on the same page…because we had the same people train us.

Jodie and her Head of Junior School had worked together previously as classroom teachers at another Lutheran school and Jodie recruited him soon after the school commenced. Jodie has made plans for the future of her Head of Middle School, as she said 'I have got a Head of Middle School…and we will move at different years, we won't go together. We have already made that commitment'. This may mean that Jodie takes up another principal position elsewhere and possibly the Head of Middle School slots into the principal position or the Head of Middle School leaves first to take up a principal position in another school. With either scenario, the Head of Middle School, a man, will most likely move into a principal position because of his mentoring and support from Jodie. Similarly, Louisa mentors teachers in her own school who are committed to following a leadership path. In relation to her deputy she comments how she is preparing him for principalship:

> So I have been involving him very much in getting him ready for being a principal…so anything I am involved in, on a big scale or something to do with the Board, or something he doesn't have experience in I try to share that.

Often male leaders will be pushed into initial promotions and Chard suggests that:

If the views of those in leadership are genuinely changing, perhaps those doing the "pushing" will be encouraging males and females into leadership posts in equal measure. The focus may shift from males to females in leadership to the skills that they successfully apply, be they classed as masculine or feminine. (2013, p. 174)

Louisa went on to say that over the years she had mentored some female staff although she did not mention if they had in fact moved into leadership and/or principalship. As women commonly underestimate their own capacity for the position of principal, it is critical for current women principals to encourage and train women in schools for the role (Watterston 2010, p. 17). Additionally, there is also a sense by women of needing to have experience before applying for a principal role and principals again can have significant input in making these opportunities available (Watterston 2010, p. 17). This thesis shows that there is still a lack of encouragement for males and females into leadership positions in equal measure, thus resulting in the status quo.

Conclusion

In this chapter the principals' reflections of their lives and work enables us to gain an understanding of what it means to these women to be working in a Lutheran school community. Most of the women spoke about the 'call' to serve in their schools and it was this 'call' and faith which helped sustain them through their many challenges. Most of the women gained their first principal position in a small Lutheran country school or a larger isolated school and it was in these communities where the women had to deal with the isolation and intensity of the job, traditional attitudes and ways of doing things, and high expectations and demands. The nature of the work was intense and most of the women needed to manage daily work-family conflict as they juggled work and family responsibilities.

Although the women interviewed cannot be grouped into one category of leader, as these women have different styles which are a reflection of their personality, and the culture and political situation they are in, it could be argued that their ways of managing draw on styles broadly perceived to be masculine rather than feminine (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 146). They spoke about the changing nature of schools where accountability and results are of paramount importance, and in turn this has encouraged a culture which incites 'assertive, instrumental and competitive behaviour' (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 147). The women in this study give many examples of this type of leadership and it would appear that women principals hardly differ from their male colleagues in the way in which they experience power because of the

expectations of the market (Kruger 1996, p. 454), the training they receive through MPP and LDP, and mentoring from male colleagues. The fundamental pressure between being a woman and being a leader, consistently results in variations and changes, resulting in a kind of femininity that is more consistent with leadership, rather than traditional forms of femininity which are based on positions of powerlessness (Reay & Ball 2000, p. 147).

These principals relied on professional support groups which were made up predominantly by men. They had little time for leisure involvement as they devoted their time to school, church and family. The interviewee's experiences show that the one thing which has not changed over time is the double burden required of women principals; the role during the working day, in addition to the domestic and caring responsibilities required of them after the working day has finished. It would seem that the expectations of public and private life are often unacknowledged by their male colleagues and the Lutheran school system in general.

CHAPTER 7

PRINCIPALSHIP…THIS IS WHAT I AM AIMING FOR

This final chapter starts with an evaluation of Lutheran Education Australia's progress in relation to embracing women in principalship within its schools since significant recommendations were made following a workshop in 2000 (LEA 2001c, pp. 14-28). I examine the statistics which reflect women's application for principal roles, involvement in schools as principals, and involvement in School Councils who are responsible for employing principals in Lutheran schools. I will be aiming to answer the question whether historically anything has changed for women principals in Australian Lutheran schools with the implementation of policy and training. Finally, I make suggestions for further consideration in light of the information gained from LEA statistics and the seven women principals interviewed in this study.

Leadership gender statistics

With the new millennium came some optimism that there was a brighter future for women in leadership in Australian Lutheran schools. A number of initiatives were put in place by LEA including the establishment of a task force which uncovered issues that were counter to women entering principalship (LEA 2001c). Some significant recommendations were made following this workshop which included a number of areas of focus; governance, training and professional development, publishing women's stories and experiences, support for the woman principal, equity and culture (LEA 2001c, pp. 14-28). In 2001 LEA introduced a significant training program, the MPP which was designed to develop principals for Lutheran schools with both men and women being encouraged to participate. Ames reflected on her life as a woman in middle management in Lutheran schools in the mid to late twentieth century; she addressed ACLE 1 with confidence regarding women's opportunities for the future:

> Changes in the role and status of women in Lutheran schools in more recent years have seen a higher percentage of women undertaking advanced tertiary studies to further their professional competence and to give credibility to their own future career opportunities…The opportunities for the advancement of women in our schools are now limitless and reflect changes within our Church which have seen all positions, other than that of pastor, available to women, at least theoretically if not always in practice. (1999, p. 4)

In 2002 LEA adopted a 'Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership positions in Lutheran schools' (2002a) and in addition it committed itself to significant national targets:

- Increase number of female applicants to principal positions to 50% in three years
- Increase actual appointments of females to principal positions to 33% in three years and the ultimate goal of 50%
  (LEA 2002b, p. 1)

In 2003, LEA commissioned a survey for women educators in Lutheran schools which met with a positive response (Butler & Maczkowiack 2004, p. 3). The progress of women in leadership was tracked by Butler and Maczowiack from 1999-2003 against benchmarks set by LEA. Their report at ACLE 2 in 2004 suggested that there had been 'some good progress towards the benchmarks in all regions and in all school sectors' (2004, p. 4).

The statistics today however, tell a different story as I examine the number of women in principalship in the decade since Butler and Maczowiack's findings (2004). Although the data on women applying for principal positions is sketchy; the table below gives some statistical information.

Table 1: Percentage of women applicants for the position of principal in Lutheran schools in Australia (LEA 2013h, p. 31).

Leadership Gender Statistics

% of women applicants for position of principal		LEQ %	LESER %	LSA %
	2003	14.9	28.6	18.8
	2004			
	2005	50.0	37.5	0.0
	2006	22.9	35.7	33.3
	2007			
	2008			
	2009	11.1	50.0	54.5
	2010	53.8	50.0	36.8
Data for only 4 of 6 principal appointments	2011	30.0	33.3	0.0
	2012	25.0	10.5	48.6
	2013	0.0	0.0	31.8

It would appear that at times there were 50% or more women applying for principal positions. It seems however, that many were not successful and data shows that women in principal positions nationally averaged 32.6% in 2013 (LEA 2013h, p. 31). Although this is a significant increase from figures in the late 1990s it would support the view held by a number of participants in this study that School Councils are favouring men for principal positions. Thus, women still make up a significantly smaller percentage of principals than their male colleagues, with these figures differing from state to state as illustrated in the table below (LEA 2013h, p. 29).

Table 2: Percentage of women principals in Lutheran schools in Australia (LEA 2013h, p. 30).

Leadership Gender Statistics

		Target	LEQ	LESER	LSA
% women principals		33%	%	%	%
	2002		30.8	11.0	13.5
	2003		29.6	17.7	16.2
	2004		33.3	23.5	13.2
	2005		33.3	16.7	13.2
	2006		32.1	21.1	18.4
	2007		32.1	26.3	15.8
	2008		37.0	15.8	26.3
	2009		34.6	15.0	30.8
	2010		38.5	25.0	33.3
	2011		40.75	25.0	33.3
	2012		40.7	20.0	33.3
	2013		40.7	20.0	33.3

The recommendations made by LEA and adopted as a working document for distribution to districts/schools by the Board for Lutheran Education Australia set a 33% target to be reached by 2003 for women in principalship (2002b, p. 1). This nominated target was achieved in LEQ in 2004 and LSA in 2010. More than a decade on and the LESER region have not yet achieved this target. The highest number of women in principal positions in this district was

reached in 2010 and 2011 with 25% and has since declined to 20% in 2012 and 2013 (LEA, 2013h, p. 30).

The significant difference of principal appointments between the states may be a reflection of the type of settlements and leaders early in the development of Lutheran schools. As Hauser suggests:

> It is important to acknowledge that just as there were various schisms which divided Australian Lutheranism, the church was also divided along regional lines. There was a marked difference between the characters of northern as opposed to southern Lutheranism in Australia which was reflected in the history of the schools. (2012, p. 185)

In the south, schools were considered an essential element in preserving the faith they had emigrated to protect. Schools were therefore seen as 'essential to the future of the church' (Hauser 2012, p. 185). Lutherans in the north of Australia however, had emigrated for more personal and economic reasons and there conviction to Lutheranism was not as devoted as those Lutherans in the south (Hauser 2012, p. 185). It is this openness which Hauser (2012) suggests has enabled the schools in Queensland to embrace a wider non-Lutheran clientele in more recent times. Furthermore, it could be argued that this openness has also led to more women being embraced into leadership roles, including principalship, within LEQ in comparison to the southern regions.

While some regions are still struggling to 'increase actual appointments of females to principal positions to one in three' the 'ultimate goal of 50%' is no longer mentioned in the statistical data of 2013. It would appear that the system is no longer attempting to achieve a 50% rate despite schools being filled by a 'predominantly female workforce' (Watterston 2010, p. 11).

Policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran schools

As stated in Chapter 5, the establishment of a policy for Gender Equity in Leadership Positions in Lutheran Schools (2002a) was another step in attempting to address the inequality issue. The policy included the use of inclusive language, the elimination of negative attitudes and practices that reflected discrimination (LEA 2002a, p. 2). It also included a general encouragement to 'establish practices which address any gender imbalance in leadership, and which encourage and support the appointment of women to leadership positions where appropriate' (LEA 2002a, p. 2). Data gained in this thesis together with statistics provided by LEA (2013h, p. 30-31) does not support the statement that LEA gives

equal opportunity to the employment for both men and women. Women in this study reported School Councils stalling because they were weighing up between a woman and a man principal, or they were waiting for a suitable man to apply, instead of processing the applications on merit. It appears that School Councils want to employ males who are always available or family men whose partners attend to the domestic chores and family responsibilities (Connell 2005, p. 10).

The interviewees' personal reflections showed that they experienced a gap between policy and practice with the application and interview process with some School Councils being discriminatory. The belief that a man had to be the principal was still quite prevalent and even though it may not have been explicitly stated it was often the hidden criteria. Hauser suggests that these deep seated beliefs that 'leadership in the family, church and society belonged to men' adds to the underrepresentation of women in principal positions (2005, p. 25).

In many instances targets set for gender balance on School Councils and Chairs of these Councils have not been achieved and this could also significantly influence the appointment of women principals (LEA 2013h, p. 30). It seems too that even if there was gender balance on interview panels, this would not ensure the panel had an understanding of gender bias (Lacey 2004) or change the culture around hiring women for principal positions (Young 2013).

A change in culture requires identifying and changing discriminatory attitudes. Up until now there appears to be no consequence for discrimination by School Councils or the church, despite laws in this regard. Clearer guidelines for employing bodies and a process of employment on merit, with a process to challenge discriminatory actions through an appeal process, without the fear of retribution, may improve this culture of discrimination which still appears to permeate Lutheran Schools.

Although the system records the number of females on the recruiting panels and how many women are selected for principalship, there seems to be no follow up or consequence for poor representation by women. The system of recruitment of principals is open to bias towards men with a system that employs on the basis of the wishes of the current School Council and the local school community, with a panel who is often weighted towards men. Thus, the application and interview process adopted by School Councils often favour men applicants

over women and this adds to the limited opportunities created by the gendered role of women in households and in relation to looking after children (Blackmore & Sachs 2007).

Millennial Principals Project and the Leadership Development Program

In Chapter 4 the interviewees discussed the processes involved in gaining a principal role and how they often felt they were not experienced enough and trained for the role (Lacey 2004). Four of the seven women interviewed had completed either the MPP or the LDP and this indicated to other principals and Directors that they had the training to move into leadership.

The MPP was developed by LEA in the new millennium as it was becoming clear that demand was developing at a time when deputies were not taking up principal positions (Ruwoldt 2006). The first MPP enabled 40 applicants to participate and this was seen as providing principals for the next 5 years (Ruwoldt 2006). There were 'applicants at the ready' and supply was therefore able to exceed demand (Gronn & Lacey 2006, p. 104). The subsequent LDP training programs of 2005, 2009 and 2013 have enabled LEA to maintain the supply of principals as Lutheran schools continue to grow and develop. It is the one way the LEA aims to address the issue of sustainability. As Paterson states:

> We are training future school leaders to maintain and enhance our schools as places of Lutheran education in the Australian community. (2013g, p. 1)

Although a '50% intake of women' (Paterson 2013g, p. 1) into these leadership development programs suggests some support for women aspiring to leadership, 50% does not match the statistics of women to men teachers. In essence, men have a greater chance than women of entering these programs. The statistics do not indicate how many principal positions are taken up by women trained in these programs. Even though women complete the MPP or LDP course, it does not necessarily follow that they will be able to compete equally for senior administrative positions.

Although MPP and the LDP have trained identified aspirants, they do not embrace the diversity that women can bring to the system. Rather its content focusses on different perspectives of leadership and it also has a focus on education and theology. Although these are very important aspects of training, there is also a place to open up the discussion on issues which are faced by a large percentage of the Lutheran School teaching workforce who aspire to leadership roles.

The most recent gathering for the LDP Conference was held in Adelaide in April 2013 with the keynote speaker being Dr Dan White (Executive Director of Catholic Schools for the Archdiocese of Sydney) and the other presenters being Associate Professor Charles Burford (Associate Professor in Leadership at ACU) and Dr Merryn Ruwoldt (Head of the School of Educational Theology at Australian Lutheran College (ALC) (LEA 2013b, pp. 1-2). The participants included LDP participants, their mentors and their principals, National and Regional Directors and LDP managers.

The conference aimed to explore the perspectives of leadership in Lutheran schools with particular emphasis on:

> A view of leadership which acknowledges the uniqueness of both schools and the people in their communities. It examines how this lived out in the real world, paying specific attention to the notion of authenticity. It sets the scene for an understanding of leadership as a relational, spiritual and values-based process of influencing. (LEA 2013b, p. 1)

Day 1 of the conference was predominantly led by Associate Professor Charles Burford who delved into an exploration of what it means to be authentic in Lutheran schools today, in addition to a historical overview of understanding of leadership. This would have been an opportune time to outline and discuss the history of patriarchy and the impact this has had on the gendered division of labour and how it still impacts on the Lutheran school today, however this was not the case. Similarly, Dr Merryn Ruwoldt led one session of the day focussing on 'authentic leadership- the Lutheran way'(LEA 2013b, p.2) which also would have lent itself to explaining Lutheran leadership today based on its history from early settlement times. A session time was allocated on the afternoon of each of the first three days to discuss the compulsory readings which had been selected to enhance the learning experiences of participants. They were focussed around the theme of authentic leadership and ethical decision making.

On day two of the conference the key note speaker, Dr Dan White, added to the theme of authentic leadership with a particular focus on authentic religious leadership. Associate Professor Burford focussed on new perspectives of leadership; emotional intelligence and social intelligence including the aspects of power, influence and authority within work and relationships (LEA 2013b, pp. 1-3).

On day three Associate Professor Burford took up the issue of the moral and ethical dimension of leadership and applying cultural perspectives to the challenges of leadership. Dr Ruwoldt followed with an exploration of what it means to be an authentically Lutheran

school. Both presenters then delved further into the pressures and purpose of church schools and systems.

Generally, the conference was dominated by male presenters despite ACU having a range of women who could have presented at this conference. During the conference Dr Ruwoldt, one of the few academic leaders in Lutheran Education and the only woman speaker, presented three 1 hour lectures with one being shared with Associate Professor Burford. Her topics included: authentic leadership the Lutheran way, the authentic Lutheran school and pressures and purpose in Church schools and systems. The leadership Framework for Lutheran schools states that:

> Authentic leadership is centrally concerned with ethics and morality and with deciding what is significant, what is right and what is worthwhile…Authenticity in leadership derives its legitimacy from personal integrity, credibility and a commitment to ethical and moral conduct in leadership practice. Leaders earn their badge of authenticity through actions and interactions that enshrine principles and standards incorporating values of honesty, fairness, compassion and integrity. (LEA 2005, p. 1)

The focus of this conference was on authenticity which through actions and interactions, principles and standards, incorporate values of honesty, fairness, compassion and integrity (LEA 2005, p. 1). However, according to data gained in this research and statistical reports (LEA 2013h) the process of choosing who will or will not present at the conference, be involved in the LDP, participate in positions of principalship, added responsibility or management, and governance including the chair in Lutheran schools is not based on fairness, equality or integrity. This conference and its participants are thus reinforcing the status quo.

The two remaining Units of study to be completed in Semester 2, 2013 and Semester 1 2014 are delivered via a workshop mode and online. The unit 'Education and Theology in dialogue' is delivered by ALC and involves students re-examining:

> Theological themes important for educational practice along with particular Lutheran theological emphases associated with them. Among these areas of theology are creation, the two kingdoms, law and gospel, Christian as saint and sinner, theology of the cross, church and ministry, sacrament, and vocation. (LEA 2013f, p. 3)

The unit 'Values and Leadership' is delivered online by ACU and ALC and focuses on 'leadership as an ethical and relational process of influence' and 'the content and processes of the unit are designed to help students understand the valuing process and be better prepared to make responsible choices in complex, often tension-filled, situations' (LEA 2013f, p. 2).

In addition to attending the conference, participants are involved in dialogue with the mentors with whom they are expected to be in regular contact throughout the two year program (LEA 2013d). The three Deputy Directors responsible for the management and coordination of the LDP courses are men and it is unlikely that they would have experienced the double work load that is taken on by the majority of Australian women who undertake paid work (Pocock 2005). They may therefore have little understanding or appreciation of these matters as they 'nurture, inform, encourage, challenge and support graduates and participants of LDP in their quest for leadership opportunities' (LEA 2013c, p. 1).

Whether involvement in the LDP will lead to principalship is unknown and documentation suggests that 'the reality of employment processes in Lutheran schools is that participation in LDP does not guarantee appointment to a particular position in a particular time frame' (LEA 2013c, p. 1). As in previous programs it seems that women are being trained through the LDP 2013/14 to be a reserve for the predicted shortage in Lutheran schools as noted by Paterson:

> Over the next decade a number of our principals will retire. If we also consider possible retirements of key regional and national staff, our need for the next generation of leaders is further emphasized. (2013g, p. 1)

Although the MPP and the LDP does assist in training women for leadership, 'fixing women' or 'preparing women' through these initiatives will not adjust a traditional patriarchal culture. Underlying assumptions in the workforce, left unchallenged, will continue to control the outcomes (Young 2013). Lutheran schools have a long held tradition of being managed by men, stemming back to the early settlement days in 1840's and as argued elsewhere these long held beliefs continue to influence the employment of principals today. As summarized by Blackmore and Sachs:

> The "problem" of the underrepresentation of women in educational leadership is not about women's lack, whether of ambition or capacities, but rather, it is the consequence of the limited opportunities created by the systematically gendered cultural, social, and structural arrangements that inform women educators' choices and possibilities relative to their male colleagues. (2007, pp. 12-13)

Future planning and culture change

Throughout the chapters I have pointed out that the culture of the Lutheran school system in Australia very much favours men and a male way of leading. In Chapter 4 I discussed work-family conflict that arises as women take responsibility for domestic and family issues which adds to the already over loaded task of principalship. Principalship is a position which

requires working long and unsocial hours and it is a position not easily shared with the role of motherhood (Moreau, Osgood & Halsall 2007; Pocock 2005).

In Chapter 6 I suggest that being successful in gaining a principal position usually involved learning the 'male' way of doing things rather than challenging the power dynamics (Reay & Ball 2000; Gunter 1997) in addition to having the influence and support of principals and directors, mainly men. To be successful in the job these women needed to be skilful in playing politics, building alliances and networks (LEA 2005, p. 2). It required them to adapt and adjust to a way of leading that fitted with increasing demands of the state and the market, and was more congruent with 'male' qualities of reason and logic (Grace 1995; Blackmore 1993).

Although training programs such as the MPP and the LDP have been successful in training women for principalship within the system, the issue of changing the patriarchal culture remains a significant one. Even most recent planning for leadership fails to take into account women's issues and the culture that maintains the status quo. As an example, as part of future planning, LEA commissioned a project in October 2013 where all members of the teaching staff were encouraged to participate in a survey. The aim was to 'begin to answer the questions concerning our leadership sustainability, as well as identify the key challenges and questions people ask when considering leadership positions' (Paterson 2013g, p. 1).

The survey seems broad but it does not distinguish between men and women participants, nor does it address any matters pertinent to gender and more specifically, women who find themselves combining motherhood and family responsibilities with teaching and/or leadership. The questions tend to focus on personal perspectives of the LDP, participants experiences from their involvement and the perceptions of those teachers who may be involved in the future. Factors that may be seen to be impacting on involvement in the LDP course covered; relevance to career, interest in future study, interest in leadership, knowledge about the program and encouragement to participate by others. Only one of the 10 responses touched on family responsibility; 'family circumstances make it difficult'. There was no mention of the disruption to family life caused by relocation which is a requirement of being involved in the LDP. Neither did it address the issue of relocating, which often meant in a time of two income families, that one partner may be left unemployed. Lacey (2004) suggests that 'the difficulty of finding employment for the spouse of the transferee was described as a strong disincentive' in her study of factors that impact on leadership aspirations of teachers in

government primary and secondary schools in Victoria, Australia (p. 14). This survey was open to all teaching staff, presuming that future principals would not necessarily be recruited from the ranks of the school executive; Assistant principals and Coordinators as is common in other church systems (D'Arbon, Duignan, Duncan & Goodwin 2001, p. 2).

Changing the leadership culture by valuing, inclusiveness, social justice and equity

In essence, despite the Board for Lutheran Education Australia stated commitment for inclusivity and equal opportunity for men and women, substantial differences remain in terms of the division of labour, training and leadership positions within Lutheran schools (LEA 2001c). The data gathered in this study suggest that women do not want men to fix things for them; however, men and women leaders need to respect one another's skills and talents to work together on this (Young 2013, p. 184). A task force of mixed gender may be the best form of recognising and fixing the gender balance. As Young suggests,

> Mutual respect, a transparent agenda and an open dialogue with a gender-balanced task force of equally skilled individuals who share a common vision and goals about the future will bring about the fastest change and the most fruitful results. (2013, p. 184)

This thesis suggests that for women the issue of flexibility is paramount. Since the early 2000's more women have been successful in taking on principalship. However, there now appears to be a decline in some regions. Statistics suggest that women in principalship in Lutheran schools have peaked especially in the LESER region (LEA 2013h, p. 30). More flexible thinking and working opportunities, as in other professions, could enable women to return to work and contribute in a time where there appears to be a major skill shortage in education, particularly principalship (Gronn & Rawlings-Sanaei 2003).

Many years are often 'lost' or the career path interrupted as women tend to motherhood duties and woman's work. Women who are taking on the roles of principalship are generally older than their male colleagues. It is unrealistic to expect women to be superwomen and hold down two full-time roles; one at work and one at home. There is a need to meet conditions of employment as flexibly as we can (Young 2013, p. 165). We know that women's careers are nonlinear and at some point they are likely to prefer flexible work including part-time, job share or an individualised working schedule. Job sharing for principals could be one way of encouraging women to apply for these roles as time and the issue of balancing family and professional expectations seems to be a major obstacle in taking on leadership roles. Research by Lacey and Anderson (2009) however found that job-

share and co-principalship did not appeal to aspirant leaders. With the extra burden of motherhood and domestic work facing women, and in the absence of men taking up more of this burden (Pocock 2005), other new and creative alternatives may need to be found.

Educating and empowering women by sharing stories

Creating options and avenues for current women principals to talk about the role from women's points of view; the challenges and the rewards, would give a more balanced view for women considering principalship. The stories we tell are important. What does a good mother look like? What does a good principal look like? What does it mean to be a stay-at-home mum or a career woman? Should women be able to do both? One of the aspects highlighted in the workshop of 2000 was that it was important to hear the stories of women. There is a need to raise awareness of the challenges and share the success stories (LEA 2001c).

 For many aspiring women the job of principal is often seen as a burdensome task as role models cope with the challenges of the job and the gendered responsibilities of home life. Aspirant teachers see the long hours, demanding parents, unreasonable administrative demands, home duties and child care pickups taking their toll on women principals. However, for these women leaders there is often a very satisfying part to the job which outsiders may not see. This study showed that once women were in the principal role there could be a great personal sense of achievement and pride in what they have been able to set up and accomplish. This was particularly evident in the interviewees who had started new schools or moved into different stages such as secondary. They spoke about satisfaction in the job as they saw the results of developing a certain kind of culture in the school community. For some of the interviewees, setting up a new school meant that they were at the forefront, working with a blank canvas and being able to set up the school with specific goals in mind. They spoke about 'having a big picture' with a lot of forward thinking and planning. Similarly, for those principals who had worked in their schools for a number of years and initiated specific classes and activities to give their school the edge or a point of difference, there was a great deal of pride and sense of achievement. As discussed in the literature review:

> Once in the leadership position, women principals can then balance their own vision of professional behaviour and constructive educational practices and adapt, accommodate and resist the constraints of their positions. (Rousemaniere 2009, p. 220)

Women teachers commonly create a bond with their students which they are unwilling to give up in order to move into principalship. Potential aspirants see that being immersed in the learning and teaching environment of the classroom, where the interactions with students provide a great source of satisfaction, as key to their role as educators (Watterston 2010, p. 18). However, as women move into principalship their links with students should not be lost. Women in this study were able to keep contact with students by taking particular classes or activities. Also their experiences showed that effective leadership can have significant influence on the quality of teaching and learning (Watterston 2010, p. 18). As principals share their own experiences they may be able to correct the perceived distance between the role of the teacher and the role of principal in connection to students.

Developing a 'woman in leadership support network' for those women especially interested in considering leadership positions is another form of empowering women interested, or taking into consideration, leadership positions (LEA 2001c, p. 23). This could take on various forms including, chat lines, relevant articles, and personal experiences and follow up. Similarly, establishing a mentoring program for potential leaders by women leaders who are willing to be contacted and are given time away from their school leadership responsibilities for such a role. These avenues may empower women aspirants and develop a level of confidence which is often a significant factor in women not applying for leadership positions. Often women will underestimate their own ability for the position of principal because they have idealistically high expectations of the level of skills and experience needed, or they lack the confidence to express their own ability and aspiration for career advancement (Watterston 2010, p. 17). I am not suggesting one off seminars for women to share their experiences but rather continual opportunities so that it becomes part of an accepted culture.

Similarly, the opportunity for women to share their stories and experiences of research in the area of women in leadership should be seen as important and necessary tools for developing a culture which embraces women in principalship. To invite, access and share challenges and achievements of individual people in leadership, and to affirm their roles within Lutheran schools could go a long way in lifting the profile of women in principalship. As Gullestead suggests:

> People live out their lives and tell their stories within socially structured conditions, but their actions and stories also have a potentially transforming impact on 'society'. (1996, pp. 341-32)

In essence, the process of sharing stories, talking about the nature of the job, and creating groups in order to gain confidence as women principals in a male dominated group may bring about an enthusiasm and desire to take up principal positions and to also make changes to the position which better fits with women and their family role.

Research suggests that many women have difficulty identifying themselves as potential school leaders (Lacey 2005). It is important therefore for current leaders to identify leadership qualities in others for further development and to provide courses of study and development that fit with the job and family responsibilities of women. Driving professional development by women is as important as men leading the professional development for Lutheran school leaders. Recognising an increased diversity of leadership would be strength for the system.

Conclusion

The history of Lutheran schooling in Australia indicates that the role of the principal has been dominated by men since German Lutherans migrated from their homeland Germany, in the 1800's. From the outset, Lutheran schools were staffed by men who took on the roles of pastor and teacher. Men were seen as the 'head of the house', and this belief has flavoured what has followed in Australian Lutheran schools. Today, despite the majority of the teaching workforce being women, principalship is still predominantly held by men.

This thesis shows that there is a dynamic relationship between values transmitted through the institution of the Lutheran church and the appointment of principals in its schools. Gender and religion have played a significant role in marginalizing women. The experiences of the women in this study confirmed the long held belief that men manage while women teach. Women also look after the children and domestic duties whilst men pursue their careers. A number of respondents suspended their careers to care for children and when they were ready to resume their career, they often found that they had lost skills, networks and confidence. However, participation in the MPP and subsequent LDP enabled them to become more visible to principals and Directors, and this network became an important factor in gaining a principal position.

Most of the women participants felt a distinct 'calling' to principalship and their faith helped to sustain them in their role. They disclosed that they encountered discrimination from the employing body, the School Council, despite the Lutheran Education Australia's Equal

Opportunity Policy. Nevertheless, all gained positions, usually in small country schools or larger isolated schools. The nature of these schools created their own challenges, including traditional attitudes, isolation from family and colleagues, and intensity of the job as they juggled teaching and administration. Many also continue to juggle work and family demands.

These women demonstrated that they are dedicated to the Lutheran Church, to their schools and their families. They manage their multiple roles successfully. They are strategic in carrying out the principal role and they contribute purposefully to the Lutheran school system. As suggested by Louisa, 'it is not an easy gig being principal…but I do love it, I love walking around and seeing kids…and I really do have an awesome staff that go above and beyond'. Thus, despite the many challenges of the position these women principals fulfil their role of leadership within Australian Lutheran schools with a great deal of passion, skill and commitment.

APPENDIX A

Flinders University

School of Education

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LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear …………(Name)

This letter is to introduce Elaine Nitschke who is a postgraduate student in the School of Education at Flinders University. She will produce her student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

She is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of Women Principals currently leading in Australian Lutheran Schools.

She would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project, by being involved in an interview which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than 1 1/2 hours for the interview and 1 hour to read the transcript would be required.

Any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence, however given the small population pool from which participants will be drawn, participants may be identifiable. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time, to decline to answer particular questions and to withdraw comments up until time of publishing.

Since she intends to make a tape recording of the interview, she will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and that the recording will not be made available to any other person. It may be necessary to make the recording available to secretarial assistants for transcription, in which case you may be assured that such persons will be advised of the requirement that your name or identity not be revealed and that the confidentiality of the material is respected and maintained.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on 08 8201 3339 or e-mail kay.whitehead@flinders.edu.au

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Professor Kay Whitehead

Deputy Dean

School of Education

Flinders University

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project No. 6002). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

27 June 2013

Professor Paul Ward
Chairperson
Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee
Flinders University
GPO Box 2100
ADELAIDE SA 5001

Dear Professor Ward

I write in relation to Elaine Nitschke's research proposal involving a study of woman principals currently leading in Australian Lutheran schools. Elaine's correspondence with women principals in Australian Lutheran schools will be sent on her behalf by the staff of the national office of Lutheran Education Australia.

Yours faithfully

Stephen Rudolph
Executive Director
Lutheran Education Australia

Professor Kay Whitehead

Deputy Dean

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INFORMATION SHEET

Title: 'A Study of women Principals currently leading in Australian Lutheran Schools'

Principal Investigator:

Elaine Nitschke

Ed D student

School of Education

Flinders University

Ph.: 0432 902 603

Email: emnitschke@internode.on.net

Description of the study:

This study is part of the project entitled '***A study of women Principals currently leading in Australian Lutheran Schools'.*** The purpose of this research is to bring together in a collective biography the life stories of a sample of women Principals currently serving in Australian Lutheran Schools. This project is supported by Flinders University School of Education and endorsed by Stephen Rudolph, Executive Director, Lutheran Education Australia.

Purpose of the study:

Whilst research on leaders in Lutheran Schools exists, most of this work is historical in nature, set in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a focus on male Principals. This study aims to focus on women Principals of today, drawing on major themes and 'threads' which develop as these women share their life stories.

What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to participate in a one-on-one open ended interview with the researcher. This may take place at your workplace or at another mutually convenient venue. The interview will take about 60-90 minutes and will be recorded using a digital voice recorder. The interview is voluntary and you may withdraw your involvement at any time.

Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed up) and the data will be returned to you to check for accuracy and detail. You may wish to delete any comments you do not wish to have included in the transcript. Once you have noted any changes you are asked to return the transcript via email or hard copy to the researcher within 2 weeks (a stamped self-addressed envelope will be provided).

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

An anticipated outcome is the emergence of rich data which will highlight aspirations, opportunities and experiences, some of which have been achieved and others not. It will provide a voice for those women currently in leadership to share their experiences and insights for the next generation of women aspiring to leadership and for the Lutheran Education system in general.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

All interviews will be treated with a high level of confidentiality and anonymity. Participants will be asked to use a pseudonym which the researcher will code. Any identifying information will be removed and the typed-up file stored with the audio recording in a locked filing cabinet that only the researcher (Elaine Nitschke) will have access to.

Your comments will not be linked directly to you, specific schools or locations, however given the small population pool from which participants will be drawn, participants may be identified. The researcher will aim to disguise and/or generalize responses to maintain anonymity. In any research reports, all institutions and individuals participating, or referred to will be de-identified.

In the case of secretarial assistance or a professional transcription company being used, they will be bound by the same level of confidentiality and anonymity as the researcher.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

The investigator anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study. Information will be treated with the strictest confidence. However, as the researcher is a mandated reporter if any illegal activities are uncovered or disclosed during the course of the research information either must be reported to the relevant authorities or cannot be safe from legal search or seizure.

In the case of the participant displaying and/or expressing emotional discomfort in response to the interview the researcher will encourage the participant to seek, and assist the participant in getting appropriate professional help such as ACCESS or Help Line.

If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with the researcher or supervisor.

How do I agree to participate?

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions and you are free to withdraw from the study up until publication, without effect or consequences. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate please read and sign the form and send it back to the researcher, emnitschke@internode.on.net within two weeks of receipt of this email.

How will I receive feedback?

The interview will be transcribed and sent back to the participant who will be encouraged to make any changes and return the transcript to the researcher.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

I …..

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the Letter of Introduction and Information Sheet for the research project on '***Women Principals currently Leading in Australian Lutheran Schools'.***

1. I have read the information provided.

2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.

3. I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.

5. I understand that:

- I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
- I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.
- While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, given the small population pool from which participants will be drawn, participants may be identified.
- I may ask that the recording be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

Participant's signature……………………………………Date…………………...

Current position:

……………………………………………………………………..

Preferred form of Contact: email/telephone/Australia Post

……………………………………………………………………………………

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name…………………………….………………….................

Researcher's signature………………………………..Date…………………….

NB: Two signed copies should be obtained. The copy retained by the researcher may then be used for authorisation of Items 8.

8. I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read a transcript of my participation and agree to its use by the researcher as explained.

Participant's signature……………………………………Date…………………...

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project No. 6002). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Main open- ended question

1. Tell me the story that led you to being a Lutheran School Principal.

Intermediate questions

2. How have the beliefs of the Lutheran Church influenced your decision to take on the principal role and continue in that role?

3. How has the church's history impacted on you as a principal?

4. What role does your faith play in your life as a school principal?

5. What kind of career path did you have in mind when you began teaching?

6. What made you apply for the principal position?

7. Were there significant people who encouraged you to apply for a principal role?

8. Did you have specific training to assist you in the principal role? What did you think about your readiness to take on the role of principal?

9. Who have been the encouragers in your life? How have they encouraged you as a school principal?

10. Who have been your significant role models?

11. It is often said "that women are best suited as teachers, rather than leaders?" What would your comment be?

12. What sustains you in your role as principal?

13. How does the principal role fit with other aspects of your life?

14. What have been your greatest challenges as a principal of a Lutheran School?

15. From your experience as an educator and principal what advice would you give to women aspiring to principalship?

16. Have you ever felt marginalized as a woman principal? If yes in what way?

17. Have you ever experienced limitations to your career path? If yes in what way?

18. What do you think are the most important things to consider when taking on a principal position?

Ending questions

1. Is there anything else that you think I should know to understand better your role as a Principal in a Lutheran School.

2. Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Thank you for participating in this interview and research project.

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