Exploring the promotional advancements for practitioners in British primary school education: 'Gendered micro-promotions'.

Thomas Anthony Cousins

Department of Educational Research,
Lancaster University, UK.

Exploring the promotional advancements for practitioners in British primary school education: 'Gendered micro-promotions'.

Thomas Anthony Cousins

76,201 Words

This thesis results entirely from my own work and has not been offered previously for any other degree or diploma.

Signature ....

Abstract

Men in gender-atypical professions reside in a minority in a field dominated by female practitioners. Within primary school education, one consistent element is the phenomenon that men appear to be on the receiving end of preferential treatment and a fast-tracked career into managerial positions. There are suggestions that rapid career movement is accessible to all males, resulting in positive outcomes for the individual. This thesis makes an original contribution by re-considering the realities of the subtle mechanisms which promote male primary school teachers. It examines the notion that all males are on the receiving end of advantages in gender-atypical professions (Williams, 1992 and 1995), specifically primary school education. Through qualitative individual interviews and mini focus groups, practitioners shared their experiences of positive discrimination and promotion in teaching. Findings reveal that practitioners are caught in a conflict between internal based pedagogical beliefs around collegiality and perceptions of sociocultural expectations around the importance of gender. This thesis argues that gender is still considered and used for the promotion of primary school teachers, albeit in a subtle implicit way through the use of small-scale jobs termed 'gendered micro-promotions'. Furthermore, this thesis re-evaluates the fast-tracked metaphor of the 'glass escalator', in favour of a steadier progression in the form of a new metaphor, the 'glass travelator'.

Table of Contents

Appendices **352**

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
CPD	Continual Professional Development
ECEC	Early Childhood Education and Care
EYFS	Early Years Foundation Stage
GTP	Graduate Teaching Programme
GST	Gender Sensitivity Training
HLTA	Higher Learning Teaching Assistant
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
KS1	Key stage One
KS2	Key Stage Two
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate of Education
SENCO	Special Educational Needs Coordinator
SLT	Senior Leadership Team
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths
TA	Teaching Assistant
TLR	Teacher Learning Responsibility
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1 Introduction

'Most studies of sex segregation in the work force have focused on women's experiences in male-dominated occupations. Few have looked at the "flip-side" of occupational sex segregation: the exclusion of men from predominantly female occupations' (Williams, 1992: 253).

Williams (1992) set out an argument to understand men's advantages in predominantly female professions, as well as the workplace in general. This thesis explores the gendered promotional opportunities of British primary school practitioners, through the examination of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon. Particular focus is given to how and why gendered stereotypes and assumptions are utilised in career-focused practices, exploring what practices are upheld and maintained by school leaders affecting the career path of practitioners. Practitioners discuss both an adherence to gender binary beliefs and professional collectivism as factors in promotional advantages, demonstrating contradictory gendered narratives. Therefore, this thesis argues that promotional opportunities in primary school settings are far more complex than expressed by Williams (1992). Thus, this thesis makes an original contribution by offering a revised understanding of '*everyday sexism*' through the day-to-day gendering of promotional opportunities; highlighting invisible gender essentialist views named 'gendered micro-promotions'. In doing so, my thesis centralises and uses Kullberg's (2013) 'glass travelator' metaphor, to frame the finding of 'gendered micro-promotions' to suitably denote the rate of advancement by practitioners in favour of Williams' 'glass escalator' concept.

This thesis also considers the influence that intersectional factors such as gender, class, ethnic background, sexuality, education and religion has on the promotion of primary school practitioners. Exploring intersectionality offers an original contribution to knowledge as it addresses inadequacies in the available literature on both Williams (1995) original 'glass escalator' phenomenon and updated (2013) version, this will be explored in chapter two in further detail. This first chapter will offer a brief context for the study, layout the aims of the research, make explicit its purpose and signpost its contribution.

As my thesis covers research into gender, such a topic is problematic and controversial in nature (Ashley, 2003; Rohrmann and Brody, 2015). When one begins to discuss in terms of male and female, it is difficult to not enter an ontological deadlock. Importantly, gender and sex can be separated in the literature, but significantly not by many researchers. Firstly, it is necessary to define what 'male and female' mean. The world we live in is deeply structured by sex and gender, the 'categorisation of people as 'male' or female' permeates our society on every level' (Ysabet, 2005: 10). As this thesis explores gendered assumptions around promotion, narratives relating to gendered identity will be guided by the perspectives of the participants. As a result of this, a binary approach was mainly referred to throughout the findings. Throughout this thesis, when referring to sex and gender respectively, I will be using the definitions as set out by Oldenhinkel (2017, 863) defining sex as referring to 'biological differences', and Beasley (2005, 11) defining gender as 'the social process of dividing people and practices along sexed lines'.

1.1 Context

The context of my study is centred around the number of men entering managerial positions within the primary school workforce. Currently, in British primary schools, males are disproportionately represented in managerial positions making up 35 per cent of senior staff, while conversely only making up 15 per cent of the general teaching staff (Department for Education, 2019). This is despite continual calls internationally across Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) and primary school settings to recruit more male practitioners (Johnson, 2010; Ingersoll and May, 2012; Hedlin and Åberg, 2012). Several recurring reasons are cited for a large number of men in managerial positions within existing research literature; these include the perception that primary school teaching is considered '*women's work'* (Lupton, 2000; Francis 2008; Haase 2008); greater financial reward in management (Richardson and Watt, 2005; Cruickshank, 2012); and the movement into positions of power (Chard, 2013; Powell 2018). Research into men working in the primary sector is not new as the perceptions and experiences of male primary teachers have featured in the work of pro-feminist researchers since the 1980s and early 1990s (Connell 1985; Seifert 1988; Skelton 1991; Allan 1993). Here attention on males in gender-atypical work focuses mainly on boy's underachievement (Kenway, 1995; Epstein, 1998; Martino and Meyenn, 2001), male teachers as role models (Carrington and Skelton, 2003; Cushman, 2009; Brownhill, 2014), male teacher stereotyping (Cohen and Bunker, 1975; Sumsion, 2000; Hutchings et al, 2007) and trainee teachers' motivations for teaching (Hayes, 2004; Warwick, 2012; Mistry and Sood; 2013). While there is no intention to

explore these reasons in depth within this research, the impact on promotional opportunities of male practitioners will be covered.

The higher proportion of men in managerial positions within educational settings indicates the existence of a 'glass escalator' phenomenon as presented by Williams (1992, 263),

> 'men are given fair if not preferential-treatment in hiring and promotion decisions, are accepted by supervisors and colleagues, and are well-integrated into the workplace subculture. Indeed, subtle mechanisms seem to enhance men's position in these professions a phenomenon I refer to as the "glass escalator effect".' (Williams, 1992: 263)

Despite Williams identification of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon there has been little coverage within both popular media and research literature. But why is there a lack of research on the gendering of promotion? For Williams (1992, 261), capturing the existence of everyday gendered promotional patterns can be difficult due to the 'subtle ways in which differential treatment' occurs for men in non-traditional work. As a consequence, the emphasis is regularly given to distinguishable forms of discrimination within the workplace, specifically the experiences that women face in male-dominated professions. Evidence of this can be seen with the most recognisable glass metaphor, the 'glass ceiling' symbolizing how organizational hierarchies prevent women from advancing into management positions (Welham, 2014; O'Conor, 2015; Pells, 2017). Furthermore, existing research on male advancement and fast-tracking in female-dominated professions frequently determines male advantages through highlighting the disadvantages women face (Pompper and Jung, 2013). Smith

(2012), argues that far fewer researchers have tested for negative effects of the 'glass escalator', focusing mainly on the positive outcomes for males. Consequently, men in organizational research are often 'erased as the genderless norm'. (Ashcraft and Mumbly, 2004: 14). The variety of professions that fall under the encompassing umbrella of 'female-dominated professions' results in some professions being overlooked or combined into similar occupations. Despite coverage of research into gender and teaching, attention on gendered patterns of promotion, fast-tracking and advancement opportunities within educational settings are still underdeveloped. Even though there has been significant exposure and research into male practitioners in education, much of the literature is focused on Early Childhood Education and Care settings, while promotional patterns relating to gender is often researched within further or higher education establishments (Baker, 2010; Misra et al, 2010). The apparent lack of research into gendered patterns of promotion within primary schools can be derived from the numerical minority that men find themselves in and the disproportionate numbers that eventually make their way into managerial positions. As a result of this, there may be an unwillingness of those on the receiving end of advantages sharing their stories. Doing so would expose inequalities within the workforce as well as an open admission potentially bringing an end to an individual's benefits that they receive. It is for this reason that sub-sampling was used in conjunction with data triangulation, allowing for several perspectives to be drawn upon.

1.2 Rationale: Why male primary school teachers and promotion?

The identifiable lack of exploration into the gendered promotional patterns of male and female practitioners in primary schools influenced the choice to study this area. The main rationale for choosing primary schools as the focus of this research was first, as a response to the lack of recognisable research being conducted around promotion in this sector, hence the sole focus of primary schools when collecting data. Secondly, to investigate the presumed idea that men occupy a disproportionate number of managerial positions as a result of being fast-tracked because of their gender. It was from this second point, came the justification for choosing Williams' 'glass escalator' phenomenon to frame my research; so too from Williams' call for a new metaphor to demonstrate male promotional benefits as her seminal work 'is of limited use in explaining men's economic advantages over women' (Williams 2013, 610). In making the 'glass escalator' central in my research, there is also a need to cover gender as a contributor to workplace discrimination.   Gender is still identifiable as a persistent and influential factor in career decisions within the workforce in general (Ramaswami et al, 2010; Orser and Leck, 2011; Ellemers, 2014).

As Starks and Trinidad (2007) argue, the researcher is identifiable as the key instrument in analysis across all stages of qualitative research. Therefore, a key motivation for choosing primary school promotion in this research was as a result of my own experiences as a practitioner. It is important to establish early the researcher's own identity and background, otherwise known as 'bracketing', whereby one 'entails the inevitable transmission of assumptions, values,

interests, emotions and theories' (Tufford and Newman, 2010). At the time of completing this research, I have been a fully qualified primary school teacher for six years, but my teaching career has been far from 'typical' as I have only taught full time for two years. It took me almost a year of 'Supply work' to find a school who would take me on full-time and give me a permanent contract. During this first year, I often contemplated how far removed my experience was compared to the 'promise' and ideal of a fast-tracked career repeated to me throughout the years. Upon securing a full-time position in my second year in teaching I began to take on additional roles and responsibilities, initially shadowing the computing subject lead then assuming that role in my third year. Compared to my first year in teaching, the second year felt like rapid acceleration. This endorsed and supported the idea that male primary school teachers are sought after to which I had been repeatedly told. The other newly qualified teachers who started around the same time as me (all female) appeared to not experience the same kind of treatment as I had. In the subsequent three years, I have been able to retain my job on a part-time basis at the school, additionally, I have taken on several other roles and responsibilities and upon my return will be coming back into a higher position than when I left. Given that I was working part-time, this would not normally be considered a 'standard' career progression.

Despite the short space of time and involvement in the classroom I have still been on the receiving end of promotional advantages, having both gained positions and seen a significant increase in wages. The reason for choosing this topic of research was as a result of my experiences and intrigue into the

promotional opportunities presented to men in education. While not attempting to validate my own experiences, I found that my own journey had mirrored the rhetoric that had been repeated to me when enquiring and applying for teaching positions: "you are a man you will move up the ranks quickly". When I began to enquire about a career in teaching, I was continually told that given my gender not only would I find getting into the profession easy but that within five years I would be in a senior leadership role, possibly even head teacher. Teachers at high school and career advisors all stated that this was the case because they were 'crying out for males' in primary schools, part of the appeal in teaching at primary level was that allure of a fast-tracked career into a managerial position. Despite experiencing somewhat of a fast-tracked promotion, I was amazed to find that this was not the 'norm' contradicting the general promotional practices within primary schools. Before entering into the teaching profession, I completed a master's degree focusing on the stereotypes and identities of male primary school teachers. It was here that I began to explore gendered discourses within primary schools where I identified a culture of upregulated and overlooked considerations around gender binary assumptions that uphold stereotypes. This led to presumptions about where men should teach and how they should behave (Cousins, 2014).

Given the lack of male teachers within the profession, I expected to be part of a minority on the Postgraduate Certificate Education (PGCE) training course. However, I was struck by the equal distribution of male and female trainee teachers on the course, of the 600 trainees that year roughly 250 were male. Many of the other male trainees too were struck by this expectation to be in a

minority and to be fast-tracked as a result. Interestingly, during the year of my teaching training course, there was little to no coverage on any gendered issues that teachers may face, instead, the focus was very much placed on the expectations of a 'teacher'. During my placements within schools, I was confronted with gendered comments around the lack of male primary school teachers. One school, in particular, was staffed entirely by females, from management to teachers, to caretaker. I was greeted on the first day with comments of 'finally my child is being taught by a man' by parents. Retrospectively I am surprised that I had little awareness about this despite an abundance of debate in both research and popular media around the 'moral panic' and a call for more males in schools to tackle 'boy's underachievement' (Kenway, 1995; Epstein, 1998; Martino and Meyenn, 2001; Lingard, 2003; Titus 2004). Much of the curriculum and focus had been pushed to accommodate 'boy-friendly' material, pursuing more 'masculine' outlets for young boys (Skelton, 2009; Lingard et al, 2011; Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2013). Such experiences supported and were consistent with the findings from my master's degree research, an omission by practitioners to address such discourses.

1.3 Aims and purpose

As a result of limited exposure within the available literature on the gendered patterns of promotion there too exists a lack of suitable metaphors to describe the experiences of gender-inequality in favour of men in gender-atypical progressions. Existing metaphors principally focus on the inequalities and

discrimination that women face in the workplace. The purpose of this research is, therefore, to readdress the 'glass escalator' phenomenon by exploring the promotional patterns of male teachers in British primary schools. As a result of this, my research will be accessible to multiple users, primarily practitioners working within educational establishments as it provides insights into the inner workings of promotion and career advancement within primary schools; an area of knowledge usually confined to those within the senior leadership team. This will offer teaching practitioners a new lens to view gendered promotion and ideas around the fast-tracked promotion of male teachers. Likewise, those in leadership roles will find value in the addressing of provision around promotions within primary schools, specifically the emphasis on how these are perceived by employees. Equally, policymakers or training providers will find use given the potential areas of continual professional development (CPD) opportunities that arise from my findings.

Research questions

Through seeking to explore the promotional patterns of practitioners in primary schools, this study poses three interlinked main research questions outlined here,

1) To what extent does gender play a role in the 'promotion' of primary school teachers?

2) To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the subject of preferential treatment?

3) To what extent does a male primary school teacher's 'minority status' have an effect on promotional career prospects?

Following the inclusion of the 'glass escalator' the research questions reflected the main aspects of Williams (1992) phenomenon, covering the inclusion of gender, preferential treatment and the outcome of being in a minority. It is intended that the research findings will contribute to the understanding of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, in particular, how and to what extent it operates within the context of primary school settings. This thesis also intends to explore gendered discourses and rapid fast-tracked movement of male teachers within a gender-atypical occupation. These above aims raise the following core research objectives,

- Examine the available research literature surrounding the fast-tracked promotion of male teachers in primary schools.

- Investigate the existence of other 'glass escalator' metaphors to demonstrate gender inequality.

- Collect data from male primary school teachers around their experiences of promotion and career movement.

- Analyse how gender inequality operates within primary schools.

- Evaluate the importance of intersectionality in understanding the promotional patterns of teachers.

Given the potential scope and complexity of the multiple avenues of enquiry that I could have taken, research boundaries were established to ensure that the process was manageable. For example, enquiries into the impact that male or female practitioners have on educational attainment or curriculum-based pedagogy will not be covered. Likewise, I am not questioning who chooses to teach, or addressing why there is a low number of male practitioners in the primary and ECEC settings in British educational establishments. Although

these are valid and important areas of research, these cannot be adequately addressed through the framework established by this research.

1.4 Thesis overview

This thesis is organised in conjunction with the IMRAD [Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion] model as presented by Thomson and Kamler (2016, 147) arranging the thesis by actions; following a structure consisting of: an introduction, literature review, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion. The literature review (Chapter 2) will synthesise the relevant literature on the promotion of primary school teachers through the theoretical (conceptual) framework of Williams' (1992) 'glass escalator' phenomenon, Connell's (2005) theory of masculinities and May's (2015) theory of intersectionality. As an extension of my core framework, a review of the wider literature will also be covered in further detail in Chapter 2 (literature review). This will include coverage on the lives of teachers, looking at teacher relationships and the interconnection of teachers and management. Finally, attention will be given to the legality of promotions looking at positive discrimination and ant-discrimination law within education.

Awareness of own subjectivity in this research will be explored within Chapter 3 (Methodology). The need for sustained reflexivity on my part was imperative, and the steps taken to assure this are discussed in detail. Further detail is provided on the methodological, epistemological and ontological stance of myself as a researcher as well as details of the design of my research. Chapter

4 (Findings) presents the collected data through the use of thematic analysis, demonstrating common threads and narratives across the data set. Main findings will be offered in themes determined from my interpretation of the data. Following this and situated separately from the findings, Chapter 5 (Discussion) builds upon the main themes and findings from Chapter 4 linking with the wider literature and drawing out my contributions to knowledge. Each theme follows that of the findings chapter (Chapter 4) to allow for comparisons and links for convenience and accessibility. Finally, Chapter 6 (Conclusion) rounds off this piece of research by bringing together the main contribution and implications of my study in terms of a wider reach. Throughout all of these chapters, reflexivity and researcher awareness are continually used, regarding why and how this research study was achieved.

My research joins the ongoing discussion on perceptions about men in a gender-atypical profession such as primary school education. Importantly it adds to knowledge about the gendering of promotions in the subtle ways in which men are progressed and advantaged within the workforce. It informs discussions around educational settings being 'gender-neutral' in favour of collegiality and collaboration. It is also important because it demonstrates that within day-to-day practice there is a clear adherence to 'gender-binary' beliefs with practices used to move men into positions of authority. The main contribution of this thesis is the uncovering of 'gendered micro-promotions' which offers a greater understanding of the nuanced sophisticated application of day-to-day advantages for male practitioners within primary school teaching. The identification of a 'gendered dimension' within promotions was aided

through the use of Kullberg's (2013) 'glass travelator' metaphor, which acted as a framework to more adequately explain how and why this occurs. Therefore, the information the thesis provides is useful in narrowing the gap between what we already know about the promotional patterns of men working in gender-atypical professions and the actual application in everyday practice. This thesis also contributes to discussions and literature around the involvement of intersectionality as a tool to recognise discrimination and or advantages gained by groups or individuals. It recognises that there are multiple intersecting factors which together influence who receives promotions within the workplace and how. Furthermore, there is a need to acknowledge the importance of professional factors when discussing career movements.

Chapter 2 Theoretical (Conceptual) Framework and Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is twofold, primarily establishing the integrated theoretical, conceptual framework underpinning my research; and secondly reviewing the available literature around the gendering of promotional patterns in primary schools. Initially, section 2.1 of this chapter will delineate the individual components of my integrated framework and from there section 2.2 will scrutinize the wider literature around the lives of teachers and the legality of promotions in primary schools in Britain.

Despite an abundance of research surrounding issues of gender within the field of education such as boys' underachievement (Francis and Skelton, 2005; Ivinson and Murphy, 2007; Francis, 2010a; Hartley and Sutton, 2013; Bristol, 2015), male teachers as role models (Burn and Pratt-Adams, 2015; Brownhill 2014; Cushman 2009), and male teacher stereotyping (Carlena, 2019; Bullough, 2015; Hutchings et al. 2007; Sumsion 2000), there exists limited exploration into the gendered promotional patterns and advantages that educators receive. This is visible with the experiences of male practitioners within the primary education sector. Similarly, comparisons can be drawn with other female-dominated professions as well. As a result of this, a proportion of literature referenced in this chapter has been drawn from other female-dominated professions, specifically nursing, social work and Early Childhood Education and Care. Likewise, literature derived from across parallel educational settings, for example, compulsory secondary education, further

education and higher education have only been utilised where current primary education literature remains inadequate or underdeveloped. Given that these specific settings are often referenced concerning male-dominated professions, limited comparisons can be made with the inner mechanisms of the primary school sector.

As my research is grounded to a specific geographical location, a majority of the reviewed literature derives from a British context, however, where appropriate I have also drawn upon international perspectives in which there is more detailed and developed research. To maintain relevance, international literature has been drawn from the profession and field of education, but as stated previously, limited availability of literature requires that other fields and professions be utilised. Utilising multiple professions, settings and international literature allowed for a comparison and contrast with currently available research within the profession and field of education. In reviewing the literature in this way, I intend to demonstrate the interdisciplinary nature of my research topic, highlighting specific gaps in our knowledge to remedy the lack of attention paid to gendered promotional patterns in primary educational settings.

2.1 Gender and promotion: A framework for research

An integral part of any research design is the formation of a theoretical conceptual framework acting as a map or travel plan (Sinclair, 2007; Fulton and Krainovich-Miller, 2010). Adom et al (2018) emphasise that, without such a strategy, a researcher may encounter difficulties in demonstrating their

academic position and underlying beliefs. Within my research design, I sought to combine both theoretical and conceptual constructs into an integrated framework, making research findings 'more meaningful and acceptable, while enhancing empiricism and rigour' (Adom et al, 2018: 438). Through this guiding principle, my framework acts as a 'blueprint' bringing together existing theories and concepts (Grant and Osanloo, 2014) in a structure that best reflects and explains the natural progression of the phenomenon under study (Camp, 2001). To demonstrate the interplay between both theories and concepts (Luse et al, 2012); and following the recommendation by Miles and Huberman (1994, 18) that frameworks can be 'graphical, showing the key variables or constructs to be studied'. I designed a concept map presented in figure 2.1. Demonstrated in figure 2.1 is a framework based on the tokenistic and minority groups that work within organizations drawing upon Williams' (1992) seminal definition of the 'glass escalator' concept (including her 2013 call for new metaphors), May's (2015) concept of intersectionality, and Connell's theory of masculinities (2005). Using a pictorial representation of my integrated theoretical conceptual framework serves as a guide to identifying links to the wider literature making up the second part of this chapter.

Establishing a theoretical conceptual framework also helped form the wording and structure of my three research questions outlined in chapter 1 (Introduction), linking to an aspect of the existing literature. With the main focus of my research on the exploration of the 'glass escalator', which isolates gender as the main contributing factor for male advancements, I too seek to explore this conclusion within primary education.

Integrated theoretical conceptual framework

'GLASS ESCALATOR' (WILLIAMS: 1995)
- Tokenism (Kanter: 1977)
- Preferential treatment
- Fast-tracked trajectory of male practitioners

- 'Patriarchal dividend'
- Positive discrimination

- Compound disadvantage and inequality
- Minority 'hyper-visibility'

GENDER PROMOTION

- Domains of power
- Hegemonic, subordinate and complicit masculinity
- Recuperative masculinity

- 'Professional capital'
- The 'Gender Binary'

- Social and political factors and variables
- Question and challenge dominant logics

MASCULINITIES (CONNELL: 2005)

INTERSECTIONALITY (MAY: 2015)

Figure 2.1 Theoretical conceptual framework overview

This is also an important reason for the inclusion of intersectionality, as approaching advancement and promotion of males through other factors than gender opens up new lines of enquiry and understanding of the 'glass escalator'. Throughout the remainder of this section, each component of my theoretical conceptual framework will be explored in further detail.

2.1.1 The 'Glass escalator' - Williams

Forming the basis and footing of my research, Williams' (1995) 'glass escalator' phenomenon is chosen due to its depiction of male teachers' fast-tracked career advancements. Furthermore, Smith (2012) states that far fewer researchers have tested for the negative effects of the 'glass escalator' on

males. In recent years there has been a more critical approach and enquiry into the varying experiences of male teachers given their continuous low numbers and retention rates across Early Childhood Education and Care and primary school education in Britain. But according to Shen-Miller and Smiler (2015), much of the available literature still focuses on the advantages men gain to demonstrate the disadvantages women are facing when entering male-dominated professions (business and STEM subjects - Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths). Despite several female-dominated professions, coverage of specific focus on male disadvantages are mainly found in the nursing profession but emphasising the advantages that males gain as a minority group (Ott, 1989; Heikes, 1991; Budig, 2002; Wallace, 2014). While there is some attention provided within the profession of education, comparatively, Early Childhood Education and Care settings make up a large share of the available research literature compared with primary school settings.

But why glass metaphors? Blithe (2015), comments that glass captures the essence of something people cannot always see but can feel. This helps capture notions of power in organisations specifically to understand how subtle biases towards certain bodies face intangible discrimination at work. This is further explained by Ashcraft (2013, 12), 'the utility of glass metaphors lies in their capacity to name and evoke systemic patterns that are otherwise elusive'. Looking to other existing glass metaphors can help to illustrate this point. The most prominent glass metaphor is the 'glass ceiling', a way to describe how organizational hierarchies prevent or restrain women from rising into the senior

ranks of management (Hymowitz and Schellhardt, 1986). Another more recent addition to the glass metaphor analogy is the 'glass cliff', which seeks to reveal that women in positions of leadership are associated with greater risk and increased possibility of failure, a further barrier to women's progress within organizations (Ryan et al, 2007). Through the exploration of glass metaphors, the advantages or disadvantages of certain groups are unearthed, highlighting the invisible or hidden biases that exist within workplaces. Smith et al (2012, 441) suggest that the majority of metaphors in the literature relate to women's career development and are used to 'identify antecedents and consequences of discrimination and prejudice against women'.

Since glass metaphors are mainly synonymous with female disadvantages, the rise of male-related glass metaphors has been inconsistent. However, both Cognard-Black (2012) and Snyder and Green (2008) argue that men also experience discrimination; manifesting as *heightened* visibility of being a token, or the expectation that males occupy higher positions than that of their female colleagues (Ariogul, 2009). However, similar glass metaphors specific to men do exist but remain in their infancy. One example is the 'glass handcuffs' metaphor, which is described as capturing the 'unseen apparatus, discourses, practices, material constraints and gendered assumptions' conditioning men to work 'nonstop and caution them against sending too much time on non-work pursuits' (Blithe: 2015, 8). The 'glass handcuffs' metaphor begins to identify key 'invisible mechanisms' that keep men continually working and simultaneously away from family and other nonworking pursuits. In comparison to the most identifiable and popular female glass metaphor, the male-related

20

metaphor delineates and illuminates advantages via the 'golden handcuffs'. Mainly used in business or corporate professions it serves to demonstrate how employers seek to retain employees through financial incentives and career agreements (Sengupta et al, 2007).

Turning to the 'glass escalator' phenomenon as a metaphor, its conceptualisation came about as a direct criticism of Kanter's Tokenism theory (1977). According to tokenism theory, 'individuals who are in extreme numerical minority along some salient dimension such as race or sex' (Kanter, 1977: 11), therefore, any individual who belongs to a certain demographic with 15 per cent or less of the entire collection of individuals can be classed as part of a token group (Simmons et al, 2015). The intention of tokenism as envisioned by Kanter (1977) was to bring to light the difficulties and implications of being a token individual within the workforce,

> 'Such individuals are more visible by virtue of their difference, are marginalized in everyday workplace activities, and are thus subject to more work-related scrutiny, criticism, and performance pressures' (Kanter, 1977: 11).

Stichman et al (2010) concur with Kanter's statement here, stating that tokens generally experience consequences due to their high visibility, distorting their characteristics leading to the emergence of stereotypes. However, the focus on the numerical underpinning of tokenism drew much criticism, Zimmer (1988) stated that the spotlight on numerical representation diminishes any difficulties associated with individual characteristics like race, age, religion and sexual orientation. For example, Pierce (1995) argues that men in comparison to

women, receive quick progression within the workforce to occupy more 'male type' positions, such as leadership roles. Scholarios and Taylor (2011) agree, stating that men in female-dominated professions have a much higher success rate in securing managerial appointments, despite the preponderance of female workers with the same educational qualifications. This is seen as a result of society's preference of men and masculinity in what Connell (1996) calls the 'patriarchal dividend'. In contrast, women in male-dominated professions accumulate very little power or influence given their minority status as a result of advantages being socially conferred upon whites, men and heterosexuals (Chen and Moons, 2014). Barnett (2013) terms this phenomenon the 'invisible knapsack' of privilege. Yet, this generalisation and stereotyping of tokens lead to a reinforcement of culturally held views and ideals, particularly patriarchy and the preference of males and masculinity by society. Paxton et al (2007) argue that this results in male tokens encountering less co-operation, increased hostility and more discrimination, as opposed to only benefitting from their token status. Hjalmarrsson and Löfdahl (2014) as well as Shen-Miller and Smiler (2015) both suggest that the focus on male tokens receiving a more beneficial outcome compared to women, is based on the socially held idea that men have historically experienced gender-based privilege. Ashcraft and Mumbly (2004) along with Pompper and Jung (2013), argue that because of this concentration on women in gendered research, men are generally erased as the '*genderless norm'* within these types of research studies.

A main point of contention with Tokenism theory is that all token groups receive disadvantages. Williams (1992) argues instead that male tokens in female-

dominated professions (for example, nursing, caring, and teaching) receive additional advantages which she termed the 'glass escalator' (Williams, 1995). This further expanded on existing glass metaphors, specifically the 'glass ceiling'. Interestingly, despite an abundance of glass metaphors, the 'glass escalator' is considered by Ng and Wiesner (2007) as the least commonly known, despite being a unique and influential paradigm in 'understanding the experiences of men who do women's work' (Wingfield, 2009: 6). The reason for this can be found in the context of these professions, overall there is a far smaller number of female-dominated occupations in comparison to male-dominated professions. Previously existing analogies like Jacob's (1989) 'revolving doors', had concluded that a different mechanism may perpetuate occupational sex segregation, while Baron (1990) and Chan (1999) identified this as a one-way trap door for women. Williams (1995), however, postulates that male token's advancement was due to society's value of men and qualities associated with masculinity, over that of qualities associated with women and femininity. Close links can be made here to Connell's (1996) cultural gender hierarchical view of the 'patriarchal dividend', a process whereby the labour market systematically benefits groups of males in society. Because of this association, large portions of the literature have sought to establish the outcomes and existence of the 'glass escalator' (Budig, 2002). Such outcomes and advantages gained include; higher wages (Huffman, 2004); internal promotions, which often lead to managerial positions (Hultin, 2003) and managerial promotions, moving though the top hierarchy and perceived job-related support, leading to advancement opportunities (Maume, 2004). Darling

and Glendinning (1996) argue that the positive outcomes of the 'glass escalator' while appearing gender-neutral, are mainly associated with males.

There have been some overarching attempts to understand why men might be the beneficiaries of the 'glass escalator' compared to women. One line of enquiry looks at the commitments levels of male and female teachers. Stereotypically women are more likely to be tied to a specific geographic location for family commitments, yet men are seen to focus more on work commitments (Hultin, 2003; Knowles et al, 2009). Therefore, stagnated pay increase, internal promotions and or wage increases are more likely to retain male workers (Yap and Konrad, 2009). This could originate from the assumption that internationally males aspire to climb the career ladder, associating aspiration and advancing up the career ladder, with a lessening of family considerations (Hofstede, 1998). Within teaching, however, Goose et al (2008) argue that the career aspirations of teachers could be driven by the public outcry and demand for more males in primary schools. Leading to the question; are men being pushed up the career ladder via the 'glass escalator' to appease public opinion? Further discussion around this question will be presented in section 2.4 of this chapter.

2.1.1.1 Criticisms of the 'glass escalator'

The 'glass escalator' phenomenon has drawn heavy criticism over the years for its sole focus on gender while other intersecting factors such as age, ethnicity, social class, and religious beliefs have not been taken into consideration.

Woodhams et al (2015) suggest that because of this inadequacy, not all men in female-dominated professions can ride the 'glass escalator'. In support, Wingfield (2009) and Smith (2012) reason that men from ethnic minorities are less able to realise their gender advantages when compared to white males. While there are numerous studies considering who will ride the 'glass escalator', most of the focus is almost exclusively on the intersection of gender and ethnicity (Karlson, 2012; Price-Glynn and Rakowski, 2012). There has been a call for more research into how wider intersecting factors affect the 'glass escalator', something which Williams (2013) acknowledged in her re-visiting of the phenomenon,

> 'The 'glass escalator' assumes stable employment, career ladders, and widespread support for public institutions (e.g., schools and libraries)—which no longer characterize the job market today' (Williams, 2013: 1).

Williams questioned the relevance of the 'glass escalator' metaphor in the twenty-first century, arguing that the 'traditional' work model no longer exists as employees are frequently more likely to switch employers in search of better opportunities. Despite this change, Williams argues that the 'traditional' hierarchical model remains prevalent, as mentioned previously, women still typically have competing family obligations and restrictions, so progression into higher paid positions could still take longer than their male counterparts. The inclusion and acknowledgement of intersectionality within my framework came about as a result of this criticism, emphasising my original contribution to knowledge.

Another criticism of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon is the potential prejudice men receive from outside their profession (including the questioning of their identity and masculinity) due to increased visibility (Snyder and Green, 2008). For Snyder and Green (2008, 272) this comes in the form of pressures 'albeit often subtle or invisible' pushing men towards, 'masculinized positions and specialities that carry prestige and authority'. Williams (1992, 257) too acknowledged that men experience accusations of 'not shooting high enough' in turn 'tracking' men into more 'legitimate' areas of work, often those which pay higher and have more responsibilities. Williams outlines further,

> 'Often, despite their intentions, they face invisible pressures to move up in their profession. As if on a moving escalator, they must work to stay in place' (Williams, 1992: 256).

Interestingly for men, rather than hindering job mobility, their chances of promotion are accelerated via the 'glass escalator' (Bagilhole and Cross, 2006). A vital aspect of this argument is that accusations or 'external pressures' are identified as factors which uphold the 'glass escalator'. This would suggest, something that current literature has implied, that the 'glass escalator' is a by-product of society's gendered beliefs on who should undertake certain professions. This is significant in a profession like teaching, where the emphasis on women being caregivers, and men being disciplinarians, plays into the idea of gendered roles within education and the school, which will be explored further in section 2.4 in this chapter. This is one of the pitfalls of the 'glass escalator', often there is an assumption that *all men* want to climb the career ladder. Allan's (1993) research-based on fifteen elementary school teachers, also found feelings of marginalisation and alienation due to the

association of not meeting such expectations. This was echoed by Cognard-Black (2004), who despite stating that males suffer no disadvantages as gender-atypical workers which would result in them leaving their profession, could not rule out that male 'tokens' suffering alienation and self-doubt might reduce male satisfaction at work without pushing them out.

2.1.2 Intersectionality - May

Forming the second aspect of my framework, intersectionality was chosen due to its absence within Williams' (1995) 'glass escalator' phenomenon. In current debates on society, variables such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, economic status, and class, are often viewed as separate entities and discussed accordingly. Therefore, if investigated individually one could argue that, for example, all women share the same experiences based on the variable of their gender. Likewise, one could assume that all twenty-year-olds share a common lived experience. Yet, society and societal experiences are not that simple, Guittar and Guittar (2015) argue that social outcomes cannot be properly explained by investigating independent social categories (such as age or gender) and treating them as individualistic variables. Instead, people occupy and are affected simultaneously by several social categories. Focusing on more than one variable to further understand an individual's interaction within the wider society is termed, 'intersectionality'. Hill-Collins and Bilge (2016), define intersectionality as,

> 'A way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the word, in
> people, and in human experience. The events and conditions of social

and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by

one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and

mutually influencing ways' (Hill-Collins and Bilge, 2016: 2).

By taking this approach of identifying intersecting factors and variables, the

varying degrees to which various social groups differ internally from each other

can be identified.

The idea of intersectionality has been of particular use for understanding and

explaining the experiences of people who encounter compound disadvantage

(Guittar and Guittar, 2015). Without this, one would be left with a false sense

that all members of a group are equal by various social forces. This can be

seen in its inception by Crenshaw (1993), who used the term to map the

disadvantages of black women's employment experiences in the USA. While

the term intersectionality is seen as a vital concept within feminist literature

(Taylor, 2011), it has begun to be used in a much wider sense encompassing

multiple social groups. Yet according to May (2015), because intersectionality

has its roots in radical resistance politics, critical race and women of colour

theorising and praxis, these origins and histories are (mis)read, resisted and

(mis)used. May points out that intersectionality is not just a one-dimensional

concept only applicable to the few, rather questions the 'status quo' allowing for

the probing of 'everyday logics that rationalize inequality' (May, 2015: 6). If

applied in different ways, intersectionality contests conventional thinking about

domination, subordination and resistance wherever and however that might

appear. Such areas are mostly associated with disadvantaged groups or at-

risk groups like black women as demonstrated by Crenshaw (1993). Yet as

May (2015) points out, inequality and the status quo do not only appear within disadvantaged groups but so too can appear within dominant groups as well.

At its core, intersectionality remains a concept underpinning much of the discussion on anti-oppressive policy but is rarely named as such in recent years (Harris and White, 2013). Due to the multiplicity and complex nature of intersectionality, factors such as race, gender and class cannot simply 'be tagged onto each other mechanically' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983: 64). Intersectionality consequently is crucial in emphasizing the 'synergy of two or more social dimensions to understand their compound effects on individuals or groups' (Guittar and Guittar, 2015: 657). Yet Lutz et al (2011, 77) raise the question, 'can we only grasp what is social about the category adequately if we assume that gender, class, age, and ethnicity is a structuring factor in socio-cultural relations?' For Lutz et al (2011), consideration must also be given to other influences that intersect with social categories, such as economic or political factors.

Since its inception, there have been several attempts to re-define and adapt intersectionality to the complexity of modern society. Hancock's (2007, 64) 'intersectional' approach corrects an assumption about intersectionality; while all social categories share an equal footing, there is no 'one size fits all' as social categories do not all hold the same value to the individual (Verloo, 2006: 223). The notion that they are fluid but not stable proposes that social categories are prone to movement and subject to change, which might be via the individual or within society itself. Guittar and Guittar (2015) argue that because each

category is intimately tied to the next unpacking and ordering, a hierarchy of these social categories is complex. Everyone experiences social categories in different ways,

> 'At any moment, race, class or gender may feel more salient or meaningful in a given person's life but they are overlapping and cumulative in their effects' (Andersen and Collins, 2012: 4).

Given that individual experiences are unique and intrinsically complex, intersectionality allows us to understand how each of these categories may manifest itself within a given social context and concerning each other (Guittar and Guittar, 2015). By doing so an understanding of how certain social groups and contexts can form via intersecting categories can lead to the identification of marginal groups based upon a model of those intersecting social categories. Focusing on multiple social categories highlights the fundamentals of intersectionality. With each additional dimension, a picture forms of the individual's experiences within a social context (McCall, 2005). This too allows for a marginalised group within a privileged group to be identified and discussed, for example, homosexual white males. Furthermore, intersectionality is not limited in terms of space and time; it moves within the social context and shifting subjects. This results in a precise analysis of the individual's experiences tied to a specific time and place (Carbado et al, 2013). While generalisation cannot be drawn from this, it can used to compare how society has changed. The social experiences of an individual today differ vastly from that of someone a decade ago and differ again from someone a century ago. But by understanding the outcome of individuals and groups one can

understand how social change and social factors impact upon individual's lives (Carbado et al, 2013).

Although intersectionality has become a means to analyse the intersecting of social categories, critics have questioned the scope with which it can cover. Purdie-Vaughns and Richard (2008) point out that the greater the number of marginal categories to which one belongs, the greater the number of disadvantages one will experience. Beale (1979) termed this the 'double jeopardy' theory, where people with multiple subordinate identities do not usually fit the prototypes of their respective subordinate groups, therefore, will experience 'intersectional invisibility' (Purdie-Vaughns and Richard, 2008). As identified within tokenism, a small minority of individuals and groups get misrepresented or end up being 'invisible'. However, one could revisit the initial group, with a focus and identification of the subordinate individuals allowing for further understanding of their experiences. This is troublesome when focusing on those marginalised groups, yet Carbado et al (2013), states that intersectionality reflects a commitment not to subjects nor identities, but to marking and mapping the production and contingency of both. With shifting social life and identities, it is naïve to think that one could track and uncover every individual or disadvantaged group.

With this in mind, when designing this research project gender was chosen as the main social category under investigation. The decision to do so in part came about because of the profession of teaching where gender is an identifiable defining factor in the composition of the workforce (Cushman,

2010). Supporting this decision, following Kanter's (1977) 'tokenism' and the fundamentals of intersectionality, male teacher practitioners in primary schools can be identified as both underrepresented (Pierce, 1995; Scholarios and Taylor, 2011) and marginalised (Kanter, 1977; Paxton et al, 2007). Yet within managerial positions, male practitioners make up a higher percentage of numbers. According to Williams' (1995, 2013) 'glass escalator' metaphor, these males receive advantages as a direct consequence of their gender. Therefore, research question one, 'To what extent does gender play a role in the 'promotion' of primary school teacher?' was worded to incorporate intersectionality as a way to identify how prominent gender is with regards to promotional advantages.

2.1.3 Masculinization and feminization of teaching – Sex and gender

Throughout this section, Connell's theory of masculinities (2005) will be presented as the final aspect of my theoretical (conceptual) framework. Particular focus will be given to the masculinization and femininization of teaching encompassing related stereotypes and how it impacts managerial positions in primary schools. There exists a broad range of available literature surrounding sex and gender, spanning across multiple research fields as well as professions; sociology (Kessler et al, 1985; Martino, 1999), psychology (Marcia, 1966; Lease et al, 2010); Early Childhood Education and Care (Vandenbroeck and Peeters, 2008; Heikkilä and Hellman, 2016) and nursing (Philips, 2005). With the focus on primary school education of my research, coverage and focus of the literature in this section has mainly been selected to

reflect that. Kehler and Greig (2005) suggest that the way masculinity is played out in schools is far more complex and messier than generally perceived to be, therefore, where appropriate literature from similarly related fields such as Early Childhood Education and Care settings will be referenced to. Likewise, the substantial amount of literature that exists from popular media outlets (newspaper, online news articles and national news shows) has been limited to providing examples of popular discourses as often there is no way to verify the validity of their claims. As issues around sex and gender also exist on the international stage, and not unique to Britain (Clark, 1990; Manuel, 2003; Brody, 2014), where suitable literature from international research literature will be used to compare and develop lines of argument from within the literature.

Connell's framework of masculinities (2005) was mainly chosen as it offers a valuable lens in understanding how men in primary school education may practice gender as a minority group. Connell (2005) argues that the modern usage of these terms,

> 'Assumes that one's behaviour results from the type of person one is. In speaking of masculinity at all, then we are 'doing gender' in a culturally specific way' (Connell, 2005: 67).

For Connell, four distinct types of masculinities exist that can be assumed or assigned to men; hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalised depending on the 'context men find themselves in' (p.76). Hegemonic masculinities refer to cultural dynamic by which 'a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life' (p.77). Connell does concede, however, that only a small number of men achieve this status. Brody (2014,12) argues that for

most men they are compelled to do this by others (colleagues, parents, children) 'in order to avoid being identified with other subordinate masculinities'.

Subordinate masculinities are identified as oppositional to the dominance in the overall framework of hegemony, with men being 'excluded from the circle of legitimacy' (Connell, 2005: 79). Exclusion usually comes about due to individual males demonstrating traits mainly associated with females, which could incite labels such as *'cissy'* or *'big girl'* (Harris, 1976; Robinson and Canaday, 1978; Jong et al, 2014). However, Connell stresses that while gay masculinity is the most conspicuous, heterosexual men can also be expelled from the 'circle of legitimacy' due to a 'symbolic blurring with femininity' (p.78). Within primary schools, and by extension Early Childhood Education and Care settings, there is the issue that men could be presumed to be 'gay' or 'other' (Sumsion, 2000) as a result of choosing to work with children. This further becomes problematic when wider society equates homosexuality with paedophilia (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006; Brody, 2014; Burn and Pratt-Adams, 2015) placing subordinate men as ones to watch and be wary of. Jones (2003) argues that this results in male teachers facing contradictory messages about their work; while on one hand they are valued and treated as prized commodities; on the other hand, they may also be constructed as suspect, especially if they do not fit the image of the 'imagined' male teacher. Yet being identified as subordinate does demonstrate the individual's willingness to be gender-flexible (Warin, 2019) in their professional roles, rejecting an adherence to gender 'norms'.

In between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities, complicit masculinities reside, referring to those men who 'meet the normative standards' but 'do not embody hegemonic masculinities' (Connell, 2005: 79). Connell's previous argument that not many men reach the hegemonic label does not mean that men cannot realise the 'patriarchal dividend', without 'being the frontline troops of patriarchy' (p.79). Hogan (2012) argues that this may mean that men are more inclined to use 'gender-blind' discourses, with a reluctance to reflect critically on gender differences and their impact. In the context of primary schools, this may be men who engage in dominant linguistic performances around hegemony with references to 'mateyness' humour, physical aggression and football (Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003: 221) despite them teaching farther down the school. Connell (2005, 80) argues that men with marginalised masculinities are marginalised because of the 'interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race' which creates further relationships between masculinities. This is fluid and can be 'challenged and re-constructed' dependent on the context (Connell, 2005: 77). Hall (2018, 73) argues that gender equalities tend to 'look at inequalities as a problem of men, rather than also for men'. In doing this, 'contexts in which men and boys are marginalized are frequently overlooked', along with this, there is the numerical minority of men in primary schools to contend with as well. The scope in which to occupy masculinities resulting in a narrowing of the range of roles or ways of positioning themselves (Warin and Adriany, 2017).

A fundamental aspect of Connell's Masculinities theory was to present the power dimensions of the gender order and wider perceived sociocultural

influences. While Connell (1995, 79) admits that 'men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small', the prominence of dominant forms of hegemony encompasses men generally, described as the 'patriarchal dividend', the 'benefits that are automatically available to men' (Messner, 2000: 459). Yet while the 'patriarchal dividend' is limited universally to men, it is not equally distributed. Therefore, Schippers (2006, 86) identifies that when these practices are embodied, especially by men and sometimes women, they have 'widespread cultural and social effects'. Within teaching, for example, this can advantage men who embody complicit forms of masculinity entry into a 'habitus' of privilege and benefits (Messner, 2000). Masculinity can be identified here mutually as a social position, a set of practices and effecting the 'collective embodiment of those practices on individuals, relationships, institutional structures, and global relations of domination' (Schippers, 2006: 87). Hegemonic masculinity thus 'confers considerable power, vis-à-vis women, not just on the hegemonically masculine but on all men' (Peachter, 2006: 258). As a result of this 'different power relations inherent in how individuals relate to hegemonic masculinities and hyper or even normative femininities' (Peachter, 2006: 261) exist for individuals.

While Connell's masculinities framework is widely used and accepted, there remain several critics of her work. Christensen and Jenson (2014) argue that dominant forms of masculinity do not necessarily reinforce gender inequalities within certain cultural contexts. Therefore, there is a need to look beyond Connell's framework to incorporate a more 'intersectionalist' approach to further help in the understanding of gender interactions. Martino and Kehler (2006)

suggest a need to look beyond gender to more broad factors such as class, age and culture to help understand how a practitioner's identity can be shaped. Yet Ashley (2003) and Warin (2019) maintain that a benefit to the debate would be to focus more on gender-flexible qualities of an effective teacher, instead of just on gender. Building on this idea, the rest of this section will concentrate on gendered discourses and arguments, in particular on stereotypes and the masculinization of management.

The 'Gender Binary'

For Connell (2005) there was a distinct separation of gender in male and female, or masculinity and femininity respectively. The separation of gender into these categories is termed the 'gender binary' (Butler, 1999), that is, the belief that we act in certain ways, which is rife despite changes over the past century in how 'sexuality and gender are constructed' (Monro, 2005: 10). This can be viewed as a social construction based on biological differences, as Dvorsky and Hughes (2008, 2) argue that the gender binary causes us to 'see the world through basic binary categories' associating males with masculinity and females with femininity. It is important to understand that 'masculine' and 'feminine' are separate terms, Hofstede (2001, 297) defines masculinity as follows,

> 'Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success.'

With femininity defined as,

'Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.' (Hofstede, 2001: 297).

According to West and Zimmerman (1987), gender is something we do opposed to something we have, identified as 'doing gender' as seen within Connell's Masculinities theory (2005). Hollander (2013) argues that 'doing gender' is a compulsory activity, as socially constructed norms of femininity and masculinity make individuals accountable. This poses the question; can the gender binary be avoided? Within academic circles, there has been a shift away from 'doing gender' towards how gender might be 'undone' (Butler, 2006; Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2009). Gender is 'undone' whenever 'essentialism of binary distinctions between peoples based on sex category is challenged' (Risman, 2009: 83). Likewise, shifts in gender norms reflect the 'redoing' of gender, whereas gender still exists but in a much less restrictive form (West and Zimmerman, 2009). For Messerschmidt (2009:86) this is unavoidable as social interaction forces us to see 'sex and gender as an inseparable, seamless whole', producing a 'cognitive dissonance in us— for which masculine girls (and feminine boys) often get punished'. Darwin (2017, 319) argues that this is because there is much focus on the 'accountability of masculinity and femininity' instead of 'people's accountability of the gender binary itself'.

However, gender can be viewed not simply an identification as either male or female as the 'multidimensional' nature of gender is not accurately reflected (Keener, 2015; Oldenhinkel, 2017). Using a binary system, therefore, does not allow for that range to be explored or expressed. The link with intersectionality

is evident here, as pointed out within my theoretical (conceptual) framework at the beginning of this chapter, as it becomes difficult to unravel the confusion between gender and identity given the multiplicity of factors such as race, sexuality and social class. The literature has attempted to address this, evidenced by Lips (2006, 18) who advocates the use of a 'kaleidoscope' metaphor where 'each turn produces different patterns and no single element dominates'. The most noticeable contribution comes through Queer theory, which 'draws on the critique of self as fixed and essential', and emphasises the 'fluid, dynamic and constructed nature of identities, leading to the deconstruction of the gender binary' (Warin, 2018: 27). Queer theory 'aims to subvert the entire concept of identity' (Thurer, 2005: 99) by breaking down a person's gender and sexuality, which emphasises the 'multiplicities of gender' and the pluralities of sexuality' (Jagose, 1996; Robinson and Diaz, 2006). Prominence is placed on the performed nature of gender, challenging heteronormativity and the assumption that heterosexuality is the dominant sexuality. Butler (1990) herself pointed out that gender identities are socially situated, and her concept of performativity contests gender as a 'fixed identity and uncouples gender from sex' (Warin, 2018: 28).

Masculinity and stereotyping

According to Butler (2006, 26) 'substantive grammar of gender, which assumes men and women, as well as their attributes' encourage the binary; making the 'univocal and hegemonic discourse of the masculine' while 'silencing the feminine as a site of subversive multiplicity'. This is most clearly seen through the existing stereotypes that circulate men within society reinforcing the

'patriarchal dividend'. Available literature focusing on stereotypes in educational settings refer to male practitioners as; positioned as a superhero figure (Mallozzi and Campbell Galman, 2015), a mischievous or fun 'big brother' who brings humour (Brownhill, 2014; Warin, 2015), or an important role model (Mills et al, 2008; Sumsion, 2005; The Sutton Trust, 2009). Such stereotyping is consistent with gender stereotypes in society at large, reflecting the types of abilities and characteristics attributed to men and women (Melkes and Anker, 1997). White and White (2006) argue that occupations with skewed sex ratios, like teaching, remain gender-typed. This can lead to disadvantages for men and women who are 'perceived as lacking the necessary attributes to succeed in fields dominated by the opposite gender' (Kollmayer et al, 2018: 366) upholding beliefs about the characteristics that women and men *should* have. This can lead to disadvantages for men and women who 'violate shared beliefs about how each gender should behave' (Kollmayer et al, 2018: 366). Such 'shared beliefs' are seen by Prentice and Carranza (2004) as indicating gender stereotypes as common knowledge and widely accepted in society. Ridgeway (2011) states that beliefs around gender status can shape behavioural hierarchies, the most consequential and influential being hegemonic gender stereotypes. However, such stereotypes are under threat as Matthews (2014, 103) argues that the hegemonic man, for example, is becoming a 'mythical normative symbol' increasingly represented as an 'archaic vestige no longer fit for purpose'. Gendered stereotypes, therefore, can be viewed as being transformative and fluid over time and dependent on perceived societal interpretations (Kite et al, 2008) reflecting the four labels of masculinity as provided by Connell (2005). Jussim et al (1996, 283) argue that the reason

popular gendered stereotypes persist for so long is that they are continually being confirmed through 'expected behaviours' leading to 'self-fulfilling prophecies and biases'.

In teaching, such gendered stereotypes lead to a 'typical' view of teachers in western societies; a white woman standing at the front of a classroom pointing at a board (Carrington et al, 2007). These images are often reflected in popular culture, which is portrayed through popular media, magazines, radio and television (Weber and Mitchell, 1995). Such gendered stereotypes are also upheld within teaching, as it has been well documented that female teachers regularly call on their male counterparts to engage with lifting heavy resources, sports-related activities and outdoor activities (Sargent, 2005; Cushman, 2009). This reiterates and relies on binary beliefs upholding and reinforcing the association of masculine and feminine behaviours. This is further experienced by new teachers, who struggle for self-confirmation of their role as a teacher (Martinez, 2004). Mills et al (2008) agree and add that male teachers enter the profession with expected 'ready-made' hegemonically masculine qualities which they need to possess. These include, 'the ability to control unruly students, a commitment to sport, maintenance of emotional distance and the willingness to work hard' (Mills et al, 2008: 72). The implications for male teachers take the form of stereotype threat theory, described as,

> 'The threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype, or the fear of doing something that would inadvertently confirm the stereotype'. (Steele, 2010: 111).

A desire for an 'imaginary' school teacher can raise conflicting emotions for the teachers concerned (Hansen and Mulholland, 2005) and restrict or limit the kinds of male teachers who are attractive to schools (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006). The threat of being judged is not exclusive to the profession but also exists within a wider social context (Wout et al, 2009). This can have an adverse effect within teaching, restricting a male teachers' interaction with children and inhibiting their ability to be more sensitive, caring and compassionate as there are certain perceived expectations to meet (Harris and Barnes, 2009).

Stereotypes can have further influences on teachers as Manuel (2003) argues that for men, teaching is seen as more of a phase than a lifelong career, as opposed to women. Due to the stereotypical view of teaching as a female-gendered profession, men who teach may be regarded as doing something wrong, or they are somewhat less of a man (Knight and Moore, 2012). Such a stereotypical view has been attributed to the minority status of males in primary schools,

> It is assumed that the female culture, associated with the profession, may be one of the most important pull factors that prevent men from joining the caring workforce. (Vandenbroeck and Peeters, 2008: 705).

This is reflected by Brody (2014) who argued that men take on different forms of caring compared to women e.g. less physical contact which is viewed as an important part of caring. Sargent (2004, 185), states that men need to engage in alternative modes of caring, calling these 'compensatory activities that engage children in the absence of nurturing'. Yet, when men adhere to these

alternative forms, it only entrenches and reinforces the stereotype that male teachers are not nurturing or caring (Bullough, 2015). Kunda and Spencer (2003) point out that stereotypes being used to measure whether an occupation should be considered masculine, neutral or feminine, is a factor in driving gendered positions within schools. This can be seen currently in schools with male practitioners making up 15 per cent of the teaching workforce, yet disproportionally represented in senior leadership roles at 35 per cent. White and White (2006) suggest that certain jobs require personality traits more likely to be found in one gender, mirroring which gender is more prevalent in the occupational role.

2.1.3.1 Gender and leadership: Are managerial positions masculinised?

With a focus on the disproportionate number of male teachers in managerial positions within primary schools raises an important question, are managerial positions masculinised? The literature on gendered managerial roles is vast, and describes a successful manager as aggressive, forceful, competitive, independent and having a high need for control (Schien, 2001; Hayes et al, 2004). Gatrell and Swan (2008) identify these perceptions as about masculine traits and, therefore, mainly associated with males. Collinson and Hearn (1996, 17), concluded in their study that the working of long hours and commitment to the job became a test of 'manhood' for individuals, with some enjoying the 'buzz' of staying late. Evetts (1994) uncovered that when compared to women, men focused more on their careers emphasising the importance of financial desires. The introduction of a performance culture and performance-related

pay (PRP) reinforces and rewards the commitment of employees (Campbell, 2001; Forrester, 2005). This focus on one's career, according to Collinson and Hearn (1996), showcases their 'status' and 'power' within the organization with Bardwick (1986) stating that men are more likely to sacrifice relationships for the sake of their career. Comparable to this, Green and Cassell (1996, 168) suggest that women are seen to lack the required masculine traits needed for management instead characterised as: 'submissive, nurturing, warm, kind and selfless'; placing an emphasis on relationships throughout their lives.

A dominant idea in the review of the literature is the continual distinction and association of masculinity with males. However, Kerfoot and Knights (1996) argue that masculine identities are associated with dominant forms of management practice, not an inherent behaviour solely attributed to men, instead characterized by an instrumental search for control, performance and success (Kerfoot, 2001). Roberston et al (2011) concur, asserting that the job of a manager is not gendered, rather essentialist perceptions may contribute to a more subtle gender-typing. This leads to the expectation that males portray and project masculine ideals, with an expectation that females avoid such behaviours (Kawakami et al, 2000). Desmarais and Alknis (2005) suggest that women who adapt associated 'masculine' behaviours, may be accused of failing to perform their 'feminine' role properly. Yet, Grumet (1988) argued that female leaders can successfully adopt masculine traits but also perpetuate patriarchy. Collinson and Hearn (1996) claim that men and masculinities (or for that matter femininities) are by no means homogeneous, unified, fixed categories, but diverse, differentiated and shifting. However, Johnson et al

(2008, 39) found that, for female leaders to be perceived as effective they needed to 'demonstrate both sensitivity and strength', although male leaders 'only needed to demonstrate strength' further complicating the paradox of adopting masculine and feminine traits as a leader within primary schools.

There has been a shift in recent years, however, with the focus of leadership abilities solely based around masculine traits becoming less favourable. With greater attention being given to social and emotional issues in education (Weare, 2007), practitioners roles have shifted from *'educator'* to *'educarer'* (Osgood, 2012; Warin, 2014; Wood and Brownhill, 2018). Leaders demonstrating a balanced blend of both masculine and feminine principles is now preferable as Ely et al (2003, 26) explain,

> 'The female view that one strengthens oneself by strengthening others is finding greater acceptance, and female values of inclusion and connection are emerging as valuable leadership qualities.'

Gill and Arnold (2015) argue that in modern educational settings, the favoured model of leadership is increasingly one of the democratic consultative person for whom warmth and social ease are significant capabilities. This coupled with the demands of the collegial team approach, which will be discussed further in section 2.2 in this chapter, requiring employees who can think, participate, speak up, take initiative, and devise new ideas (Gatrell and Swan, 2008). The integration of these traditionally 'female' values (long-term negotiating, analytic listening, and creating a more collaborative ambience) is identified by Ely et al (2003) as producing a more collaborative kind of leadership, whilst changing the very idea of what strong leadership is. The traditional prevailing stereotypes

of men embodying a tough leadership stance, and women who are too soft to cope in management (Coleman, 2002), have eroded across educational settings, in particular, Early Childhood Education and Care and primary schools. Gill and Arnold (2015) do, however, share concerns for males in senior management feeling a degree of ambivalence about the 'right' way to behave. The changing expectations of educational leaders towards more 'feminine' traits leaves the role of male principals in an 'identity vacuum' (Gill and Arnold, 2015: 32). The sense of fragility about their identity originates from males having to discover themselves in this new environment, which differs from the one in which they began their working lives in. One in which there was only one correct way to manage, 'a male way', showing emotions and being nice had no place when leading a school (Coleman, 2002).

The main question in this section, 'how are managerial positions gendered?' can be identified as mainly being down to perceived sociocultural values and beliefs of where men and women should work. Within educational settings, the 'traditional' view of men in management does seem to persist within the literature. However, in practice, there has been a transformation resulting in a blend of desirable masculine and feminine traits. This continual view of men, masculinity and leadership derives from the idea of patriarchy, which Pleck (1989, 27) sees as 'men oppressing women, and in which men oppress themselves and each other'. As seen, this causes issues for those, male and female, who might or might not show masculine features in managerial positions. To further this, the next section will consider how managerial positions became interconnected with ideals of masculinity and male teachers.

2.1.3.2 Role models: Rise of recuperative masculinity

Since the mid-1990s there has been a continual concern over the schooling of boys, in particular, their underperformance compared to girls (Lingard and Douglas, 1999). This has been labelled the 'moral panic' with Titus (2004, 145) arguing that public anxiety has been intensified through 'media hyperbole' with the 'concern about the perceived threat to values or interests held sacred by society'. For men's rights movements, there was anxiety over the influence of increased feminization in schooling and where masculinities are driven out (Martino and Kehler, 2006). To allow boys to connect with their masculinity, a re-masculinization of schooling occurred (Lingard et al, 2009), and achieved through a greater number of male teachers, development of more active learning techniques and inclusion in the curriculum of more robust and masculine material (Lingard and Douglas, 1999). Referred to as 'recuperative masculinity', it remains a dominant dialogue in discussing a 'boys' turn' in school policy and practice (Weaver-Hightower, 2003: 471). The recuperative stance sees feminism having won in education (Lingard, 2003), this feeds the 'moral panic' narrative positioning male teachers and schoolboys as the victims of the feminization of the education system (Martino and Kehler, 2006). Therefore, *'recuperative'* was used to indicate how these policies 'reinforced, defended and wished to recoup the patriarchal gender order and institutional gender regimes' (Lingard et al, 2011: 407).

A large proportion of the debate about boy's underachievement has been on the desire for more male role models becoming a decisive topic both within

popular media and research literature alike (Cloer, 2006). Martino (2008, 192) points out that such discourses construct males as the 'dying breed' facing 'extinction' furthering the call for more masculine role models (Martino and Kehler, 2006). Recently, a study by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ, 2013) identified how families with 'absent males' were having devastating effects on the life chances of children. Such rhetoric has renewed public discourses favouring men in education especially within primary and Early Childhood Education and Care settings (Jones, 2007: Wood and Brownhill, 2018). As the majority of staff in these sectors are predominantly female (Harris and Barnes, 2009), Griffiths (2006) argues that it is perceived that teachers will act in stereotypically feminine ways. Therefore, the demand for male role models as 'father figures' would help boys become 'proper' or 'normal men' (Hoff-Sommers, 2000) prompted by the gendered regime and emasculating influences of women in schools (Gurian et al, 2001).

Much of the recuperative masculinity movement assumes the idea of heteronormativity, which 'denotes that the sexes are binary' (Griffin, 2017) and 'seeks to impose a public contract of heterosexual compliance as the only way of being' (Bhattacharyya, 2002: 21). The presence and focus on male role models for boys is in part a repercussion from the breakdown of the traditional 'nuclear family'. Wilkinson (2000, 112) explains what affect this has,

> 'Families generate social capital – family breakdown is a major factor in declining social capital and wider social dysfunction. The state has an interest and a role to play in presenting this'.

Heteronormativity maintains normative assumptions and rewards those who uphold it (Kitzinger, 2005), so for male teachers, being identified as the ones who can bridge that gap upkeeps their flow of social capital. Kessler et al (1985, 380) argue that those demonstrating heterosexuality also have a say in the types of masculine role models that are displayed 'what they say and do influences what kind of masculinity is hegemonic in the school', confirming Connell's (2005) assessment that hegemonic masculinities are contextually dependent. Allan (1993, 114) suggests that hegemonic masculinities are set by those in leadership positions as those who 'evaluate them on this important job criterion and control their careers' encouraging male practitioners to act 'in ways that are suitable, and acceptable'. Even with managerial and leadership roles becoming more polymorphic, masculine behaviours and traits for male role models seem to be maintained, as Odih (2002, 91) suggests this is done to offset the 'soft pedagogical practices' of women, provided alternative forms of provision. Despite the call for an increased masculine presence in schools, there has been little indication of both the range or forms of 'masculinities' society wants for young children (Foster and Newman, 2005). Reed (1999, 93) argues that policy-makers have failed to point out the 'type of masculinity being reproduced by male teachers'. Brownhill (2014) states that there is confusion as to the job description of a male role model that men are left to represent unspecified characteristics and behaviours. Men, therefore, suffer from a lack of role models themselves having to choose between the 'phony toughness of the he-man', and the 'phony niceness of the new age guy' (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998: 30). Furthermore, this is not helped as social expectations to become hegemonised role models in schools stand in contradiction with the stereotype

of teaching as 'the soft, nurturing profession' (Mitchell, 2004: 118). For those who reject hegemonic masculinity expectations, there can be questions over one's sexuality, with Mills (2004) pointing out that there is little mention how homophobia or misogyny affect the creation of masculinities and perceived male role models. The binary system reproduces a structure of compulsory heterosexuality which in doing so restricts and limits the scope of one's sexual orientation (Butler, 2006).

2.1.4 Theoretical (conceptual) framework - A Summary

Throughout the review of the literature underpinning my integrated theoretical conceptual framework, a recurring criticism surrounding outdated concepts arose, specifically research into the 'glass escalator' and original interpretations of intersectionality. It is for this reason that I included Williams' (2013) self-re-evaluation and May's (2015) updated version of intersectionality to address this critique. Even though new lines of enquiry are beginning to emerge, they fail to capture the day-to-day application in the modern age. Even though new glass metaphors like the 'glass handcuffs' have taken a step in a new direction, they still fall short of identifying the inner mechanism of promotional opportunities. In other words, the encouragement of males to discuss and share their experiences of promotional advantages is underdeveloped.

Regarding positive discrimination practices being used in favour of men in female-dominated professions, there arises a secondary issue, can the 'glass escalator' exist within the current legal framework of anti-discrimination law?

This will be covered in further detail later on in this chapter, within section 2.3. Yap and Konrad (2009) state that prejudice and discrimination are likely to exist long before the interview process applying to both external recruitment and internal promotions. With the current climate and outcry for more male teachers in schools (Budig, 2002), the strength of the claim that all men seek to climb the 'glass escalator' is incorrect throughout emerging new literature. There has been little in the way of identifying those who have and those who have not, due to this it is difficult to make sweeping generalisations like the 'glass escalator' advances all men. It has been established that the 'glass escalator' does not consider for example intersecting factors such as; age, years of service, career progression and qualifications, something Williams (2013) proclaimed in her revisiting of the phenomenon. Further research is needed on *which* men are on the receiving end of the 'glass escalator' and what factors influence these decisions. One possible explanation that was alluded to within the available literature is the type of relationship an individual has with both the school management but also the local community.

Through the 'glass escalator' phenomenon and the patriarchal dividend there exists a predisposition towards the 'promotion' of males, in particular, ideals of masculinity. Catalyst (2000) argues that historically, many organizations have supported and rewarded stereotypical masculine values within leadership roles. So too the same can be identified with educational settings, where the dominant masculine stereotype is associated with senior leadership roles (Chard, 2013). Such masculine stereotypes are reinforced through the hierarchical models of school management, Morgan (1996, 50) states that 'such dominant models of

masculinity are readily associated with men of power'. Beatty and Tillapaugh (2017), refer to this as,

> 'The 'old boy network', which is rooted in hegemonic masculinity, sexism, patriarchy and misogyny and continues to perpetuate oppressive forces, which often privilege individuals that identify as men.' (Beatty and Tillapaugh, 2017: 48)

While often correlated with more 'traditional' educational settings Sinclair (2005) states that the traditional system, to some degree, continues to permeate the modern schooling system, with recuperative masculinity politics promoting gendered hierarchies.

Through the identification of perceptions and stereotypes being at the core of establishing how managerial positions are gendered, this helped in the formation of research question three, 'To what extent does the 'glass escalator' phenomenon result in positive outcomes for male primary school teachers, linked to their minority status?'. The way an association or organization is perceived can identify a certain gender as more apt to be in that profession. This can be seen with male primary school teachers who have to deal with the notion of being a role model, a stereotypical view of a male's position within teaching (Brownhill, 2014). The majority of the literature agrees that demonstrations of heteronormativity, alongside masculine behaviours, shown by male teachers are rewarded. However, the adverse effects of not showing these traits can be difficult for male teachers in terms of identity and self-worth. This is also true for female teachers, the recent research showing female leaders taking on masculine traits demonstrates the importance placed on

masculinity in management and leadership roles. While conversely there have also been calls for male teachers and managers to also employ feminine traits in their leadership approach. The literature portrays leadership teams as potentially moving beyond the gender binary, where the adoption of masculine and feminine behaviours make steps towards achieving a balance within school management.

2.2 Wider literature

Having established the three main components of my theoretical (conceptual) framework, the second half of this chapter will establish how they relate to the wider literature (Torraco, 2005). Given the integrated nature of my framework, there exists considerable cross-over between the three theories and concepts as demonstrated in figure 2.1. To provide the best coverage of these connections, the wider literature has been separated into two distinct sections. Firstly, 'The lives of teachers: Relationships and friendships' (Section 2.2.1) which falls between Connell's (2005) theory of masculinities and May's (2015) updated concept of intersectionality draws upon literature surrounding the lives of teachers. Secondly, 'Climbing the career ladder: Can positive discrimination and anti-discrimination law co-exist?' focuses more on the legislative aspect of promotion and advancement within education and wider professions.

2.2.1 The lives of teachers: Relationships and friendships

The inclusion of literature into the lives of teachers initially came about as a result of examining Williams' 'glass escalator' (1995) phenomenon and the identification of a significant gap existing around the daily inner mechanisms of promotion and what that means for the individual. Surprisingly, in the review of the available literature around the daily lives of teachers, there was a considerable lack of substantial modern research, instead, much of the research can be found pre-millennium (Ball and Goodson, 1985; Nias, 1989b; Tripp, 1994; Fraser et al, 1998). While there does exist a range of modern research into primary schools teachers, it is more often than not done in conjunction with student classroom engagement (Furrer et al, 2014); teacher-parent relations (Hughes and Kwok, 2007); teacher performance (Sikes, 2001) and teacher effectiveness (Day et al, 2006; Day, 2008). Outside of handbooks of general practices for trainee teachers, the lives of teachers appear to be relatively undeveloped within the recent research literature. Kelchtermans (2017, 969) explains this apparent lack of research, agreeing with the Hargreaves's (1994) programmatic claim, may come about because 'teachers, their work, and their professional development include: technical, moral, emotional, and political dimensions that are connected and need to be understood in their interplay'. Therefore, where appropriate research which may be considered 'outdated' will be used to contextualise or explain an area of research which remains underdeveloped.

The complexity in capturing an accurate picture of teacher's lives along with performativity policies and ever-changing ideology and political motivations in teaching and education (Kelchtermans, 2011); results in an undefined united position of teacher professionalism (Kelchtermans, 2007). The identifiable lack of literature surrounding the lives of teachers and the day-to-day experiences that they have was a prompt for the inception of my research focus. Much of the available research is focused on the pedagogical aspects of teaching, with a large focus on children within educational settings. While there is an abundance on the collegiality and collaborative nature of teaching, again this comes from a professional standpoint acting more as professional development than an insight into teacher's lives. This gap in the literature was most evidently seen when looking at promotions and teacher career movement. Research into this area does not come from an educational standpoint but rather from a business and law stance. Therefore, much of the review of the literature does not focus on educational research, instead of drawing on a multitude of professions and research fields, with the use of educational examples where suitable.

The term 'professional' or 'professionalism' is frequently used throughout the literature, there is a need to briefly establish what these terms mean. For Bourdieu (1984) a *'classical'* professional as an actor whose 'habitus' is adjusted to the objective set by his/ her occupied position. Such a 'habitus' or professional field can be internally characterised by its own *'illusio',* prescribing a way of dealing with 'field-specific substance of professional capital and invest belief in the legitimacy thereof' (Noordegraaf and Schinkel, 2011; 100). While

externally, professionalism is a form of 'symbolic capital which needs to be maintained' (Bourdieu, 1990: 102). Therefore, a professional can be seen, according to the logic of the professional field which one occupies, to choose the right study, acquire the right qualifications and credentials, maintain an up-to-date set of skills and behave in an appropriate manner (Freidson, 1994). Brint (1994, 23) argues that professions 'form a collective organization' which upholds professional behaviours resulting from strict standards and protocols which regulate member conduct.

An integral part of professionalism can be seen as the inter-group dynamic and relationships that are created amongst peers, attributed to improving; workplace friendships facilitate productivity, employee retention, job satisfaction, job involvement, team cohesion, and other positive outcomes (Balkundi and Harrison, 2006; Berman et al, 2002; Rath, 2006) including personal growth and emotional support (Colbert et al, 2016). Like many other institutions, schools have their own 'atmosphere, some feeling friendly than others, some more alive with enthusiasm and activity' (Morrison and McIntyre, 1973: 106). Gersick et al (2000, 1026) call this the 'environment of our professional lives', and is dependent on the relationships created, measuring the 'reputation and group membership to capture professional career outcomes' (Gersick et al, 2000: 1039). Workplace friendships are, therefore, common in organizations (Morrison and Cooper-Thomas, 2013), yet they conflict with governing principles of workplace interaction emphasizing efficiency and rationality (Ingram and Zou, 2008). Schools, like many other professions, do not have a single culture, rather sub-cultures each with their

distinctive patterns forming sub-groups, commonly referred to as 'cliques' identified by Burt (2016) as relatively common occurrences in all organizations. Casciaro and Lobo (2008) depict someone in a clique as an individual whose obligations and time demands are across two internally cohesive groups, in which they find that friends in each group expect priority when it comes to the transmission of valuable gossip and advice. Close links can be made to intersectionality here, with factors such as age playing a crucial role in the formation of cliques and close personal friendships.

The danger with 'cliques' is the apparent disliking of certain groups; especially in the teaching profession where interaction between peers is fundamental and essential. Cliques are established based on 'shared demographic characteristics that are relatively rare in a particular organizational setting' (Mehra et al, 1998: 441). Those in cliques interact with one another but have no common links to anyone else (Kilduff and Tsai, 2008). Little (1990) expresses that in teaching the boundaries and significance of these groups are harder to detect given the public nature of the profession. Teachers may also hold multiple memberships in several internal groups or cliques (Little, 1990) with the dependency of a group's status varying significantly. This would indicate that cliques work on an implicit level within the confines of the teaching profession. Livingston (2014) argues that this is because a teacher's social interactions are fluid as they pass in and out of different groups throughout the day. Therefore, since teachers may belong to several sub-groups, there is little scope for the formation of meaningful or elaborate clique friendships.

Throughout the rest of this section, attention will be given further to the exploration of teacher relationships and friendships within the workforce. To demonstrate how individuals can gain power within a network, the concept of professional capital will be focused on. Professional capital has been chosen here given the specific links to glass metaphors and the distribution of power in social circles known as 'old boy networks' often associated with and occupied by 'high status white men' (McDonald, 2011; 317). Within this network, an individual could see an increase in their labour market opportunities (Kanter, 1977; Simon and Warner, 1992; Oakley, 2000; Hogan et al, 2005). Due to the extensive nature of literature surrounding this topic, particular attention will be given to literature highlighting how teacher relationships and friendships impact promotional opportunities. However, where appropriate, literature will also be drawn from wider professions and literature focusing on the kinds of practices that constitute the acquisition of capital.

2.2.1.1 Professional capital and networking

Within teaching, relationships and social ties can aid both affectively (emotionally) and cognitively (knowledge-related) skills (Nias, 1989a). For teachers, relationships help in the development of both individual and team in what Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) term 'professional capital'. This includes and encompasses human capital, the talent of individuals; decisional capital, wisdom and expertise to make sound judgements cultivated over many years; and social capital, the collaborative power of the group. For Day and Gu (2010) and Fox and Wilson (2015), social capital is the most crucial aspect of

professional capital for teachers as it requires that individuals collaboratively work together in a profession that relies on such interaction. Engagement with the network through investment in social relations can produce profits 'with expected returns' (Lin et al, 2001: 6) for the individual. According to Minckler (2014, 658), relationships only hold value to the individual when it accomplishes two main goals, 'help the individual accomplish things they cannot do alone', and 'satisfy the individual's belonging need'. Therefore, social capital grants 'the resources and expertise that individuals can access through their ties with others and facilitate certain actions' (Penuel et al, 2009: 129).

Building upon the literature presented in section 2.1.3 on the power dimensions of gender (Connell, 2005), Lin et al (2001) elaborate further on the enhanced outcomes an individual can receive through maintaining positive professional capital relations. Firstly, certain social ties in strategic locations can provide individuals with useful information about opportunities not otherwise available. Secondly, through influence, due to the strategic location of social ties, some hold more power than others. Therefore, 'putting in a good word' (Lin et al, 2001: 6) can carry a certain weight in decisional making processes. Thirdly, through social credentials, social ties can reflect the accessibility of resources that individuals have via social networks. Lastly, through reinforcement, being part of a social group with similar interest and resources assures the individuals of their worthiness. The combination of all these factors plays a large role in how an individual's social capital projects a certain image, potentially assisting them in gaining promotional opportunities within the school. Nias (1989b) identifies that the decision-making process in schools is often typically in the

hands of one group, namely the leadership team, who hold all the power within the organization. Hodson (2005, 44) argues that competent leadership is recognised as, 'an important precondition for the creation of social capital an organizational trust based on mutual gains'.

What makes the difference is how this capital is spent, on personal pursuits or harnessed for organizational effectiveness (Minckler, 2014). A majority of the literature presumes that given the predominance of men in managerial positions, they are the ones spending this capital on personal pursuits and career advancement via the 'glass escalator'. Field (2009, 82) argues that social capital can promote inequality because access to different types of networks is unequally distributed,

> 'Everyone can use their connections as a way of advancing their interests, but some people's connections are more valuable than others'.

Available resources and expertise are, therefore, interconnected with certain positions within a social network and 'are not freely available to anyone in a particular system' (Penuel et al, 2009: 129). The impact on hiring strategies in teaching may result in employers gravitating towards those with ether similar social networks or desired social capital resulting in targeted applications. Krackhardt (1992) argues that this is a part of the social network mechanism, holding strong ties and relationships, brought about by strong social capital, is important to navigate ones' career. Workplace relationships can be identified as multi-perspectival, and dependent for meaning on an individual's sociocultural standpoint and hierarchical positioning (Allen, 2011). This relates to an individual's protected characteristics being used as a means of

employment as seen in section 2.1.2 and what Halpern (2005, 1) terms the 'social fabric', how people relate to one another and the influences they can have on groups or other individuals.

Collaboration through collegiality

The relationship between colleagues in teaching is based on the collective nature of the workforce, centred on authentic teamwork which is an essential characteristic of a successful organization (Leonard and Leonard, 2003). Over the past two decades, teachers have increasingly been moved away from traditional norms of isolation, in favour of a more collaborative style (Marks and Louis, 1997; Shah, 2012). Collaboration itself refers to the cooperative action of teamwork; whereas the quality of staff relationships is known as collegiality, 'teacher's involvement with their peers on any level, be it intellectual, moral, political, social and or emotional' (Jarzabkowski, 2002: 2). While there are multiple lenses to collegiality, they all share a common ground with regards to community respect, the value of peers, their work, and a feeling of belonging (Austin et al, 2007). As well as social connections, including friendship, collaborative teaching showcases a collegial environment (Gappa et al, 2007). Such collegial environments are described by Bode (1999, 132) as 'possessing a sense of community, the support is both social and intellectual'. As well as this, Löfgren and Karlsson (2016) argue that collaborative interaction can also lead to emotionally supportive collegiality, where listening, communication and respect for other's work is essential for teacher development.

For many, the rise of collegiality has coincided with changes in the teaching profession over the last couple of years and referred to as 'intensification' or 'de-professionalization' (Van Droogenbroeck et al, 2014: 100). Teachers are increasingly subject to external pressures of an 'over-expanding role' as well as an increase in 'non-teaching-related workloads largely administrative', this gives 'less time for social contact with colleagues, and in private life' (Van Droogenbroeck et al, 2014: 100). Ballet and Kelchtermans (2009) emphasise that this forces teachers to seek out collaboration as a coping strategy, rather than for quality peer interaction. For Hargreaves (1994) and Datnow (2011), this has an adverse effect termed 'contrived collegiality' whereby teachers are forced into collaboration from a drive towards managerialism and accountability. Such cultures are incompatible with school systems where, 'decisions about curriculum and evaluation are highly centralized' (Hargreaves, 1994: 191). The implication that 'everyone – whether they like it or not- is part of the process of developing meaning within the workplace' (Angus, 1995: 73), does not result in any meaningful or sustainable change. Because everyone is forced to play a part in some form of collegiality it can lead to what Massy et al (1994) termed 'hollowed collegiality', whereby it only exists at a surface level giving an impression of collegiality. Echoing the previous criticism on collegiality this surface level is more a status factor than as a structure, which focuses more on a position than on behaviours or actions (Hatfield, 2006). Through the notion of forced collegiality, it may 'encourage calculated exchanges rather than foster emotional links' (Jo, 2014: 127). Therefore, the relationships with supervisors and superiors can play an important role (Van Droogenbroeck et al, 2014) in an individual's position with those in leadership.

According to Shah (2012), true collegiality is only likely to work and be beneficial when a significant number of teaching personnel are convinced that it will lead to improved teaching and learning.

If the basis of collegiality is defined by community, social, emotional and intellectual support as well as peer interaction; then where does that leave a school's structured leadership? For Keedy (1999, 787), collegiality 'flattens the school hierarchy' with leadership being 'shared by the principal and teachers'. In this 'mutual cooperation and reciprocity of interaction is fostered' and 'power is shared and fairly distributed' (Easterling, 2011: 5). Doppenberg et al (2012) found that decisions on important issues are taken and discussed within the context of the school team at differing degrees of intensity and effect across various settings. McLaughlin and Talbert (2001, 47) argue that in doing so, the collegial approach is validated by 'breaking the isolation of the classroom and influencing motivation and career commitment'. Garmston and Wellman (2003, 8) argue that 'a collection of superstar teachers working in isolation cannot produce the same results as interdependent colleagues' indicating that laying the foundations for a collaborative and collegial culture is a priority for school leaders. Doppenberg et al (2012) further point out those 'successful' schools were those leading with this approach, collaboration was present within meetings, innovations and school development. The literature focuses heavily on this idea that teaching workforces need to be interdependent to truly succeed. Is collegiality, therefore, more of a façade rather than an intrinsic part of a teacher's professional development? The move towards performance-related pay, where ownership for not only individual performance but that of

your students, is linked closely to an individual's pay and promotional aspects. An increase in job pressures and expectations along with more scrutiny across the board appears to be forcing teachers to use aspects of collegiality in their everyday life. This would further suggest that below the surface, there exist more implicit personal relationships amongst teachers. To unpack this further, the next section will explore the literature on networking and professional capital to further challenge the nature of collegiality.

2.2.1.2 The lives of teachers – A Summary

A review of the literature in this section has demonstrated that the professional lives of teachers and the formation of peer groups and friendships are a complex process. The emergence of collegiality as a concept promotes the idea of professionalism, while the interwoven nature of professional capital is identifiable as the real currency within schools. The main issue with collegiality is that collaboration seems to be born out of an obligatory desire to be a collaborative workforce. Alternatively, there were arguments that collegiality was sought out as a way to ease the burden of modern pressures of teaching. What is troubling is the fact that collegiality appears mostly to be embraced not because of a desire to be collegial, but instead as a result of the teaching lifestyle. On the other hand, professional capital seems much more of an open choice and dependent on the individual's willingness to invest time and commitment. Despite that, the benefits of professional capital vary from person to person and group to group. There is an apparent lack of general outcomes for individuals, unlike collegiality. Instead, some reap more than others through

differing levels of social capital. Such differing level of professional capital also appeared within the positions that can be held in teaching, from a teaching assistant through to head teacher. Regardless of the majority of the literature arguing against the presence and effect cliques and sub-groups have in teaching, it was clear that relationships within teaching potentially play an important role in an individual's professional development in schools. It was inferred that the closeness of individuals to leadership groups had a direct impact on their potential promotions. Through the reviewing of available literature on teacher relationships and friendships, several lines of enquiry were found, which facilitated the framing of the interview questions that were asked in the individual interviews and focus groups. Further discussion on this will be covered in greater detail in the next chapter (Chapter 3 – Methodology).

2.2.2 Climbing the career ladder: Can positive discrimination and anti-discrimination law co-exist?

Guiding the inclusion of literature around the legality and implementation of promotional policies within my research was again born from the presence of an integrated theoretical conceptual framework. Falling between Connell's (2005) theory of masculinities and both Williams' (1995 and 2013) research on the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, there exists a plethora of research, official policies, governmental documentation and governmental laws from which to draw upon. The literature surrounding the legality of positive discrimination and preferential treatment aided the formation of research question two, 'To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the

subject of preferential treatment?' This is partly due to the use of positive discrimination being limited by the link between promotion and performance management through the appraisal system. An important aspect of the literature around promotions is that it must be justified. The same goes for fast-tracked careers; justification for someone swiftly moving up the career ladder would be difficult to argue given the need for experience and skills set. The phrase *rapid promotion* itself falls within a legal 'grey area' due to the oversight and regulation of the appraisal system. While there is flexibility within positive action to allow a decision to be made based on protected characteristics, this too is tightly regulated and reliant on specific circumstances. Literature from the discipline of sociology (Hirsh and Lyons, 2010; Reskin, 2011; Treviño, 2017) has sought to discuss this in great detail; highlighting explicit uses of preferential treatment through positive discrimination yet omitting further research on any implicit forms appearing in everyday practice.

One of the main limitations affecting the scope of research into promotion and fast-tracked careers in primary school education is the ever-changing nature of teaching. Over the previous two decades, educational institutions have experienced a sustained period of governmental intervention through increased monitoring and targeted curriculum design (Brundett and Rhodes, 2011). Notions of quality and accountability have driven educational reform, emphasising 'individual self-discipline and accountability of performance' (Mausethagen, 2013: 18). To further understand the inner mechanisms of promotions in teaching, this section will review the literature on the promotion and career movement of teachers, including commentary on pay scales and

the teaching appraisal system that accompanies it. The literature will be mainly drawn upon from the discipline of Law as a way to demonstrate how males might be advantaged within recruitment and promotion. Focus and priority will be given to British law, where significant amounts of literature exist focused on the most recent anti-discrimination law, The Equality Act (2010). However, the reference to International law has been utilised to both compare and contextualise the global stance on positive discrimination and anti-discrimination law.

2.2.2.1 Pay scales and appraisals – Teachers' routes to promotion

To understand how promotion and career movement operate in teaching, firstly some key terminology needs to be established. A 'promotion' is defined as 'the act of moving an employee up the organizational hierarchy, usually leading to an increase in responsibility, status and a better remuneration package' (Heery and Noon, 2017: 137). The upward movement of promotion is often synonymous with the phrase career ladder 'depicting as a series of steps up the organizational hierarchy' (Heery and Noon, 2017: 19). Over the years there have existed many different models of promotion, each with their specific functions (Ishida and Spilerman, 2002). Despite the abundance of career ladders options, organizations have more recently begun to opt for a flatter structure with fewer levels in the hierarchy, termed lateral career moves whereby, 'an employee changes job, department, or location in an organization, but remains at a similar level in the hierarchy' (Heery and Noon, 2017: 100). The distinctions here is a movement away from the idea that a promotion is in

itself synonymous with higher salaries and enhanced status, while lateral career moves focus more on broadening one's experience in the profession.

In the context of education, both career ladders and lateral career movements exist, as a standard career movement and progression involves the individual moving into a higher position in the hierarchy accompanied with increased responsibilities and a pay increase (Middlewood and Cardino, 2001). Recent developments in teacher performativity culture; consisting of assessment, exams, progress measures and preparation for review or referred to as 'box ticking' by Perryman and Calvert (2019, 4); promotions have in education, therefore, have become 'highly formalised'. As well as the option of career progression, teachers also receive an annual increase in their wage, while not providing an actual 'promotion', years of service are rewarded. In appendices 1 the teaching pay scales are presented; all teachers begin on the main pay scale (appendices 1 section 1) and move through these annually. Teachers who reach the top of the basic pay scale must then apply to their head teacher to move into the upper pay bracket (appendices 1 section 2) and lastly leadership roles (appendices 1 section 4). When climbing the career ladder is not available, TLRs (Training and Learning Responsibilities) (appendices 1 section 3) can be offered to the teacher (if money is available) and they embark on a more lateral career move. Teachers then must set about adding to background knowledge and seeking opportunities for additional experience (Zhang and Zeller, 2016; Maclean, 2019), which is often achieved through teacher school collaboration or via external courses and training. Blandford (2012), however, argues that such professional development does not

guarantee a promotion, but only places the individual in a much stronger position to seek it. Browne and Haylock (2004, 81) argue that this process is governed by legally binding policies ensuring 'fairness and parity enabling all staff to progress up their professional ladder'.

To ensure 'fairness and parity', guidelines are released annually on how paid promotion should be achieved and handled. In the 'school-teacher's pay and condition document', one of the main conditions for pay progression is outlined,

> '14.2. a) the teacher is employed in a school as a post-threshold teacher, *for as long as the teacher is so employed at that school without a break in the continuity of their employment'* (Department for Education, 2017: 20).

Demonstrated here is the importance placed upon continual employment as an important aspect of progression. Further emphasis and guidance point out the need for 'highly competent' practitioners who 'achievements and contribution to an educational setting or settings are substantial and sustained' (Department for Education, 2017: 21). The system of teacher evaluation is tied clearly to a strict set of standards and competences. Looney (2011) argues that such standards are linked to teacher quality, however, there is currently no single identifiable widely accepted definition of what constitutes as an '*effective*' teacher. Numerous studies have identified several key desirable traits including, intellectual ability (Rice, 2003); good subject knowledge (Darling-Hammond, 2006); positive relationships with students (Hinton and Fischer, 2010); strong management skills (Hattie, 2009); and working collaboratively with their peers (Seashore Louis et al, 2010). Therefore 'performance is about

doing the work as well as being about results achieved' (Armstrong, 2000: 3). Amongst the available literature the notion of striving for 'fairness and parity' is continually upheld, citing regular scrutiny from both OFSTED [Office for Standards in Education] during inspections and internal governing boards.

Within teaching, practitioners are judged against the teaching standards (Department for Education, 2013) culminating in an annual appraisal meeting between the individual and a member of the senior leadership team (The Education Regulations, 2012). Teaching appraisals provide an opportunity for the formal needs of teachers and their contributions to classrooms to be evaluated through a personalised interview and classroom observation (Looney, 2011). Radinger (2014, 382) points out that appraisals 'go beyond employment-related decisions and promote professional accountability and school restructuring', demonstrating their importance both for the individual and institution. In Britain, appraisals have been based on performance management since 2000 for improving 'performance, productivity, accountability and transparency' (Forrester, 2011: 5). New legislation came into force in 2013 implementing more rigorous measures to performance management: increasing monitoring, observation and significantly, tying appraisals more explicitly to recommendations for pay progression (Education for England, 2012; Department for Education, 2012; Department for Education, 2018b). This is reflected in the guidance provided by the Department for Education (2017, 23),

> '19.2. a) pay progression must be related to the teacher's performance,
> as *assessed through the school or authority's appraisal arrangements*.'

Due to the closeness of performance management and pay increases, the success of a teacher is now measured not only on their classroom performance but on pupil achievement and through league table rankings (Page, 2015). Importantly, there exist no formal guidelines on allowing teachers to jump multiple pay scales, the wording places ownership on the school or board to determine how an individual teacher progress through these scales (Department for Education, 2018b). Equally, if a teacher's performance is deemed below the required standards, management teams can agree not to move an individual up to the next pay scale (Department for Education, 2018b). Interestingly, such an event is given little coverage within the official guidelines as well as available research literature, however, this may be attributed to its infrequent occurrence within schools. Due to the continual cycle of monitoring and observations, teachers are scrutinised regularly with prompt strategies and guidance provided to overcome any difficulties. While there is guidance in place to ensure fairness throughout the process, the implementation of performance-based appraisals remains being based on the subjective judgement of senior leaders within schools (Radinger, 2014).

2.2.2.2 Fast-tracked teaching careers

Recently, newer research literature on teacher promotion and appraisal illustrates an alternative career route based on rapid movement, labelled fast-tracking defined as,

> 'Employees on a designated career path that allows them *to progress more rapidly than normal*' (Heery and Noon, 2017: 63).

This is often achieved through 'parachuting' graduates into managerial roles within teaching, with little or no experience of being a teacher (Espinoza, 2016). Fast-tracked promotions are often determined by the experience or higher qualifications an individual possess which aid in a specific role. However, this can be problematic as those individuals often are not in roles long enough to gain a full breadth of knowledge or experience (Russell, 2005). While Heery and Noon (2017) criticise fast-tracked careers as they can result in resentment and poor motivation amongst those employees who were passed over or not selected to be fast-tracked.

There have existed several such programmes in Britain. The 'Tomorrow's Head' programme (Nord Anglia Education, 2010) and the 'Fast Track Teacher' (FTT) programme (Jones, 2010) were established to provide those with 'high potential' to be rapidly moved into headships roles in the then newly formed academies and trusts. Ultimately both proved unsuccessful and deemed failures. More recently, 'Get into Teaching' (2017) began to offer a full-time accelerated intensive training course for 'highly experienced and skilled individuals capable of achieving qualified teacher status over a shorter period than the standard one year'. Despite the rise of such courses, Jones (2006, 9) argues 'It is not an automatic requirement of being a good manager/ teacher that fast track members have to be the best teachers'. The success of these accelerated courses remains hard to gauge given the limited publicity on both the timeframe and numbers of successful candidates which they produced to compare with the established traditional route of the Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE).

Within the education sector, such as fast-tracked courses, also known as 'accelerated' courses, are pitched as being inclusive, however, such routes are designed to draw out the best quality teachers. One of the most famous and widely recognisable fast-tracked programmes is the 'troops to teaching' scheme which sought to 'retain ex-soldiers with a minimum of 10 years' experience and a degree' and place them in the classroom (Chadderton, 2014: 3). In 2008 the Centre for Policy Studies (Burkard, 2008) recommended the programme for use in Britain, based on the well-known 'Troops to Teachers (T3)' programme from the United States of America where 1,500 redundant personnel have retrained as teachers year since 2008 (Burkhard, 2017). Comparatively, there has been little success in Britain (Abrams, 2014; Richardson, 2016; Garner, 2016). The first cohort of ex-servicemen to participate in this programme in 2013 only produced 28 qualified teachers (Tipping, 2013). In the following six years since its inception, only 106 trainees have fully qualified as teachers, with 25 per cent of those who begin the course not completing it (Allen-Kinross, 2018). This has been attributed to several reasons, firstly and most importantly, in Britain, it is rare for retiring military personnel to hold a degree, with the starting teaching salary far below that found in the armed forces (Burkard, 2017). Secondly, there were several explicit and implicit assumptions underpinning the introduction of the scheme, mainly that there was a need to restore 'traditional' values in schools, raising educational standards for disadvantaged children and targeting teacher effectiveness (Department for Education, 2010; Tipping, 2013). Lastly, the programme was presented as a neutral intervention intended at supporting

73

young children, Dermott (2011, 225) argues that the context of the initiative was derived from 'hysteria around the educational under-achievement of boys'. Mallozzi and Campbell-Galman (2014, 264) identify this 'add men' approach as assuming 'standard male experience and aptitude' while suggesting 'female deficiencies' to do the job. References and links can be made to section 2.1.3 around male role models and recuperative masculinity politics.

2.2.2.3 Legality of promotions

Having established that numerous fast-tracked routes occur in teaching and promotions into managerial roles, it is important to establish how these are viewed within the legal context of British law. There exists much debate around the ethical considerations of promotions ensuring that equality is achieved. In teaching, this calls into question the legal boundaries for schools on the legitimacy of fast-tracked careers and progression (Griffiths, 2010). Within Britain, the formal model of equality prevails 'the employment decision is to be made without discrimination based on stereotypes or harmful assumptions' (Brodtkorb, 2005: 1), otherwise known as 'equality of opportunity' which specifies that all people should be treated equally and without prejudice (Harris and White, 2013). The issue for policymakers and managerial teams then is, how to help disadvantaged groups? Barrett (2003) sees discrimination as a systemic problem one that needs addressing through clear and concise laws, as universally there has been an attempt to challenge historic discrimination experienced by disadvantaged groups through the use of positive discrimination. Such an approach involves benefitting members of a

disadvantaged or under-represented group who share a protected characteristic to address inequality (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). Such protected characteristics consist of gender, race, religion, belief or sexual orientation (Bennett et al, 2005). While discussions on positive discrimination date back to feminist engagement in the 1970s, it wasn't until the early 2000s that it was used in literature to encompass all disadvantaged groups (Beirne and Wilson, 2016). Noon (2010, 729), therefore, posed the following question, 'does the structural disadvantage suffered by some groups need to be accounted for (or compensated for)?'. If certain groups are disadvantaged, then to what degree does the law intervene and to what extent? Beirne and Wilson (2016, 226) point out that such questions are overlooked given the 'regular oversimplification and hasty dismissal of positive discrimination in public discussion' with 'public opinion appears to be steadfastly against any form of positive discrimination'. Numerous studies have been conducted looking at disadvantaged women (Heilman, 2012; Wilks and Neto, 2013; Fraser et al, 2015) with findings concluding that, 'discrimination of any sort is morally wrong, and this approach ostensibly discriminates against men' (Beirne and Wilson, 2016: 226). Yet, there exists little research into the implementation and use of positive discrimination practices in British primary schools, therefore, a review of the legal legislation with specific international comparisons will be used instead.

Research question two, 'To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the subject of preferential treatment?' interrogates the legal standing of promotions. The differentiation between positive

discrimination and anti-discrimination law is a fine line. Fredman (1997, 575) believes that a 'policy of non-intervention in a society' which is rooted in discrimination 'inevitably favours the dominant groups'. Previous legislation such as the Sex Discrimination Act (1975, 2002) and the Race Relations Act (1976) was designed specifically to tackle discrimination on a person's sex or race, however, such laws failed to address discrimination experienced by men and races such as white and Asian (Bennet et al, 2005). Furthermore, these policies and practices rely heavily on the use of preferential treatment (Noon, 2010), defined as,

> 'that a less 'well-qualified' person from the underrepresented group would receive the benefit at the expense of the better 'qualified' person' (McCrudden, 2015)

Due to this, there was a significant move towards anti-discrimination laws and policies to tackle discrimination. Focus was moved to encouraging and supporting under-represented groups within the workplace (O'Cinneide, 2009), avoiding preferential treatment practices. Recently, to break this apparent paradox, the British government constituted a specific clause into the Equality Act (2010) which is viewed as a way of improving the coherence of the existing legal framework by bringing together 116 discrete provisions into one accessible and comprehensive Act (Johns et al, 2014). For the first time in British law, The Equality Act (2010, section 158 and 159) specifically addressed the use of positive action with regards to recruitment and promotion readdressing some of the disadvantages faced by minority groups (Davies and Robinson, 2016; Noon, 2010). This would indicate that policymakers

recognised a need to tackle disadvantages but struggled to eradicate it wholly, due to the continued adherence to the formal equality model.

Burton (2014) argued that the Equality Act (2010) took a typically moderate stance providing relatively easily accessible practices, as the Government Equalities Office (2011: 5) outlines in their guidelines that a criterion should be established with which candidates will be assessed, including,

> 'overall ability, competence and professional experience, together with any relevant formal or academic qualifications as well as any other qualities required to carry out a particular job.'

This first section establishes the framework for existing employability laws, using a criterion-based approach the candidates applying all start out with an equal and fair chance at securing the job. What differs here, is the addition of guidance on how to practically implement positive action,

> 'Where two candidates are as qualified as each other in respect of these criteria, and where the other criteria listed above are met, then *an employer can take a candidate's protected characteristics into account as the 'deciding factor'* in determining who is offered the job'
>
> (Government Equalities Office, 2011: 6)

Referred to as the 'tiebreaker' system (Government Equalities Office, 2011), employers may consider underrepresented or disadvantaged groups and their protected characteristics (gender, religion, ethnicity) when choosing between equally qualified candidates. The tie-breaker system has been praised by academic and legal experts alike for unifying and harmonising the mass of anti-discrimination law that preceded it, introducing a potentially new criterion into

the field of accepted opportunities practice (Colarelli et al, 2010; Samaha, 2010; Barmes, 2011; Verbeek and Groeneveld, 2012; Burton, 2014). Equality is, therefore, a 'common goal to be achieved cooperatively' rather than a 'site of conflict and resistance' (Fredman, 2011: 408). The tie-break criterion of positive action allows for an organization to objectively justify measures to 'eliminate or reduce actual instances of inequality that may exist in the reality of social life' (Barmes, 2011, 63).

Evaluating the success of the Equality Act (2010) has been limited within the literature, which Perren et al (2012) attribute to the rather mute response it has received by organisations and employers. In their study of employees, they found that only 14 per cent of the respondents were aware that their employer had taken steps to recruit underrepresented group. While 10 per cent were aware that their employer had experience or knowledge of positive action policies. Davies and Robinson (2016) suggest that due to the voluntary nature of the 'tiebreaker' system, relatively few employers would be willing to use it. Furthermore, it is argued that the limited publicity and scope to address discrimination is spurred by the fact that the losing candidate has also been discriminated against (Hepple, 2011; Noon, 2012). Sutherland (2012, 111) states that in Australia they have overcome this issue by providing 'greater public accessibility of employer's reports through online publication' allowing the use of positive action to be seen. For further comparison, Norway has had critical and targeted success with their implementation of affirmative action policies (Bygnes, 2010) focusing on public welfare policies paving the way for gender equality. The specific focus on gender has allowed for greatly improved

parental leave rule and benefits for both men and women, 'combining labour market participation with family responsibilities' (Lysbakken, 2010: 20). In contrast to the British approach, the Norwegian practices of positive discrimination and affirmative action are much stronger and expand the letter of law into a dominant frame regarding equality. Within the 'multidimensional framework', ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, sexuality, disability and age are incorporated alongside gender as part of an 'intersecting agenda' (Skjeie and Langvasbråten, 2009, 514). Despite a more moderate introduction in Britain, positive action can still be viewed as a middle ground to redressing discrimination in recruitment and promotion, by considering both those disadvantaged groups and candidates with the desirable skills (Bernie and Wilson, 2016).

2.2.2.4 Career ladder, promotion and discrimination – A summary

The question posed in the title of this section, 'can positive discrimination and anti-discrimination law co-exist?' remain a critical debate in discriminatory law. On the surface, the strength of positive discrimination lies in its ability to directly address the inequality of disadvantaged groups through their protected characteristics. Yet the existence of anti-discrimination laws prohibited such blatant discrimination as it cannot ensure inclusion and equality for all, resulting in schemes such as the quota system being dismissed for general purposes. The lack of publicity on the usage of positive discrimination also calls into question the fairness for employees (Blader and Rothman, 2014). Where positive discrimination lacks accountability, the formalised legal use of positive

action leads employers to think more critically about how they employ and promote their workforce (Hilpern, 2007). In turn, this leads decision-makers to be 'more attentive to the bases of their decisions', reducing the likelihood of being influenced by their own biases of beliefs (Blader and Rothman, 2014: 66). One-way positive discrimination and anti-discrimination law could co-exist is shown by Barmes (2012) who concludes that some areas of positive discrimination, specifically the disadvantaged status of a candidate, should be a considered a legitimate criterion for employment or promotional processes as seen in the Nordic example.

2.3 Chapter 2 review

This chapter has analysed and discussed salient literature whose theoretical underpinnings around gender and promotion have informed my integrated theoretical conceptual framework. The outlining of my framework within section 2.1 revealed that a majority of concepts and theories focused on the gendering of promotion are outdated and unrelatable within an ever-changing modern educational profession. Through the combination of utilising May's (2015) revised version of intersectionality and Williams (2013) updated 'glass escalator' phenomenon, my research applies a modernised lens. Continuing with the idea of inadequacies, research into the 'glass escalator' phenomenon in primary schools was identifiable by Williams (2013) herself to be inadequate when compared to other female-dominated professions such as nursing. Once again, integrating intersectionality, one of the main criticisms of the 'glass escalator' is remedied. However, given that literature surrounding the role of

intersectionality within the 'glass escalator' is relatively new, the focus is still predominantly given to gender and social status signalling the importance of my study in contributing to new knowledge. As a result of this, the inclusion of Connell's masculinities theory (2005) serves as a means to understand how far gender plays a role within both the 'glass escalator' and promotion in general. Furthermore, this also aids the identification of other intersecting factors that influence or are influenced by gender. Research into male role models and masculine leadership teams appears to be guided by wider perceived sociocultural values and beliefs such as the 'moral panic' (Titus, 2004; 145), demonstrating the potential interplay such politics may have upon who is promoted.

This chapter has also analysed and synthesised literature around the lives of teachers as well as the legality of promotions in the context of British primary schools. In section 2.2, professional capital and collegiality contained more recent and modern concepts with much of the available research coming in the last decade. However, research has yet to go into how these concepts affect promotional aspects for teachers. Finally, section 2.4 boasted the most accessible and researched literature focusing on primary school education. Exposure, however, to links with the 'glass escalator' phenomenon is still deficient, with lines of enquiry like how the 'glass escalator' is impacted by popular stereotypes and the role of masculinity in leadership roles. Furthermore, in section 2.2, the literature covering the inner workings of a teacher's career movement, while in abundance, is now outdated. Changes in the educational system, with a new curriculum, new roles and responsibilities,

new school setups and developments of appraisals being tied to pay progression, have occurred in the past several years. Furthermore, the coverage of positive discrimination and positive action is mainly concentrated on outlining and defining what it is, and how it can be used. Yet specific emphasis relating to primary schools is often reduced to a single line or passing reference. This can partly be seen as a result of the recent implementation of positive action as part of the legal framework of anti-discrimination law as outlined in section 2.3. Detailed focus on primary schools and how positive discrimination policies are used and applied with regards to promotion, fast-tracking and teacher advancements remain relatively uncommon.

As far as gaps in the literature are concerned, several identifiable areas emerged throughout this chapter. Firstly, there is a significant gap in the focus of fast-tracked promotions and the 'glass escalator' phenomenon. Much of the available literature has sought to establish the existence of the 'glass escalator' and its presence within female-dominated professions. However, in her re-visiting of the 'glass escalator', Williams (2013, 1) criticised its relevance today,

> 'The 'glass escalator' assumes stable employment, career ladders, and widespread support for public institutions (e.g., schools and libraries)—which no longer characterize the job market today'.

Williams argues that new concepts are needed to understand workplace gender inequality in the 21st century. The 'glass escalator' literature, therefore, lacks an understanding of the promotional patterns of men and women, who are advantaged and disadvantaged, in the modern workplace. Consequently, there is a need to re-focus the 'glass escalator' phenomenon on looking at the

nuanced sophisticated application in day-to-day practice. To address this within primary schools, my research explores the gendered relationships of teachers and managerial staff and its impact on promotional opportunities. Alongside this and addressing one of the main criticisms of the 'glass escalator' literature, the inclusion of intersectionality helps to understand the inner mechanisms that underpin the 'glass escalator' phenomenon in primary schools.

Secondly, there is a research gap in the coverage of fast-tracked promotions. While there has been a significant number of studies on male advancement and fast-tracking in female-dominated professions, in the UK these are mainly aimed at nursing (Evans, 1997; Meadus, 2000; Evans and Frank, 2003; Kleinman, 2004; Mullan and Harrison, 2008). Similar primary educational-based research lacks this kind of exposure with much of the existing literature coming from non-UK based settings. This can be seen through the inception of the 'glass escalator', as Christine Williams's is based in the United States of America. Of the available UK based research literature, the scope of the enquiry, often drawing from a small number of male experiences, does not provide an in-depth exploration of the phenomenon. While this does provide individual, personalised understandings of the broad features of fast-tracked promotions, it does not allow for the subtle promotional patterns of both men and women to emerge clearly. Previous studies have only had a narrow focus and scope, while my research uses several schools utilising both male and female participants to aid in understanding the mechanisms of fast-tracked promotion. My research also provides the perspective and further

understanding fast-tracked promotions of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon within the context of British primary schools.

To summarise, to answer and prove my research questions, an integrated theoretical conceptual framework is used; made up of Williams' (1995) 'glass escalator' phenomenon, May's (2015) updated concept of intersectionality and Connell's (2005) theory of masculinities based on tokenistic and minority groups that work in organisations. In bringing together these three interconnected components into one coherent integrated framework, the main criticisms of each were addressed, resulting in a unique approach to understanding the gendering of promotions. In turn, this aids in identifying several gaps throughout the review of the literature, particularly, the need for a refocusing and re-examination on male fast-tracking and promotion from the male perspective, particularly on what form it takes, how it is accessed, and whether or not it is only applicable to male teachers. Within this, there is a clear deficiency in research around the daily mechanisms which maintain and uphold gendered discourses and gendered discrimination with promotional advancement within primary school settings. Additionally, there exist gaps covering the potential negative implications or outcomes that may arise from such an advancement for male practitioners. It is important to address the identified gaps within the literature to understand the nature of gendered discrimination within primary schools, by recognising who is on the receiving end of advantages and how they receive it within the workplace. Overall, existing literature fails to expose the inequalities and subsequent benefits that *some* men receive in sex-atypical professions.

Chapter 3 Methodology

This chapter presents the philosophical assumptions underpinning my research and provides an overview of the methods and empirical techniques applied. Attention is given to how my dual identity as both a researcher and practitioner, as well as the theoretical position I adopted influenced the research design. Given the 'centrality of the research question to the research process' (Mason, 2018:9) my research questions, which were presented in chapter one, are restated here,

1) To what extent does gender play a role in the 'promotion' of primary school teachers?

2) To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the subject of preferential treatment?

3) To what extent does a male primary school teacher's 'minority status' have an effect on promotional career prospects?

To answer these questions, an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) study was conducted across four schools in the North West of England; utilising semi-structured individual interviews and mini focus groups. To explore this in more detail, this chapter has been divided into four sections comprising of,

- An examination of both the philosophical and methodological approaches.

- Coverage of the ethical considerations of my study, as well as an examination of my dual role as both a researcher and practitioner.

- A discussion on the chosen methods, focusing on how and why they were chosen, along with reasoning for sampling decisions.

- Coverage on the data collection and analysis of my findings, providing an overview of the processes undertaken.

Following the advice of Crotty (1998), setting out the chapter in this manner allows for the demonstration of greater vigour and transparency.

3.1 Research design

In order to capture practitioners' understanding of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, explanations and understandings between various social lives (Babbie, 2010) rather than the gathering of numerical and statistical data (Stake, 2010) was decided upon. Therefore, a qualitative 'social' science stance (Thomas, 2013) approach to research was chosen to allow the 'meaning individuals bring' (Boeije, 2010:11) to be captured. I felt that as a practitioner myself those best placed to provide an insight into teachers' promotional patterns would be those within the profession. From this, how practitioners view their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences (Merriam, 2009) could be researched. With a qualitative approach to social life, a focus on background, interests and broader social perceptions allows for a deeper understanding of the contextualised phenomenon. Holliday (2002: 4) states that this opposes the quantitative approach, 'rather than trying to find ways to reduce the effect of uncontrollable social variables, it investigates them'. Being a public profession, statistical research is done recurrently by the British Government to track teacher numbers and patterns. Conducting a similar study was dismissed given it would

not offer considerable new knowledge to an area which is oversaturated with quantitative research and analysis.

3.1.1 Paradigms and worldviews

Travers (2001) points out that it is important to recognise that every researcher brings their personal beliefs and assumptions into the research process. This, in turn, influences how one understands and interprets qualitative data that guides beliefs and actions, termed a paradigm (Knowles and Cole, 2008). My personal beliefs impacted upon the direction of the study, specifically my 'worldview', as I sought to seek the understanding of human experience (Cohen et al, 2011). I held the belief that 'reality is socially constructed' (Mertens, 2005: 12) rather than objectively determined (Thomas, 2013), with social meanings 'continually being accomplished by social actors' (Bryman, 2012). Like Braun and Clarke (2013, 8), I reject the view that there is a consistent 'observable, independent reality', instead reality is constructed through my own, and my participants' subjectivities. Consequently, my research firmly sits within the interpretivist paradigm as it recognises that we cannot 'consider knowledge outside the context in which it was generated' (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p. 6). While this does limit the use of generalisability, the research was purposefully designed to capture a snapshot of promotional opportunities in a small sample of British primary schools, not a general argument of all gender-atypical professions.

As a researcher there is a need to challenge one's ontological stance, the nature of reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008b), to further one's positionality within the interpretivist paradigm. Blumer (1969, 34) argues that reality is 'constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings, developed socially and experientially'. Therefore, there exists no single reality (Butler-Kisber, 2010), instead all constructed meanings represent a point of view. Creswell (2013) clarifies that the researcher's role is to unpack and interpret such complex views. I hold the view that two people do not experience the external world similarly. While they may share similar subjective experiences, their worlds are different (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Within this, individuals are not viewed as objects but as agents or social actors (this will be explored in section 3.4 of this chapter) of study who actively and collaboratively construct their polities, societies and cultures (Schwartz-Shea and Yanour, 2012). The interpretivist researcher relies on the participants' views of the 'situation being studied' (Creswell, 2003: 8). In taking this approach I had to recognise the epistemology impact, the relationship between the inquirer and the known (Petty et al, 2012), that my background and experiences had on the research. As a result of the link between myself as the researcher and the research itself, I adopted a subjectivist epistemology as 'we cannot separate ourselves from what we know' (Angen, 2000: 380). Due to the focus on the participant(s)' culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the phenomenon, their 'social life-world' can be identified (Eberle, 2012). From an interpretive perspective, there are no benefits to working with large data sets. Focus should be given to subjective experiences, small-scale interactions and at its core seeking for meaning or understanding (Travers, 2001). Further discussion of

my epistemological considerations will be presented in section 3.3 – insider research in this chapter.

3.1.2 Phenomenological approach

Research methodology questions how we know the world or gain knowledge about it (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008b).   Within this section, my chosen methodological stance, phenomenology will be explored in more detail. Through the use of a phenomenological approach, a common meaning can be collected from the lived human experiences of a group of people of several individuals from a given phenomenon (Padilla-Diaz, 2015; Creswell and Poth, 2018).   Van Manen (2014, 9) states further that this approach allows for the capturing of 'the world as we immediately experience it' and 'grasp the very nature of the thing' in what he termed the 'lifeworld' or 'universal essence'. Phenomenology is, therefore, the study of the nature and meanings of a phenomenon (Finlay, 2009).   My research questions reflect this by taking the three main arguments of Williams (1995) 'glass escalator' phenomenon (see 2.1.1) and examining them in the context of primary school settings.   By studying this specific context or 'lifeworld', the hidden meanings and the essence of experiences around a phenomenon (Kafle, 2013) can be understood. Integral to this is the individual and their environment (Burns and Grove, 1999), seeking to understand a phenomenon and its essence requires those who can articulate lived experiences of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Schütz (1973) and Vaitkus (2005) argue that those from within the 'natural' attitude are in the best position to provide an insight into the

phenomenon. Again, further discussion will be provided on sampling and the chosen participants for my research in section 3.4.3.

3.1.2.1 Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

The choice to follow the interpretative school of phenomenology was initially selected due to its regular use in 'researching marginalised groups; it involves attending carefully to the experiences of such people' (Seale, 2012, 448). When attempting to reveal meanings on the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, the 'possibility of plausible insights' (Van Manen, 1994: 9) was preferred over developing an abstract theory (Flood, 2010), an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach was taken. Choosing IPA aided my ontological and epistemological stance, as those individuals experiencing the phenomenon are best placed to make sense of it (Moran, 2000; Seale, 2012). IPA enabled the exploration of 'how participants are making sense of their personal and social world' (Smith and Osborn, 2015: 53). As the main attraction of IPA is the systematic study of personal experience (Tomkins, 2017), with a focus on the context-dependent life world of participants (Eatough and Smith, 2008) it was compatible with my worldview. I identified IPA as being relevant to the framing and analysis of my research due to the steps it takes to describe the world and the people who live in it in a descriptive and interpretative way. While IPA has its roots in psychology, it has recently begun to be used more widely across the social sciences (Charlick et al, 2016). Despite limited attention throughout educationalist literature (Noon, 2017), the methodology of IPA has been derived from across the social sciences. This

demonstrate IPA's flexibility and fluidity as a methodological approach, allowing the researcher to adapt their methodology to accommodate the phenomenon, therefore, applicable to educational research (Noon, 2018).

A second factor in the decision to choose IPA was my positionality as a practitioner (Finlay 2008). As both a practitioner and a researcher, I wanted to ensure scientific rigour (LeVasseur, 2003) and generate valid 'pre-reflective' data (Crotty 1998, Moran 2000). Generally, in undertaking a phenomenological approach there would be a requirement for the researcher to go beyond their natural attitude by 'suspending' or 'bracketing' any pre-suppositions (Drew, 1999; Van Manen and Adams 2010). But as Seale (2012, 449) argues, in IPA studies, the researcher takes an 'exploratory open-minded approach' with awareness that 'she or he is not a neutral agent in the research process'. Finlay (2008) argues that it is impossible to identify all conscious and unconscious thoughts, beliefs and influences. Despite bracketing not featuring in IPA like other forms of phenomenology there still needs to be a recognition by the researcher on how they might be influenced (Berndtsson et al, 2007) as mentioned in chapter 1. A strength of IPA as seen by Bush et al (2016) is that it recognises the utility of subjective experience, both for the participant and researcher.

Another strength of IPA is the ability to explore the 'uniqueness of a person's experiences, with the context of person both as an individual and in their many cultural roles' (Shaw, 2001: 48). This differs from the traditional origins of phenomenology, instead focusing on 'explicit commitment to person-in-

91

environment and not just phenomenon-as-experienced' (Quest, 2014: 43). The importance I placed focusing on this context-specific lifeworld was as a consequence of a lack of literature in the field of education on the 'glass escalator', as well as William's (1992) original description encompassing of all males in gender-atypical professions. In an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the subject (Kafle, 2013), the aims and questions of my research rely on the subjective experiences of individuals and marginalised groups. Through the use of IPA, I was able to reveal 'subtle, intimate and nuanced accounts of teaching' (Noon, 2018: 80) from the standpoint of those within primary school settings.

Naturally, there are several limitations when opting to use IPA but given the specificity of my research, many of them were easily overcome. Willig (2013) states that IPA presupposes that participants have the necessary language to capture their experiences, relying on the 'representational validity of language' (Noon, 2018: 81). Therefore, participants with weak language skills can be excluded leading to the dismissal of their experiences. Given that all the participants used within my study were teachers, I did not consider this an issue. Furthermore, with my background in teaching issues surrounding language barriers were perceived as being an unlikely occurrence. During the interviewing process there were several instances of participants' having a lack of understanding around certain concepts (for example, positive action) but this was attributed to being 'specialist language' not prominent to the world of teaching. With this, I was able to tailor and re-work some of this language into more relevant and comprehensible concepts for all the participants.

Another limitation of IPA identified by Smith and Osborn (2003) is the generalisability of findings and cautiousness about making general claims. Noon (2018) states that the intention for researchers utilising IPA should not be to uncover what occurs in all settings but focus on the perceptions and understandings of a particular group within their specific setting. With regards to my research focus and sample being men in a minority, generalising would oversimplify their experiences and repeat what has already been done in the existing literature. Yet, Smith and Osborn (2003) do suggest that a 'general' image can be drawn across the whole group involved by considering theoretical rather than empirical generalisability. In William's (1995) original 'glass escalator' metaphor, she focused on multiple settings (nursing, librarianship, elementary teacher and social work) proceeding to generalise the experiences of 'men' in gender-atypical professions. Therefore, the purposeful bounding of my research capturing a snapshot of a small sample of British primary schools provides little scope for empirical generalising. Where appropriate in chapter 5 (Discussion) and chapter 6 (Conclusion), some theoretical generalisation to similar professions was undertaken to further emphasise and conceptualise findings.

When designing any piece of research, before committing to anyone singular methodological approach it is important to consider multiple approaches. Early on in the design phase a case study approach was considered, this was ultimately rejected due to its limited scope of 'an in-depth study of interactions of a single instance in an enclosed system' (Opie, 2007: 74). While a multiple

case study approach could have been taken, this still would have excluded the flexibility for theoretical generalisation given this limited scope only a specific instance can be captured of a certain feature or social behaviour (Opie, 2007). With the 'glass escalator' phenomenon applicable across multiple professions, some speculation and comparisons were necessary. Case studies have been used in this area of research but have focused on a single individual's experiences of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, therefore, little generalisation can be achieved (Denscombe, 2007; Woodside, 2010). During the pilot study it became apparent that a case study approach had limited scope and flexibility in understanding the differing or shared experiences of teachers. Likewise, an ethnographic approach was also rejected due to the specific focus on describing and interpreting the culture of social groups (Davies, 2008). With both limited exploration of the 'glass escalator' within teaching as well as Williams (2013) call for an updated metaphor, there was a need to first understand the essence of the phenomenon through the collecting of human experience.

3.2 Ethics and reflexivity

Distinctive ethical and moral issues generally arise from an emergent and flexible research design in qualitative inquiry (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012). De Laine (2000) sees these ethical and moral dilemmas as unavoidable consequences of fieldwork. Therefore, acknowledging, accepting and overcoming these ethical issues and dilemmas forms an important part of undertaking research. Achieving this is done via exemplifying what is good or

right and bad or wrong (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012) through reflexivity with what Warin (2011, 809) labels 'ethical mindfulness',

> 'An interdependent awareness of how I, as a researcher, am influencing my research participant's perceptions and a simultaneous and interdependent awareness of how they are influencing me'.

Furthering this Koch and Harrington (1998, 283) express that reflexivity helps the researcher understand 'something about the position, perspective, beliefs and values' they bring to the research. This has importance in my research as the researcher is constructed as 'the human research instrument' (Koch and Harrington, 1998: 283). Through adopting the use of reflexivity in my research, I was able to bring transparency to the processes and outcomes (Etherington, 2007) of both my research design and ethical approach taken. Warin (2011, 810) once again points out the value of reflexivity with regards to researcher and participant contact,

> 'It requires that we take a deliberate search for indications of the management of impressions, expectations and a recognition of the mutual posting adopted by research participants and researcher as they interact'.

The process of being ethically mindful is a continual process, one that intertwines both reflexivity and ethical considerations. The appropriate ethical approval was secured from the Lancaster University Research Ethics Committee complying with their code of conduct guidelines (2009) before starting both the pilot study and main data collection. Throughout the rest of this section, there will be an exploration of some of the ethical dilemmas I faced

throughout the research process, how I overcame them and the influences they had on my research.

3.2.1 Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

An important ethical consideration in research is ensuring the confidentiality of participants; Wiles et al (2008, 418) describe confidentiality as 'not discussing information provided by an individual with others' and 'presenting findings in ways that ensure individuals cannot be identified'. To protect confidentiality within my research all personal information (people and geographical location) is rendered anonymous. With regards to participants names, Appendix 10 shows the gender-neutral pseudonyms given to protect all those involved. Assurances were given to participants that during the transcribing phase any data recorded which identified them would be replaced with a pseudonym known only to myself. During the focus groups this posed its own set of issues as several participants were present. It was stated in the consent form and again before the beginning of the session that everything said throughout would be anonymised and not traceable back to the individuals or as a group. For geographical locations, generalisation was used, referred to simply as residing within the North of England. Where appropriate some details of the schools were used such as job title, type and size of the school to contextualise findings but still maintaining anonymity. Participants were informed of my commitment to anonymity both within the consent form (Appendix 8) and before the beginning of the interview,

A final consideration concerning privacy and confidentiality was the use of emails when contacting participants, email correspondence which included names and contact information are harder to obscure (Ison, 2008). Miller et al (2012, 36) argue that 'emails can also redraw in subtle ways research boundaries and researcher-participants relationships'. This point stems from a wider ethical issue centred around much of research, the degree to which the participant's privacy is upheld. Often overlooked when conducting research, it is difficult to assure complete confidentiality when concerning emails. Even though emails are and remain protected by a login and password combination I deleted all correspondence once read protecting the identities of those involved.

Participation and consent

A central feature of social science research ethics is ensuring that those involved in research have provided their consent to participate (Oliver, 2010). I encountered some ethical issues with approaching schools to sample. I had two options, use schools with whom I had no affiliation with or schools where I was known. While I did initially approach both types of schools, schools with whom I had prior contact with were much more forthcoming and willing to allow access. While contacting these schools I reiterated and stressed that I was approaching them as a researcher, not a teacher so as not to confuse my role. Yet as De Laine (2000) points out, research fieldwork often requires the researcher to perform multiple roles and are negotiated by the researcher before the start of fieldwork. Kyvik (2013) further states that each setting might

require the researcher to assume a different role or several roles, again this will be expanded upon in section 3.3 on insider research.

Approaching the school first rather than directly approaching teachers came with two benefits, establishing boundaries as a researcher and providing direct access to practitioners. Without having the direct contact information of individual teachers, it is difficult to acquire due to data protection and privacy laws. I first had to approach and gain access from the head teacher of each school to get access to teachers. Access via the head teacher can be thought of as an initial phase of entry to the research setting, with the head teacher, as the most senior authority within the school, acting as a 'gatekeeper' (Wanat, 2008). This brought up potential issues of individuals being forced into participating in my research by the head teacher. In order to overcome this issue, I decided that head teachers would be sample from separate schools from the teacher participants. By doing it this way, not only was I able to still involve head teachers in my study, but it would remove the ethical obstacle of forced participation. This will be covered in further detail in section 3.4.3 later in this chapter.

As part of gaining access to teachers, I requested to speak to all the staff in person to further ensure that all ethical considerations had been made. This acted as a multi-functional platform, both to recruit participants directly and to address any ethical issues before the start of the data collection. Recruiting participants in this manner offered a more personal approach than simply just emailing individuals. While emailing is quick and by far the easiest way to

contact participants (Miller et al, 2012), it can hamper researcher-participant relationships. Therefore, by addressing all the staff at once I was able to strengthen potential researcher-participant relationships but also firmly establish myself as a researcher and not a fellow practitioner. As well, this offered me a chance to provide an overview of the research I was conducting and what the participants would be consenting to. Bulmer (2008) states that those who are being researched have the right to know that they are being researched, alongside this initial explanation, a participant information sheet (Appendix 7) was provided to all those wishing to take part. Potential participants were asked to take this away for reference and encouraged to email me if they wished to be a part of this research. This ensured individual autonomy over their decision to partake and avoiding the need to sign up and agree on the spot in front of other members of staff. This also worked as an extra layer of protection for the anonymity of the individual.

Throughout the data collection period, ethical considerations turned to ensure that the individual participants were protected and not at risk from participating in the research. Having agreed to be interviewed, all participants were provided with a consent form (Appendix 8) which outlined what they would be agreeing to. By using a consent form I was guaranteeing informed consent from the participant, that being the 'obligation to outline fully the nature of the data collection and the purpose for which the data will be used in a style and language that they can understand' (Boeije, 2010: 45). By signing the consent form, all participants were aware of the research topic and what they had agreed to do. A copy of the consent form was provided to the individual, while

I kept a copy for myself which stated that they could at any point before the interviews withdraw from the research. The consent form stated that participants had 2 weeks after the conclusion of the interviews to have their data removed from the study, providing me with time to scribe and remove their contribution. This was explained both before and after the interviews in detail to each participant further ensuring that ethical considerations were addressed and dealt with. I decided that I would treat each encounter with the participant as a point to reaffirm and re-establish consent, Miller and Bell (2012) state that consent is continually ongoing and renegotiated between the researcher and the researched. With this continual notion of voluntary informed consent, two-way communication was established providing opportunities to refuse or to withdraw from aspects of the research without facing any consequences (Sieber, 2008). I was conscious that when participants had initially agreed to be interviewed, personal circumstances could change rather quickly. Therefore, before I began the interviews, each participant was presented with a copy of their consent forms, I asked them to carefully re-read over it and make sure that they were still happy to continue with the interview. This allowed informed consent to be given once again before the interview began reaffirming the open communication and relationship between myself and the participant.

Data protection

The maintenance of confidentiality and anonymity also extends to the 'storage of data, field notes, audio transcriptions' (Hammersley and Traianou, 2012: 124). Following the Data Protection Act (1998), both the audio storage device and any notes made during the interviews were kept in a locked bag for

transportation and then secured in a locked cupboard at my office at the university. On top of these steps all files, both audio and text, were encrypted with separate individual passwords. Typed up transcripts were also stored in the same location as the audio recordings, again with the same level of double encryption. With regards to long-term storage of collected data, all transcripts were deposited into Lancaster University's institutional data repository and made freely available with an appropriate license. This is in line with Lancaster University's Research Management Data Policy (2013) where data is stored for ten years before being removed and destroyed. Participants were informed about this in both the consent form and information sheet with the option to have their data removed from the rest of the transcripts to be deposited.

3.3 Insider research

Having established the main ethical considerations that occurred throughout my research, this section illustrates in more detail the ethical implications of my own identity as both a professional and a researcher. While my chosen philosophical research approach both allowed and accounted for researcher subjectivity, I was continually mindful of the influence that my dual identities could have upon the research (including conflicts of interest as well as potential areas of privilege). It was established earlier in section 3.1, that in choosing a qualitative research approach, it is common for the researcher to be part of the social group that they are investigating (Knight and Moore, 2012). Bonner and Tolhurst (2002), therefore, argue researchers can already be considered 'native', 'indigenous, or 'inside' before the study begins. Given my existing role

as a practitioner, I identified myself as an 'insider research', described as someone who chooses to study a group to which they belong (Breen, 2007). Noffke (2009) states that there is a long history of insider research occurring within educational research, bringing validity to my chosen approach.

Given my position as both a researcher and practitioner, I was conscious of my shifting identity, simultaneously being both an insider and an outsider (Arthur, 2010). This was further expanded upon by Hellawell (2006, 486), who argues that a researcher 'can slide along more than one insider-outsider continuum'. Brown et al (2015) argue that a researcher's desire to become immersed more deeply in the social reality of the research needs to be mindful of the moments where you are caught between your role and identity (Milligan, 2016). But Dwyer and Buckle (2009) point out that one can never assume totality in their position as either an insider or outsider. Therefore, early in the research process, I imposed a necessary 'self-regulation' (Bell and Nutt, 2012) of reflexivity aiding understanding and navigation of my positionality throughout the research process. This was an important and necessary step in my research design as Malterud (2001, 483-484) points out 'a researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate'. It was inevitable and unavoidable that my background as a practitioner would have some impact on the decisions made throughout the entirety of my research. Importantly, the identification and awareness of this at the beginning of the research helped inform design decisions and the continual use of reflexivity and ethical mindfulness.

The reason for initially identifying myself as an insider researcher came in part from the advantages that could be gained, both to the researcher and potential rich data that can be acquired as outlined by Bonner and Tolhurst (2002). Firstly, a greater understanding of the culture being studied can be acquired; Smyth and Holian (2008) concur stating that what insider researchers have in specific knowledge going in, would take an outsider a long time to acquire. Being in this 'insider' position allows the researcher to not only study issues with the aid of special or enhanced knowledge but also supports access and navigating internal politics (Costley et al, 2010). Secondly, by not altering the flow of social interaction unnaturally; as existing relationships are already established, the process of data collection does not break the social connection already shared. Lastly, having an established intimacy promotes both the telling and the judging of truths. Knowing your participants and/ or setting of the research, the tendency to be sold lies or elaborations on reality may be far less than that of an outsider researcher. This, in turn, helps with the understandings of the complexity of the economic, political and social issues that surround the profession and research topic, being an insider helps navigate such complex issues (Costley et al, 2010). I was able to successfully and confidently navigate the educational landscape with ease given my insider knowledge and role; this was a contributing factor in the swift collection of data.

However, critics of insider research have debated that the advantages do not outweigh the negatives of assuming this position. Hewitt-Taylor (2002, 33) claims that insider researchers can 'unconsciously make wrong assumptions' about the research process due to the researcher's 'prior knowledge which can

be considered a bias'. Being so close to the research as an insider can produce a blinker effect, resulting in disastrous consequences and the potential of impacting the overall research study (Malterud, 2001). Taylor (2011,6) further address this issue 'an insider does not automatically escape the problem of knowledge distortion', therefore, it is up to the researcher to address this through the use of reflexivity. However, Malterud (2001, 484) makes a crucial point that 'preconceptions are not the same as bias unless the researcher fails to mention them'. Using one's background knowledge and experiences purposefully to guide aspects of the research is much preferable than not acknowledging them. As previously discussed, the decision to not research within my current school of employment was guided by this ideal. Brannick and Coghlan (2007) argue that there needs to be an understanding of what drives the research and the contribution it can make is vital, as a risk for insider researchers is attempting to prove or validate their own experiences.

Another disadvantage of assuming an insider researcher identity is being confronted with role duality and the struggle to balance the insider role and the researcher role (Delyser, 2001). Atkins and Wallace (2012, 48) raise the complex ethical question; 'to what extent are you a professional and to what extent are you a researcher in each situation?'. Ravitch and Mittenfelner (2016) argue that positionality and social location are central to consider the researcher's role within the research process. Tetreault (2012, 11) states that 'there is a great range and variation in the roles and positions that researchers take up and embody', therefore I continual re-evaluated and considered to what degree I embodied a researcher or professional role. The importance of how

you are viewed and how you view yourself plays a key role here. I wanted to avoid any confusion and or role conflict, concern was not over my social identity; including gender, social class, race, sexual orientation, culture and ethnicity (Henslin, 2013), but rather my professional identity. This meant shifting pre-existing perspectives and understanding of myself as just a practitioner, to align with the role of the researcher. As noted earlier, I designed my research intending to be viewed as a researcher and not a teacher by the participants. While it was unavoidable that they would continually view me as a practitioner, I wanted to ensure that where possible that distinction was made not only for the benefit of the participants and the tone of research but also for the benefit of myself and my positionality continuity.

In constructing myself in the researcher role and the wider understanding of being an insider researcher, I found the only way to break the cycle of being viewed solely as a teacher was to be expressive about it. De Laine (2000, 38) points out that the social actor needs to give the impression of being a 'proper' researcher, this does not simply involve 'real achievements' but instead an appropriate expressivity equating to a 'belief in the part one is playing'. This was achieved on my part by wearing my university lanyard and identification as well as a visitor's lanyard, and where possible using my full name followed by the title of 'lead researcher'. Such subtle acts served as reinforcements to the participants about my role and reasoning for our interaction and communication. In doing this, I felt a middle ground had been achieved, finding a balance to the argument by Tetreault (2012) that a researcher can be considered both an insider and an outsider. This combined approach took the

advantages of being an insider: access, special knowledge and participant relationships; while at the same time being viewed as an outsider as a researcher, not a practitioner. Such stability aided my consideration on my positionality within the research, allowing for a symbiosis of identities instead of attempting to completely embody a singular identity, that of a researcher. Being mindful of this balance I aimed to ensure transparency so not to engage in any potential deception (McNeil and Chapman, 2005) or risk a 'conflict of interest' (Greenwald, 2012) which could twist the interpretation of my collected data.

3.4 Methods

With a clear focus of my research around the day-to-day application of promotional opportunities, a single method was considered inadequate for the deeper understanding required. The decision to use methodological triangulation to unravel the processes under study (Wilson, 2014) was taken to ensure that 'validity' and 'quality' were maintained throughout the research process (Seale, 1999; Tracy, 2010; Flick, 2014). Viewing from several points is better than viewing from one as 'another viewpoint or another analytical method may make us decide to reject initial explanations' (Thomas, 2012: 67). In keeping with my methodological approach, I chose two qualitative methods, individual interviews and mini focus groups. While both of these methods are a form of interview, they both provide slightly differing outcomes in the way they are set up. If the study had only consisted of focus groups, then the intimate nature of individual interviews would have been lost. This proved pivotal as, throughout the data collection period, certain comments and experiences were

recalled in the individual interviews but not in the focus groups. The importance of participants having that one-to-one time to recall their personal experiences is valuable especially if they are providing potentially embarrassing, personal details. Likewise, if the study just utilised individual interviews then the group collective and shared discussions would not be present in my findings. The importance of the group dynamic allows for some generalisation on how a phenomenon is perceived and operates. This played an important part in supporting my own understanding and 'sense making' of the collected data by verifying what was being said. This was achieved by following up comments made in the individual interview with another from the mini focus group paving the way for a more rounded understanding of the key findings. This continual process played a key role in the formation of themes and codes that were used during the data analysis, this will be covered in more detail in section 3.2.3.

My research questions drove the choice of interview-based methods for obtaining data. Understanding and uncovering the use of a phenomenon requires finding unique information or interpretations held by the person being interviewed (Stake, 2010). Interviews were also selected due to their ability to find out about 'a thing' that the researchers were unable to observe themselves (Stake, 2010). As previously discussed in section 3.2 and 3.3, one of the main considerations when designing this research was my positionality and identity as a practitioner. Through the employment of interviews, I was able to use my insider knowledge to help guide some of the lines of enquiry and questioning, gaining insights and perspectives on the phenomenon without inciting my own biases. This followed basic qualitative interviewing processes of the researcher

asking questions and listening, with respondents answering (Qu and Dumay, 2011). The purpose of qualitative interviewing, therefore, is to derive interpretations not facts or laws from respondents' answers, fitting in with the subjectivist epistemological stance of the interpretivist paradigm (Warren, 2002). Hertz (1997, 116) states that within this interpretative approach, interviewing is not merely a neutral exchange of asking questions and getting answers,

> 'Two people are involved in the process, and their exchanges lead to the creation of a collaborative effort called the interview'.

It is important to remember that the interviewer (researcher) is too a person, historically and contextually located, carrying unavoidable conscious and unconscious motives, desires, feelings, and biases (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008b). While hardly rendering the researcher neutral in the interview, the active interactions between two people lead to contextually, negotiated based results (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008a). Such 'co-constructed interviews' offer the researcher a focus on 'facilitating and examining the collaborative meaning-making processes of telling and listening' (Patti and Ellis, 2017: 1). The establishment of a shared dialogue often leads to the role of interviewer and interviewee becoming blurred. This is not necessarily undesirable, especially when considering the role of insider research. The shared knowledge of both the interviewer and the interviewee is vital to the uncovering of rich data.

If the interview follows the style of an everyday conversation then it avoids the artificiality of the conventional interview, with emphasis on control and standardization (Packer, 2011). Yet, Rowley (2012) see interviews as a special

kind of conversation, taking shape in the hands of the qualitative researcher. Kvale (1996: 19) concurs and adds,

> 'The interview is a specific form of conversation … it goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge'.

As interviews are different from an everyday conversation, this imposes an artificial situation on respondents (Newby, 2010). What appears to be a conversation is in fact a 'one-way pseudo-conversation' (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 658). By taking a co-constructed approach, the whole process relies on the collaboration of both the interviewer and interviewee, negating any concerns over one-sidedness and a staged dialogue (Yanos and Hopper, 2006; Patti and Ellis, 2007; Bell, 2010). Despite arguments of appearing artificial or staged, this interview conversation is a great tool to gather descriptive data in the subject's own words as the researcher can develop insights into the subject's interpretation of their world (Edwards and Holland, 2013). The interviewer then becomes an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate the conditions of the interviewee (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008a). Having established the chosen methods, the following sections will consider each one in more detail, outlining the exact form they will take and reasoning as to why they were chosen.

3.4.1 Individual interviews

When choosing individual interviews as a method for data collection, I carefully deliberated on the structure and approach that I would take. As Brayda and Boyce (2014) argue, there is not one standardized interview style. Both structured, 'all participants are asked the same series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008a: 124) and unstructured interviews 'ambiguous from person to person, from situation to situation, time to time' (Scheurich, 1977: 62) were considered. Due to their shortfalls in grasping the lived experience of the phenomenon, resulting in a limited scope for the interviewer to improvise or exercise independent judgement (Cohen et al, 2011), both were rejected. Despite qualitative research interviews designed to gather information and facts (Targum, 2011), there is also a need to allow for the learning about meanings, emotions, experiences, and relationships (Alvesson, 2011). Simultaneously, the interviewer engages in active, supportive listening that involves paraphrasing and probing to develop rapport and encourage in-depth discussion (Baxter and Babbie, 2003). To achieve a co-constructed interview, equal partners need to engage in an intersubjective story-telling experience (Haynes, 2006) and participate in the 'joint contrition of meaning' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002: 17). To allow such complex issues to arise, the use of semi-structured interviews was identified as a sufficient middle ground to solve such discrepancies. Barbour (2008, 119) explains the importance of the semi-structured interview,

> 'it refers to the capacity of interviews to elicit data on perspectives of
> salience to respondents rather than the researchers dictating the

direction of the encounter, as would be the case with more structured approaches'.

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to use an interview guide with starter questions which introduce the theme to the participant (Newby, 2010). In turn, this aids with the reliability and validity of the research, ensuring that what is gathered represents the situation. With this, interviewers have the freedom to clarify an interviewees' understanding or ask follow-up questions to explore a certain viewpoint or line of enquiry (Newby, 2010). For this reason, semi-structured interviews were chosen due to the choice to explore experiences and avenues that occur naturally throughout conversations while allowing guidance to ensure that the research questions were asked. When designing the individual interview schedule, there was a need to establish what would be asked and how this would work in practice. Appendix 2 shows the individual interview schedule that was used throughout the data collection. The schedule was intentionally split up into sub-sections to mirror my theoretical (conceptual) framework, using core ideals such as gender and positive discrimination as key starters for conversation. The use of sub-sections covering the main areas of the research, allows for a broad spectrum to be used guided by starter questions to encourage conversation and discussion. Given the intention to uncover promotional practices, there was a need to ask directly about some aspects of promotion, hence the wording of certain questions (Appendix 2, section1, question 2). However, the decision was taken early on to not ask, where possible, directly about promotion so not to direct participants down specific paths of conversation. My schedule became more of a guide

than a script as the conversation and discussion with the participants moved away from the initial points I have anticipated.

3.4.2 Mini focus groups

In addition to semi-structured individual interviews, focus groups or group interviews were also used. Denzin and Lincoln (2008a, 126) describe a focus group as,

> 'Essentially a qualitative data-gathering technique that relies on the systematic questioning of several individuals simultaneously in a formal or informal setting'.

Often described as 'structured eavesdropping' (Kitzinger, 2006: 65), a focus group encourages animated and spontaneous exchanges between participants and a purposeful choice by the researcher. The focus group discussion takes a unique stance with how it is conducted, relying on 'generating and analysing interactions between participants' (Frey and Fontana, 1993: 123). Within this, the researcher is actively encouraging group discussion which is pivotal to the success of the focus group as a method (Glesne, 2006). Focus group interviews allow for the study of group norms, meanings and processes based on a topic determined by the researcher (Blumer, 1969; Morgan, 1996; Wilkinson, 1999; Bloor et al, 2001; Barbour, 2008), encouraging participants to disclose more thus capturing the 'real world' as experienced by the participants (Jourard, 1964; Kruger and Casey, 2009; Yin, 2014).

Due to the numbers of available participants in the study, it was decided that a mini focus group would be conducted, restricting each 'group interview' to 3-5 interviewees. It was also decided that an exploratory approach would be taken to reflect my chosen worldview and interpretivist paradigm. While Denzin and Lincoln (2008a) state that an exploratory approach is designed to establish familiarity with a topic or setting, the questions are usually unstructured or open-ended. Despite the 'glass escalator' phenomenon being widely researched, focus within primary schools can still be categorised as requiring familiarity given the lack of established literature as identified in chapter two. Flick (2014) suggests two approaches, homogeneous (members are comparable in the essential dimensions related to the research question) and heterogeneous (members should be different in the characteristics that are relevant for the research question) groups. It was imperative to have participants who shared similar traits and backgrounds; therefore, homogeneous groups were preferred. Further detail and discussion on how participants were sampled is provided in the next section 3.4.3 – Participant sampling and research location. In order to aid the 'sense making' of the data as mentioned earlier, the mini focus group interview followed a similar schedule to the individual interview and the same sub-sections, as shown in appendix 3. This was done to allow comparisons between the two interviews, also serving as a way to validate and ensure that what participants said in one interview did not change in another. After the first focus group it became apparent that some key areas brought up in the individual interviews were not necessarily repeated, therefore, along with appendix 3 any potential key areas were also added into the discussion. Due to this, the interview schedule was often not used in its entirety with lines of

enquiry carrying over from the individual interviews and collective group thoughts taking precedence.

As mentioned previously, the use of focus groups as a form of triangulation allowed for comments made in the individual interviews to be backed up and validated. Smithson (2000) points out that public discourses may be different from private views that might be expressed in a one-to-one interview. While these may differ somewhat, Patton (2002, 386) states that during a focus group 'the extent to which there is a relatively consistent shared view can be quickly assessed'. This helps place checks and balances on public and private discourses and can weed out false or extreme views (Flick, 2014). Despite the similarities between the two methods chosen, Barbour (2008, 135) argues that focus groups 'are likely to give rise to lively debate' following the 'individual commentaries' of the individual interviews. This was helpful in the process of 'indefinite triangulation' by placing individual responses into context (Hammersley, 2008), whilst ensuring that participants do not use my research as a chance to embellish the truth and push their agenda (Yuan, 2014). To ensure reliability of the data collected (Beitin, 2012), the focus groups ran after the individual interview allowing for challenges and confirmation of what has been said by the participants.

Consideration was also given to the changing role of the interviewer in both individual interviews and focus group interviews. While still taking a co-constructed approach, Newby (2010) sees the interviewer as more of a moderator for the discussion taking somewhat of a back seat, occurring due to

a change in the interview dynamic, from individuals to groups. There could be instances of dominant individuals who influence results and discussion topics, while there could also be those portraying themselves as thoughtful, rational and reflective in the presence of their peers (Kruger and Casey, 2009). This can harm the group's ability to have a rich discussion, something that I was conscious of when entering the focus group interviews. This leads to one criticism of focus group interviews, that they can often give us a picture of how the participants want to be seen, as opposed to their actual lives (Kruger and Casey, 2009). Given the numerical minority of male practitioners in primary school, there was a concern that those in the male focus group might not have partaken in such forums before. To overcome this issue, I took a much more active role in the focus groups than proposed by Newby (2010), ensuring that everyone had an opportunity to contribute if they wished. In taking an active role, I acted as an intermediary interjecting and subduing any dominant figure and moving the discussion along where needed.

One of the main issues with co-constructed interviews, particularly focus group interviews, is how utterances are attributed to the group. In an individual interview utterances are naturally attributed to the individual, however, in a focus group, this could be attributed to either individuals or the collective group. There was a need, therefore, to choose participants who would 'engage in dialogue and negotiate the meanings from a position that is uniform' (Marková et al, 2007: 104). This is a positive of the focus group interview, the uniform conclusions aids in the construction of shared knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon. While this is valuable, for my research utterances were

attributed to individuals within the focus group just like in the individual interviews. This was done purposefully to aid in the validity and testing on interviewees experiences provided across both interviews. That is not to say that group dialogues were not credited, these were attributed to overarching themes and similarities and differences concerning the two gendered groups. Through this approach, individual dialogues were captured highlighting specific experiences but also stressing the collective voice of each group.

3.4.3 Participant sampling and research location

Participant sampling and selection should have a clear rationale and fulfil a specific purpose related to the research questions (Cleary, 2014). Sobal (2001) states that it is important to determine the extensiveness of data collection processes when undertaking a qualitative research project. Too few may produce superficial or unwieldy volumes of data; too many and you can end up with data saturation (O'Reilly and Parker,2012). To sample participants in educational settings, firstly schools had to be chosen and approached. As mentioned in section 3.2, locating schools to participate in this research proved difficult as often schools had no male members of staff. Likewise, as mentioned, to circumvent this, schools with which I had previous contact with were chosen.

As a result of my insider position, I had connections with a large number of schools and potential sample participants. However, it was decided early on that there was a need for a selection criteria to ensure an adequate sample was

obtained, one which would yield rich data. In order to do this 'maximum phenomena variation sampling' (Suri, 2011) was utilised to ensure that the schools and participants sampled reflected the different types of schools across the North West of Britain. One issue that I faced, however, was in establishing a criteria that would allow for the uncovering of promotional practices within schools. This was particular difficult for a number of reasons mainly as the available literature does not indicate what or how promotional practices occur, therefore, pinpointing them down through a selection criteria proved complex. Therefore, I devised a general list of vital criteria that each school would have to meet to qualify as a sample school, listed here for convenience,

- The inclusion of both male and female participants within one school.

- Sufficient coverage of the various teaching positions within school from TA to head teacher

- A variety of schools from multiple geographical locations, including the surrounding communities.

- The size and type of school.

These specific criteria points were chosen mainly because such information is publicly available, this would allow schools to be identified before being approached. This in turn would also make sampling decisions easier if a school were to pull out of the research, a replacement school could easily be picked. I was aware when setting this criteria that this could exclude some schools particularly around having both male and female teachers. However, this came down to judgement and one of the sample schools used in this research did only consist of 1 male participant in the end. The initial selection of schools from this list allowed for a comprehensive selection which offers 'maximum

phenomena variation sampling', aiding in the analysis of the phenomena allowing for similarities and differences to occur, furthermore, this aided in the verification and reliability of collected data.

School identifier	Research location overview
School A	• Two-form elementary school with 420 children on roll. • Local community comprised of British Pakistani families with a Muslim faith background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 17.4%. • Four male and four female participants sampled.
School B	• 1.5 form elementary school with 315 children on roll. • Local community comprised of mixed-race families from multi-faith background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 20.1%. • One male participant sampled.
School C	• Two-form elementary school with 468 children on roll. • Local community comprised of British Pakistani families with a Muslim faith background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 21.4%. • Two male and two female participants sampled.
School D	• Single form elementary school with 176 children on roll. • Local community comprised of White British families from secular background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 38.7%. • Two male and four female participants sampled.
School E	• Single form elementary school with 208 children on roll. • Local community comprised of White British families from secular background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 28.4%. • One male participants sampled.
School F	• Three-form elementary school with 623 children on roll. • Local community comprised of British Pakistani families with a Muslim faith background. • Percentage of children eligible for free school meals, 19.6%. • One male participants sampled.
Figure 3.1 Sample school breakdown	

The sample schools used in this study are outlined in Figure 3.1, the information about each of the schools was taken from collated data by the British government educational census (Government Equalities Office, 2019a).

Schools E and F show the settings where the two head teachers were sampled, as mentioned in section 3.2 and furthered later in this section.

A further consideration when sampling schools, outlined earlier in this chapter, is the ethical deliberation of where data collection should take place. Kruger and Casey (2009), believe that any interaction with participants should be held in locations where the participants will be comfortable. However, as participants come from different schools and areas, gathering them at a convenient and mutual location proved difficult. Ultimately, it was decided that the data collection would take place on the school grounds involving participants from that schools *only*. This removed the need for the participants to travel or be inconvenienced during the interviews and focus groups. Access to use the school-grounds (classrooms) was granted by the head teacher when enquiring about speaking to teachers. I was aware of the ethical issues surrounded the research topic and location, each participant was, therefore, asked if they wished to conduct the interviews in another location if they felt the need to do so to avoid any conflict of interest.

Having identified appropriate schools for data collection, following an interpretative phenomenological analysis approach, purposive or purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants as the researcher is seeking to produce/ generate 'purposive fairly homogenous sample' (Noon, 2018: 76). On interpretative phenomenological analysis sample size, Clarke (2010) suggests 4-10, while Coyle (2014) suggest anything from 1 to 12 participants. However, Smith et al (2009) argues that as long as the sample size is manageable and

able to capture how the specific group experience a particular phenomenon, then there are restrictions on the number of participants. To capture a snapshot of lived experiences, I continued to use 'maximum phenomena variation sampling' (Suri, 2011), ensuring that the full range and extent of the phenomena are represented as detailed within the existing literature. Given the extensive number of factors that can intersect with one another, it was not possible to cover them all. Therefore, six intersecting factors were chosen linking to the wider literature consisting of gender, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, years in teaching and current position held. Upon agreeing to participate in the research, participants were provided with a data collection sheet (Appendix 4). From this, I was able to provide a clear picture of sample composition of both male and female participants (Appendix 5) deriving the participants own interpretations around how they identified themselves. The ranges for axis depicted in Appendix 5 were derived from Huberman's (1989 and 1993) outline of a teacher's professional life cycle. From this, I was able to identify different participants based on similar traits such as ethnicity or years of service, aided the comparison of experiences and answers. Importantly, given the voluntary nature of these data-sheets, not every form was completed, specifically the question on the participants sexuality. This was put down to the nature of primary teaching and latent fear of being considered 'gay' (Sumsion, 2000) due to the predominance of female colleagues (further coverage will be provided in Chapter 4 - Findings).

Generally, participants are chosen or selected because of their knowledge and being the most likely to 'produce rich, dense, focused information on the

research questions' (Curtis et al, 2000: 1007). Consequently, sampling is not a matter of representative opinions but a matter of information richness (Guetterman, 2015). Maxwell (2013), states that frequently within qualitative research the researcher's intent is not to generalize but to explain and describe, linking in with the IPA approach that I took. Unlike quantitative sampling, qualitative sampling is non-probability, therefore, the researcher recruits only specific populations to investigate a specific topic (Tuckett, 2004). Oliver (2010) states that participants should not be selected in isolation from the thoughts about the research topic, therefore, for my research, I decided to sample two sub-sample groups, male and female practitioners. While William's (1995) 'glass escalator' metaphor relates specifically to male advantage, it also provides a way to show female disadvantage. I wanted to include both male and female teachers in my study to fully comprehend how the phenomenon operates within educational settings. Including both male and female practitioners acts as a form of data triangulation, helping validate experience, finding commonalities or outlying experiences. By only interviewing one group of practitioners, the view and experiences are extremely subjective and not representative of that group or the wider workforce. It was mentioned in section 3.2.1 that the decision was made to not use head teachers from the school where male and female teachers were sampled from. Therefore, two head teachers were sampled from two further schools to avoid issues of power and pressure for teachers to take part in the research. Only head teachers were chosen, as practitioners can occupy dual roles as both a teacher and part of the leadership team. Appendix 10 outlines the position that each participant held within the school to allow contextual analysis to occur.

3.5 Data collection and data analysis

A fundamental part of methodological considerations is how data will be collected and analysed. With appropriate design and successful implementation, rich data can be yielded from participants ready for the interpretation by the researcher. Within the following section, the process of data collection and data analysis will be explored. Using reflexivity there will also be an examination of the process that took place as well as scrutiny of the decisions made, and approach taken to both data collection and analysis.

3.5.1 Pilot study

An initial consideration when designing a research project is whether to undertake a pilot study. Polit et al (2001, 1) define a pilot study as a 'small scale version(s), or trial run, done in preparation for the major study'. For Maxwell (2013) a pilot study provides the perfect opportunity to address any concerns and exploring the implication of chosen methods. Turner III (2010) mirrors this sentient stating that every research design can be improved by a prior pilot test ensuring that it works effectively. It is for this reason that I decided to include a pilot study in my research design, both to ensure that the approach and methods I had chosen would yield rich data while also allow any issues to be rectified. Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) state that a pilot study is also an opportunity to uncover any local politics or problems that might affect the research process. As previously stated, my background as a practitioner provided me with insider knowledge of the school system, however, this did not

grant me knowledge of the specific contextual school politics. With prior knowledge of the area of research and those being researched, I was concerned with complacency and an unwillingness to accept areas of improvement upon the research design (McCabe and Holmes, 2009). The pilot study was, therefore, viewed as a valuable tool and one I felt was necessary to ensure rigour within my research.

The main objective of completing a pilot study was to test out and try my research instruments (Turner III, 2010) particularly the interview and focus group schedules. While initially the schedule comprised of draft questions and themes, from the outcome of the pilot study these were re-drafted and re-arranged for the main data collection phase. The pilot study was completed in a single primary school consisting of only five participants; two male, two female and the female head teacher. With my main data collection scheduled to take place during the summer school term after the conclusion of SATs (statutory assessment tests), accessing participants before that time proved difficult. It was for this reason that this single school was used and one that I have had previous access to during a previous study in my master's degree research. Given these participants prior involvement to the research, this may have allowed them time to formulate and change answers over time (Peat et al, 2002) affecting the validity and integrity of my research findings.

Overall, I would consider the pilot study a success, it accomplished what I had set out to achieve and along the way enhanced not only the questions and schedule but also myself as a researcher. Having completed a piece of

research previously, there was not a lot of unexpected problems. The pilot study, therefore, significantly influenced and shaped the way in which the main data collection period was conducted. The main reason a pilot study was chosen was to ensure that I was not leaning excessively on this previous experience of conducting research. Therefore, I was able to make the most of the opportunity of testing and reflecting on what and where my skills needed improving. This specifically aided the decision to settle on an interpretative phenomenological approach to this research. Initially a case study approach was chosen, however, during the pilot study it became apparent that outside of a single primary school defining the case would be difficult. Half-way through the pilot study I trailed an IPA approach as the significance of lived experiences became an obvious focus of the research. This led to a re-evaluation of the research questions and the pilot interview schedule. For the remainder of the pilot study and upon completion of each interview and focus group interview, I would return to the research questions and design, ensuring that links could be found and that what was being asked in interviews and focus groups answered the research questions. As mentioned, several times, being a practitioner, it is unavoidable that my experiences and background would not play a significant role in how I approached this research. Throughout the pilot study, it became apparent that utilising a subjective approach, rather than an objective one, made use of my previous knowledge and experience aiding the gathering of rich data. The confidence gained from the pilot study was also valuable, throughout the whole process you call into question why and what you are looking at.

To further ensure rigour in my research I decided to keep a reflective diary throughout the pilot study and into my main data collection phase. Altrichter and Holly (2005) identify a reflective diary as another important tool within the wider context of research, becoming a researcher's companion, documenting their development and perceptions of methodological developments. Before the start of the pilot study, the reflexive diary was mainly used encouraged by many authors (Brannen and Edwards, 2007; Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Mauthner and Doucet, 2003; Renold et al, 2008). This, in turn, informed my subjective influences, for example, specialised language specific to teaching, insider knowledge of school structures, experience and knowledge of inter-practitioner relationships and personal pedagogical beliefs. Identifying and acknowledging these pre-existing subjective views helped inform the design of my research ensuring that they did not affect my analysis and approach to data collection.

3.5.2 Main data collection

For the main data collection phase, five schools were approached for access to the teaching staff, with nine males and ten female teachers participating. An additional two male head teachers were recruited from different schools as mentioned previously. From those involved, six male and female participants completed both an individual interview and took part in a focus group, with the remaining nine participants only involved in a focus group interview. While initially, I had hoped for more participation from male teachers, recruiting them

was far more challenging than I had first thought. Luckily, more males were not sought out as the data collected was deemed rich and productive.

Having established a viable schedule from the pilot study, the interview schedule and questions were re-organised and edited. The schedule outlined the structure of questioning and themes used in both the individual interviews (Appendix 2) and focus groups (Appendix 3) respectively. For the individual interviews, sessions ran for roughly 30-40 minutes, dependent on how long the participant spoke for and any other follow up questions that had arisen from what had been said. Similarly, the focus group interviews usually lasting around 50- 60 minutes depending on the richness of the discussion. During the data collection, a recording device was used, and some small notes taken as a reminder to follow up certain comments and or the removal of any data the participants did not wish to share. Upon completion of the data collection, I decided that there was a need for some follow up interviews, following Creswell's (2013) suggestion that supplementary questioning helps prompt additional understandings. I decided that further clarification from Morgan and Jordon (see appendix 10 for participant details) was required as they specifically expressed experiences of promotion and advancement within teaching. Further specific details and information on Morgan and Jordon will be provided in chapter 4.2 (Findings) along with additional discussion. Given that follow up interviews were conducted, a separate set of questions were posed as outlined in Appendix 6, note this time the line of enquiry was specifically geared towards exploring career advancement and promotion/ progression. After the completion of all the data collection, all participants were

provided with a certificate as evidence of their involvement with a piece of research, shown in Appendix 9. While there were potential issues here with retaining anonymity through a certificate, it would not be made public. Instead, it would be placed inside their professional portfolio as proof of professional development, only seen when evidencing against the teaching standards through the use of appraisals.

3.5.3 Data analysis

My approach to data analysis within the framework of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis is in accordance with the guidelines proposed by Smith and Osborn (2015). Smith and Osborn (2015, 66) place focus on meaning as a central theme of the analytic process with an aim to 'understand the content and complexity of the meanings rather than measure their frequency'. Like with other forms of qualitative analysis, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis follows systematic scrutiny applied at various stages of the research process (Kruger and Casey, 2009; Ravitch and Mittenfelner, 2016). Smith and Osborn (2015, 66) do argue that IPA analysis is not a prescriptive methodology, but my decision to shadow the process they outlined is guided by the ability to follow an idiographic approach to analysis. I believe this is important when dealing with the understanding of a phenomenon that affects a minority group. The following section delineates the data analysis process of my research findings.

Firstly, I began by transcribing the audio recordings taken during the individual interviews and mini focus groups in their entirety, Richards (2006) argues that the complexity of the recordings cannot be reduced until you know if you lose valuable information. The transcription period was not confined to the end of the data collection, instead, completed immediately after each interview session. By doing so, a cycle of continual analysis occurred throughout the whole data collection phase. An attractive feature of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis as an analytic method is what Richards (2006, 86) calls 'data retention' with 'a continual revisiting of the data until you are familiar and understand any patterns and explanations'. Not only did this aid in my understanding of the possible findings, but also helped shape further lines of enquiry with each subsequent interview. Such continual analysis also helped formulate the follow-up interviews as mentioned previously.

Upon completion of transcribing, Smith and Osborn (2015, 67) recommend that the transcripts are read several times, with annotations being made on interesting or significant points made by respondents known as 'emergent annotations'. Given the number of transcripts I had, I opted to utilise Atlas.ti 8.1, a computer-assisted data analysis programme, to aid the coding section of my analysis. It allowed for both the organisation and tracking of initial links in an accessible manner, permitting for a more systematic approach. Table 4.1 demonstrates the emergent annotations that arose from the preliminary readings of the transcripts.

The annotations italicised and underlined show points that arose from the follow-up interviews conducted with several participants mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Expectations on male teachers	Expectations on female teachers	Promotions based on friendships within the school	Maternity leave
Promotions based on age	Promotions based on gender	Promotions based on ability	Expectations on teacher, including workload
Promotions based on sexuality	Promotions based on ethnicity	Promotions based on religious belief	Policies and framework of appraisal and promotion within schools
Fast-tracked promotions	Experiences of recruitment within schools	Use of positive action	How established the individual is, NQT vs years of service
Availability of positions within school	Close relations with senior staff	Geographical location of school	Ability to work long hours
Male teachers as role models	Skill set of individual teacher, qualifications and previous knowledge/ experience	How much an individual is liked by senior staff	Ability to adjust to change or adapt to new roles
Day to day interactions amongst peers	Impact of family and external pressures	Retention of teachers, incentives	School hierarchy
School finances	Structure of the school, school size	Ability to work as a team	Where in the school the teacher teaches
Desire to progress	Perception from local community	Balancing of staff (gender)	Confidence
Disciplinarians	_Accessibility to advancement_	Impact of staffrooms and cliques	Right person for the job

Table 4.1 Emergent annotations

They are included within this list of emergent annotations as they occurred just after the other individual interviews and mini focus groups, forming part of the first part of my data analysis process.

From this set of emergent annotations, Smith and Osborn (2015, 68) point out that the researcher needs to 'return to the transcript to document emerging theme titles'. Importantly, throughout this process nothing should be omitted or selected in isolation, however, there is no requirement for every point to generate a theme. Furthermore, Smith and Osborn (2015, 68) ague that at this stage 'capturing concise and essential themes' is vital to 'allow for theoretical connections within the data'. It was at this point that it became clear that there existed substantial overlapping amongst the Emergent annotations, something that proved tricky to untangle when attempting to organise separate distinct themes. In an attempt to overcome this issue, I decided to convert the emergent annotations into cluster themes specifically linked to my theoretical conceptual framework detailed in Chapter 2 (Theoretical, Conceptual Framework and Literature Review), shown in Table 4.2. I opted to not use 'Masculinity' as a heading due to its limitation in representing both male and female participants within my study and depict the wide variety of gender practices that emerged in the data analysis. Instead, the title Expectations and Pressures provides a more inclusive and representative theme for my data. Here women's and men's samples were separated to allow for a deeper, richer analysis of the phenomenon in question. Organising my themes in this way allowed for associations and links to be made, informing the richness and salience of my findings guiding further analysis. Even though the Emergent

annotations had been placed into initial codes and themes as shown in table 4.2, I still felt that it was important to acknowledge the overlapping that existed within my data. Appendix 11 shows an example of a coding web used to identify the links between sub-categories of the three main themes.

'Glass escalator' (GE)	**Intersectionality (I)**	**Expectations and Pressures (EP)**

➢ Positive discrimination:
   o Micro-promotions
   o Preferential treatment
   o Advantages
   o Disadvantages
   o Positive action
	➢ Gender:
	   o Sexuality (link here due to being mentioned in tandem with gender)
	   o Male
	   o Female
		➢ Male:
		   o Male Implicit expectations
		   o Male Explicit expectations
		   o Male pressures

➢ Promotion, fast-tracking:
   o Examples
   o Attainability
   o Availability
   o Accessibility
	➢ Age:
	   o Younger teachers
	   o Older teachers
		➢ Female:
		   o Female Implicit expectations
		   o Female Explicit expectations
		   o Female pressures

➢ School structures:
   o School recruitment and retention
   o Legality
   o Type of school
   o Right person for the job
	➢ Community:
	   o Ethnicity
	   o Cultural
	   o Religious
		➢ Latent expectations:

➢ Discrimination:	➢ Relationships:
	   o Professional (relations)
	   o Personal (friendships)
	   o Golden Circle
	   o Opposite friendships	

	➢ Skill set:
	   o Personality and ability
	   o Flexibility
	   o Qualifications
	   o Previous skills	

	➢ Other:
	   o Financial
	   o Positionality
	   o Pro-activity *(Links to 'glass escalator' section)*
	   o Role models	

Table 4.2 Initial codes and themes

Braun and Clark (2006, 21) speak of the necessity for themes to capture 'the contours of the coded data' and thus the creation of a 'thematic map'. With this coding web the overlapping themes aided further with the identification and creation of a final set of superordinate codes and themes, shown in table 4.3.

Legality and promotions	**Relationships**	**Expectations and pressures**

• Positive discrimination
• Positive action
• Gendered micro-promotions
  ○ Educational system
  ○ Pro-activity
  ○ Positionality within school
	• Professional relations
	  ○ Professional self
	  ○ Barriers
	• Community relations
	  ○ Male role models
	  ○ Religious and ethnic ties
	• Personal relations
	  ○ Favouritism (Golden circle)
	  ○ Cliques and other relations
		• Gendered stereotypes
		  ○ Sexuality
		  ○ Male discipline 'father figure'
		• Minority status and hypervisibility

Table 4.3 Final superordinate themes and codes

As a concluding step in the analysis of the data, the initial codes and themes presented in table 4.2 went through a final reduction and consolidation in what Smith and Osborn (2015, 74) call a final table of 'superordinate themes' detailed in table 4.3. The capturing of these final themes is not based on their prevalence, but rather their ability to illuminate the participants' experiences. This is reflected in the naming of the themes and codes used in table 4.3, it was decided early on in the coding process that it order to not misrepresent the core focus of the themes, they would be termed directly from the findings themselves. The best example of this is the inclusion of the sub theme 'gendered micro-promotions', as it encapsulated specifically the hidden

nuances of promotion within primary schools, using the phrase exactly as it was presented seemed pertinent to show clearly the findings. While the links with my theoretical conceptual framework are still present, the headings for each theme was changed to capture and reflect the essence of the findings. Despite explicit sub-sampling taking place during the data collection from both male and female participants, the decision to integrate them in Table 4.3 was taken as commonalities and connections could not be separated.

In order to present the three main superordinate themes, throughout chapters 4 (Findings) and 5 (Discussion) specific extracts have been taken from the collected data, inserted into the discussion in the form of direct quotes. This presentational method has been used to be illustrative of a general point or theme but where appropriate specific experiences or examples from male and female participants will be used to illuminate key lines of enquiry in both Chapter 4 (Findings) and Chapter 5 (Discussion).

3.6 Chapter three review

To summarise, this chapter has explicated my methodological, ontological and epistemological approach, to explore the experiences of practitioners promotional careers. This chapter has also visibly set out the research decisions that were made and consequently adopted in conducting this research. I have demonstrated how my identity as a researcher has influenced and guided the design of my research, striving to be transparent about any claims that my research can make where possible signposted its 'trustworthiness' by plainly presenting the

methods chosen. As well as this, I have demonstrated the ethical considerations that occurred throughout my research by detailing how these were overcome and dealt with to ensure the validity of my findings and conclusions. Finally, I outlined how I analysed my data consolidating the collated data into themes representing the main findings. Further deliberations and considerations around ethical mindfulness will continually be revisited in the subsequent chapters and final thoughts on my methodological approach will be presented in Chapter 6 (Conclusion). The next chapter will present these three main themes as findings from the implementation of this research design.

Chapter 4 Findings

This chapter presents the research findings gathered through the analysis of the collected data. Following a commonly used structure in presenting empirical-based research (Phillips and Pugh, 2010), the findings and discussion chapters are separate. Given the substantial overlapping of the themes as mentioned in the previous chapter, the headings for this chapter will follow the final superordinate themes and codes outlined in table 4.3. The same headings will then be repeated within chapter 5 (Discussion) to allow for a more in-depth analysis of the findings. Within this chapter, there will be some references to the wider research literature to support the clarification and interpretation of the data. Further detailed links relating to existing research literature will be covered in Chapter 5 (Discussion).

4.1 Theme 1: Intersectionality and promotions – The role of relationships on career movement

> 'A relationship exists to the extent that two people exert strong, frequent and diverse effects on one another over an extended period of time' (Jackson-Dwyer, 2014: 1).

The definition of relationships by Jackson-Dwyer (2014) highlights an important finding within my data, the intersection of social categories with regards to promotional opportunities. Relationships emerged as a dominant factor due to the interviewees' emphasis and prominence that they play in the day-to-day life

of teachers (Gersick et al, 2000). Two distinct kinds of relationships were identified by the interviewees, internal relationships which covered both professional and personal relations and external relationships which covered relations with the local and wider school communities. Despite all falling under the umbrella of relationships, a hierarchy of importance emerged, with professional relations, considered the most vital for career advancement followed by relations in the community and finally personal relations. The structure of section 4.1 reflects this hierarchy.

Professional relationships, while never directly referenced as, were closely linked with collegiality (Hatfield, 2006) and collaborative teamwork (Jarzabkowski, 2002) helping to build positive peer groups. Personal relationships, or referred to as cliques (Kilduff and Tsai, 2008) by the interviewees, were conversely presented as opposing this collegial ideal, damaging potential promotional opportunities. Community relationships, which referenced the different types of families and or belief systems that could exist within a local area, were also closely linked to professional relations. Different from internal relations, community relations were identified as being driven by perceived sociocultural views and beliefs stemming from popular media discourses, as opposed to uniform teaching expectations and standards.

4.1.1 Interpersonal professional relations

'Organizations may be considered webs or systems of relationships' (Feeley et al, 2008: 56).

One of the starter questions asked during the interviews, 'who would most likely be on the receiving end of promotion and why?' brought about an established and embedded mindset around collegiality (Austin et al, 2007) on the professional dimension of being a teacher. Throughout the findings, there was a constant referral to the 'right person for the job' as the foundation for the building of professional relations amongst the interviewees. Between class teachers, importance was placed on the relevant "abilities, traits, skills" (Jayden) an individual had, as well as the "experience and who is best for the job" (Quinn). For senior leaders, professional relations focused on the creation of "an effective team" or "where someone might be used" (Dakota). The idea of the 'right person for the job' mirrors Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) overarching concept of 'professional capital', whereby an individual is required to bring specialised aptitudes and skills, 'human capital'; and then integrate them as part of a team, 'social capital' within the workforce.

However, this finding is taken with some caution, I questioned early on in the design process the likelihood of practitioners admitting to being on the receiving end of preferential treatment based on gender? It was not surprising then to initially hear the interviewees reject gender as having an impact on the building of professional relations, with Cameron (TA) stating that "gender has little to do with promotions". Quinn (EYFS teacher) too shared this belief,

> "Irrelevant of their gender it comes down to their ability. We have subject leads who is male and rightly so because they are the most experienced in that subject. I don't feel like its gender-biased."

Repeatedly, there was a continual restatement on the professional aspect of promotion and career advancement from the interviewees, suggesting a clear central shared narrative focussed around collegiality in teaching. The idea of a gender-neutral approach to promotions through the accumulation of capital, assumes an equal chance to gain professional capital irrespective of gender, as Morgan (Head teacher) pointed out "every teacher has a chance to be promoted". Gender cannot be entirely dismissed as this finding is in direct conflict with the disproportionate number of males in leadership roles within primary schools (Department for Education, 2017). This implies the occurrence of 'everyday sexism', such an invisible discourse demonstrates the gender essentialist views held by the participants. This, in turn, could imply a form of *'gender blindness'* (Hogan, 2012) within educational workforce teams, who either are not conscious of or choosing to ignore gendered issues. This was seen with the male interviewees who continually clarified that they received career opportunities because of 'legitimate' reasons, not their gender "I've been given opportunities based on my experience and my skill set. I've not been promoted because I'm a man" (Jayden – Class teacher). For the most part, the female participants shared this perspective, linking promotion to ability and being the most experienced. However, female participants did indicate that gender may be considered when concerning men and promotion; this will be covered further within the remainder of this section.

Initially, there was an unwillingness to move away from the central idea of the 'right person gets the job'. When asked what constitutes as the right person and how such a decision is made, interviewees in SLT positions talked more at

138

length about the skills that individuals can bring to the school. Morgan (head teacher) stated, "actually, there are different people equipped for different roles in their own way; it's trying to capitalize on the strengths you have in the school". This was further emphasized by the other Head teacher Reese who stated,

> "The best person ends up getting the job… There are certain people who could move on with little impact, others they would fundamentally shake the structure of the school."

Interestingly it is implied here that some teachers are deemed more valuable than others contrasting the narrative around collaborative workplaces as not everyone is viewed equally. The qualifier that some individuals could move on with little impact indicates not only that their skills and experience may not be valued as much as others, with Alex (SLT and class teacher) pointing to the "criteria the school is looking for when shortlisting" as being a key factor. To demonstrate this point further Reese (Head teacher) hypothesised that losing a member of his senior team, who held a prominent position in the school, would mean "re-training someone else, or several others, to fill the gap in the staff". Furthering this, the participants suggested that professional relations and the formation of collegial teams can be quite exclusive as Kelly (Class teacher) argues "if you are prepared to dance to a tune, then you will do well in your career". If the team dynamic and compatibility of individuals work, then professional relationships can be forged. This idea of a 'shared vision', and 'dancing to the same tune' was repeated amongst the other interviewees, Alex (SLT and Class teacher) pointed out you need to 'get on well with the senior management... work along with them then from there, you will seek that promotion". This was confirmed through the interviewee's experiences, with

those in managerial positions, stating that they had got there due to good, healthy professional relationships with others in management. Harper (SLT and Class teacher) for example explained that when she came into the team, she "fit the dynamic". For Chris this was about being recognised by those in senior positions "It's seen by your superiors; others who just shut up and get on with it sometimes it's not seen" (Chris – TA). These findings establish that, in part, the creation of professional relations requires an element of '*visibility*' amongst those in the senior leadership team, a crucial aspect in building up one's capital with your peers and leading to promotional advantages.

To understand how professional capital works in practice, the participants provided several intersecting factors: the role of families, age, length of service and likeability, which were closely associated with influencing career progression and promotion. The role of families was brought up establishing the existence of gendered discourses within teaching affecting career opportunities. Despite demonstrating adherences and acceptance of gender binary beliefs (Dvorsky and Hughes, 2008) concerning women in the workplace and family commitments (further detail provided in section 4.3), the participants demonstrated how good personal relations with the head teacher can circumvent stereotypes of having a family,

> "I know of a female member of staff that has been allowed to leave every day 10 minutes before the end of school finishes to go and pick up their child." (Frankie – Class teacher)

While not an advantage in terms of career progression, this example clearly shows benefits for the individual and their situation. Professional capital is,

therefore, accessible to both male and female practitioners, revaluating what is meant by advantage or benefit. Further illustrations were provided concerning career progression intersecting with the role of families. Jordan (Class teacher) brought up an interesting example of a teacher who upon returning from maternity leave, gained a promotion,

> "the head used to be deputy she is now the principal that happened over the period of being out for about 5 years having children. Another teacher used to be a regular teacher in year 1, now head of key stage 1 and SENCO (Special Educational Needs Co-Ordinator), she came back into the role from maternity leave."

Such promotions, post-maternity leave, do seem to break the mould of the perceived idea that for women, having a family impacts upon their career progression (Beauregard, 2007). However, in these examples, the individuals were returning a team dynamic which they were familiar with and once a part of. This does suggest though that promotional issues can be offset if professional relations are strengthened before a career break.

An interesting finding emerged when discussing the age and length of service of a practitioner having an impact on the accumulation of professional capital. Remarkably, when discussing age, there was a consensus amongst teaching staff interviewees that 'the younger the teacher is', the easier it is to establish professional relations. This is a departure from the idea that wisdom and expertise cultivated over many years is favoured (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). Dana (HLTA) argued that "schools are less reluctant to employ teachers at that age [50 years and above] as a classroom teacher" providing

an example of her 50-year-old husband, who she believes does not receive as many interviews as he did when he was younger. Several of the interviewees also speculated that this was a trend affecting all roles within schools,

"Head teachers are getting younger and younger as well which is having an impact, a positive impact as time goes on, our head is 39/40, where the head of my old school is only just turning 37, heads are getting younger they aren't 50/60 anymore, even when they are, if they are good at their job they move with the times." (Kelly – Class teacher)

There was a distinct implication from the participants comments here that there exists some 'ageism' within educational settings, whereby 'prejudice is aimed at someone based on hi/s her age' (Nelson, 2016: 276). Despite some participants stating that "as you get older, the less adaptable you come to change and the less you want it" (Chris – TA), there was no indication that age discrimination was practiced in my sample schools.

The above findings relating to the age of teachers imply the existence of 'ageist' discourses in teaching, signifying an upholding of assumptions and stereotypes about what older people can and cannot do. According to Butler (1980) like racism and sexism, ageism is institutionalised affecting hiring decisions and social policies (Wilks and Neto, 2013). Despite this, Cuddy and Fiske (2002, 3) point out that 'ageism' is often forgotten about as unlike other social categories 'old age is one that most of us eventually join'. This collective thinking is reflected in the wider literature, as elderly people rate as incompetent concerning other stereotyped groups (Fiske et al, 1999; Kane, 2006; John, 2013; North and Fiske, 2013). Nelson (2002, 11) relates this to desirability

ratings, which are 'negatively correlated with both onset and closing ages, indicating that traits believed common to younger populations are more desirable'. As well as this, the findings of '*ageism*' appear to originate from a financial standpoint, Morgan (Head teacher) suggest that school leaders are more often than not "looking for the cheaper option". Younger teachers are synonymous with being the less expensive option, as highlighted in the teaching pay scales (Appendix 1). But does cheaper necessarily equate to a better teacher? It would appear that like other intersecting factors, the skillset, abilities and backgrounds of each practitioner is taken into consideration. To dismiss the association of cheaper teachers with younger teachers, Kelly provided an example of a teacher who was promoted in his 40s,

> "He'd run his own business, so he was able to articulate and was
> confident. Brought other skills from the previous career. Age didn't have
> an impact on that".

In this example, the cheaper option equates to the best option, as the individual brought other areas of expertise and connections with him. The need to have staff with current, relatable knowledge and a wide variety of skills is paramount to the success of the school within an everchanging system. There was an indication that a younger teaching workforce could help such collaboration, as the closeness in age and length of service would foster a "more relatable" (Lou – Class teacher) collegial workforce. However, likewise the same could be said about an older workforce bringing in a wealth of experience and strong professional bonds established over the years. This has consequences for the current 'recruitment and retention crisis' (Foster, 2018) threatening the British educational system having the potential to exclude a large proportion of

individuals from opting for teaching as a career. Further discussion and findings related to ageist comments uncovered throughout the interviews will be presented later in this chapter, and in chapter 5 (Discussion).

To further emphasise the importance of professional capital and potential promotions and career movement, Jordon (Class teacher), provided an in-depth depiction of his NQT (Newly Qualified Teacher) year at his school,

> "I was really struggling in the first 5-6 months… Everyone was having a go at me I couldn't talk to anyone else because I thought they all thought I was a bad person/ teacher."

For Jordon, his perception of his image within the workforce inhibited in the creation, building and maintaining of his professional relationships. This indicates that within a collaborative and collegial workforce, an individual's image is dependent on peer relations and being liked as Jordon pointed out: "yes, you can be outstanding as a teacher in the eyes of Ofsted, but if you aren't *liked* [within the school] then it doesn't matter". For clarification, Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) judge an outstanding teacher purely against the following criteria, 'quality of education, behaviour and attitudes, personal development leadership and management' (Ofsted, 2019; 8-9). This signifies that potentially a schools' criteria for employment and promotion does not just include the official guidelines. Career movement is not, therefore, solely based on having the right skills and meeting the teaching standards but includes "being liked by the right people" (Frankie – Class teacher). This was supported by Kayden (HLTA) who provided an anecdote about his experience of a new head teacher arriving in his previous school,

"I got the impression that he wanted a certain type of teacher, had to fit into that ideal picture. I didn't fit his idea".

It is hard to ignore the underlying tones of unprofessional practices here with how professional capital is distributed and accessed. Consequently, being 'disliked' by those in managerial positions could affect your career opportunities, therefore, "[maintaining] a positive relationship with your boss is crucial" (Reese - Head teacher). Reese further suggested that "If the boss doesn't like you, getting back into their good books is the hardest thing in the world" indicating that being at odds with the senior leadership team affects your professional relations thus your chances to advance your career. Alex (SLT and Class teacher) also identified this, pointing out that one of the main barriers in moving within an organisation is "a fall out between you and a senior leader". This further implies that professional relations are not rigid but flexible with career advancements directly linked to being on good terms with those in management positions. However, the interviewees all agreed that this is done to create and preserve harmonious collegial workforces. When asked about this issue, Kaden (HLTA) agreed that this approach is often necessary,

"You wouldn't get a, 'someone who no-one likes in the school', being in the senior position teachers and staff don't like them so won't listen to them."

The collaboration between staff and senior leaders was continually emphasised as being a vital and important part of the daily running of schools. Despite the discussion on such practices, there was little indication in the findings to suggest that senior leaders were doing anything unprofessional, just trying to create the best team for the benefit of the school.

The findings demonstrate that the creation of professional bonds amongst staff is highly dependent on if you are deemed the 'right person for the job', moreover, there is an indication that you must be bringing something desirable to the role to progress. However, there was an inability from the interviewees to identify a standardised feature of the 'right person'. With a focus on collegial workforces and collaborative teams, there was a tendency for interviewees to continually use the term 'professional' when describing the ideal teacher. The issue here is that this term is both vague and broad, resulting in a highly subjective and contextualised interpretation from each setting on the type of teacher they desire. While each school does have a mission statement incorporating generic job descriptions with some specific or specialised requirements for vacant positions, meeting such thresholds does not equate to being compatible with the rest of the team. Interestingly given this, from the findings, it can be inferred the accumulation of professional capital often acts as a precursor to gaining promotions, heightening the visibility of teachers so that they can be seen by those in management. Equally, failing to meet the 'requirements' or gain enough professional capital could alienate an individual further away from the collegial team dynamic, this will be explored further in both section 4.2 and 4.3 in this chapter.

4.1.2 Relations in the local community

> 'Community is a 'circus', even though [members] face danger, financial insecurity, and peculiar relationships… [they] work as a family accepting and supporting one another' (Merz and Furman, 1997: 2).

As part of the discussion on professional relationships, the interviewees also talked about the role relationships with the local community play in gaining capital. While the role of gender within local communities was discussed, it was reiterated that this was influenced by the needs of the local community not based on internal decision making. Coverage in this section will further examine the role of gender concerning the 'right person for the job', exploring findings around male role models in communities with relation to single-parent families as well as shared religious and ethnic backgrounds.

4.1.2.1 Perceptions about male role models

As part of the discussion around desirable skills and aptitudes mentioned in the previous section, the interviewees pointed out the importance of 'male role models' in generating strong connections with local communities. While not an unexpected finding, this does contradict the earlier dismissal of gender in favour of collegiality and professional relationships in shaping career opportunities. Once again, an invisible discourse of 'everyday sexism' was present amongst the interviewees. When discussing role models, gender was identified as a defining factor by those in teaching roles and senior leadership positions,

- "If there has been a family breakdown, children usually are with mum, so they lack that male role model in their lives. It may benefit such children to have that male role model." (Val – Class teacher)

- "Keep an eye on the male applications coming through, because of the value of males as role models for kids whose dads, maybe there and be horrible or not there at all", adding further "When I think as well with so few males, when I lose a male, I want to replace them, male role models can't be underestimated for those with broken families." (Reese - Head teacher)

This comment by Reese insinuates the perceived importance placed on maintaining positive community relations is influenced by gendered assumptions around the traditional values of the nuclear family. The roles that mothers and fathers have in the home is reflected within educational settings. It is important to point out that the findings of the 'perceived' views expressed are reflective of the participants' perceptions and not necessarily a reflection of these communities, given that the local communities were not part of the sample. Upholding such views, however, implies the intentional use of 'recuperative masculinity practices' (Martino and Kehler, 2006) within schools to bring in more male practitioners. It can be argued that not all men are considered as potential role models despite a lack of numerical representation in primary schools, being a male does not automatically result in advantages (further discussion will be provided in section 4.3). As a consequence of this perception, managerial teams are consciously using gender as a legitimate means to seek out males to assume role model positions. Harper (SLT and Class teacher) argued that gender is considered in her school for several reasons, most notably,

> "In this school, children react better to male teachers rather than female, as they get older. It shouldn't matter but I feel here in this school with these children it does matter, they seem to respect men a lot more and they will listen, bigger impact upon their behaviour."

It is inferred that an adherence to gender binary beliefs by those in managerial staff, attributing 'father figure' masculine traits with male teachers, are done for the benefit of the local communities. Both Reese (Head teacher) and Morgan (Head teacher) were adamant to point out again, however, that gender is not used as an initial entry requirement. Rather gender is a "final ticking of the box" inferring the use of 'positive action' (this will be covered in more detail within section 4.2, theme 2 later in this chapter).

In spite of the initial dismissal of gender as a factor in their career profession, some of the male interviewees reflected on their own employment history,

> "Looking back maybe it was a key thing, the fact that we [another male teacher] were sporty, good role models for the area that we are in. Positive role male role models are in short supply." (Shane – Class teacher)

This does somewhat contradict the narrative upheld throughout the discussion on promotions and recruitment with gender not being a factor. Such a contradiction can be argued as occurring due to the differing dynamics of both focus groups and individual interviews and methodological approach of my research. Despite this, it is suggested that regardless of an obvious collective move towards a gender-neutral approach to employment and the construction of teaching workforces, there is still an adherence to the gender binary.

Therefore, is collegiality and a gender-neutral approach masking a façade of schools adhering to gendered beliefs? Throughout the findings, several of the teaching staff interviewees held the perception that men are advantaged regardless of their ability in certain areas (often referring to both inner city and lower social economic communities). Taylor (Class teacher) gave the following example,

> "I had 1 male student who I failed here [as a student] but then he went to his last one and passed it and got a job straight away down in London because they are crying out for males down in London."

Some underlying assumptions upholding the participants' belief is identified here, mainly that certain geographical locations hold additional advantages for male teachers. While Shawn (Class teacher) commented that gender is not solely a factor, "I don't think they [management] employ people just because of the area they are in; I think it depends on what they can bring", a majority of the participants agreed that location was a key intersecting factor in male advantages. This was an intriguing finding, and when asked further about this, Taylor (Class teacher) clarified that inner-city schools suffer from more "[kids who have] behavioural issues" as well more "single-parent families who don't have a father figure at home". Despite many of the male participants agreeing with this assumption when questioned, none had the first-hand experience to verify this occurred. The schools in my findings appeared to be caught between adhering to gender binary beliefs and attempting to assume a gender-neutral approach to employment through gender flexible practices. This may indicate a culture within schools where gendered assumptions are shared collectively but never challenged openly.

Once again, the participants assumptions and pre-conceived ideas play a role in their thoughts and beliefs. The male teacher in the example provided by Taylor (Class teacher) proceeded to secure a job quickly due to his gender and needs of the community he was in. Taken together with previous comments made about 'the right person for the job', the findings suggest that certain areas and schools may be more concerned about filling a position with a male to strengthen community ties by providing role models as male father figure endorsing the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell, 1996). Conversely, four of those interviewed suggested that females could also benefit from community relations and this idea of being a role model. Discussing the idea of females in the lower end of school Dana (HLTA) said,

> "Some kids might not have had that motherly figure to show them how to do things, that's why a female at an early age is very important, more maternal instinct, yes."

The child's background as discussed above is attached to the school's local community; gender can be viewed as forming the basis for the building of relationships with the community. Once again, there is the suggestion that each school, and subsequent community, must be taken into its context, "different schools, different children, different areas" (Kelly), with its own unique needs and desires.

4.1.2.2 Religious ties

To further emphasise the influence of community relations on career opportunities the interviewees identified another intersecting factor alongside gender, an individual's ethnicity or religious beliefs. In the context of the four schools, outlined in figure 3.1 in Chapter 3 (Methodology), two were in communities with a predominantly British Muslim population. Critically here, the intersecting of gender and religious background played a vital role in the raising of certain teachers social capital. Interviewees in teaching positions hinted at the reason why this occurs,

> "You often find that some children are aware of what 'dad might think' in their culture. A lot of the children, for instance, the boys are very much seen as the prince of the family can't do anything wrong, so you have to battle against that whereas the girls, not seen as to progress very well or favoured. Lots of different cultures." (Pat - EYFS teacher)

This comment was repeated by Chris (TA) from another of the sample schools,

> "But I think in a context of our school, our boys, pampered little princes, don't perceive their mothers as strong figures, male role models can be a real boom." (Chris – TA)

There is recognisable importance placed on a male teacher's gender here emulating that of the father at home. Interestingly, both Pat and Chris used the word 'prince' to describe the boys in these communities. The perceived need for strong male role models who can assume the part of the disciplinarian perpetuates the gender binary, doing little to dispel gendered assumptions. Such a finding was not entirely unexpected, Warin and Adriany (2015) argue

that religion exerts a powerful reinforcement on 'traditional' gendered divisions of labour. Emphasis is placed on the 'essential' differing characteristics of men and women based on their biology, encouraging faithfulness to men's and women's 'true' natures (Yulindrasari, 2006).

Some of the senior leader interviewees hinted that this adherence to the gender binary is a direct consequence of the local communities themselves,

> "There are certain teachers in the school where if you want the child to take note that you are angry at them you would send them to a particular teacher, who for most children in this school it is the one Muslim male teacher who they respect more." (Harper - SLT and Class teacher)

Interestingly here, schools are seen to adhere to gender binary views as a way to appease and strengthen the surrounding local communities. For the teaching staff interviewees, this was heavily linked with the desire for male role models as it was suggested that there is a tendency for males to benefit from community relations compared to their female peers. Frankie (Class teacher) pointed out that "predominantly Muslim families around here, they see women as slightly less important than men, so if it's a woman telling them off, not as effective as a man". This indicates that schools seek to employ individuals who have similar backgrounds in either ethnicity or religion to create relationships and links with the surrounding local communities.   Gender while seen as an important factor here, is not considered in isolation, but rather part of a wider intersecting web,

"I've heard head teachers would prefer to hire a male teacher to fill gaps

in their staff; in the same way, you would fill gaps to diversify your staff;

it could be race, thoughts/ beliefs anything." (Kaden – HLTA)

While having diversity within the workforce was deemed important by those in

management, this was presented as being achieved through a legitimate and

legal process. For Reese and Morgan, gender becomes a secondary factor to

the more pressing issue of role models with Reese arguing "but the same about

those female role models in a place like this, I'd want to replace the strong

female Muslim teacher with another". Interestingly, the word 'strong' is a

subjective term often used alongside gender and particularly concerning men

(Eagly and Sczesny, 2009). There is little indication to what constitutes as

'strong' or what this should for practitioners' behaviour. Reese's use of the term

appears to be used as a blanket term for the needs of the schools. It appears

difficult to separate gender as a factor in determining who is considered suitable

to have links with the local community.

It is important to establish here that having links and connections with the local

community does not involve teachers living in the school community. All the

participants cited that distance between their workplaces and personal life was

important, with Kelly (Class teacher) seeing it as a way of "maintaining a

balance between work and home". Community relations in practice took the

form of a community engagement officers. School A had one of the male

teachers assuming this role who shared the same ethnicity and religious belief

as a majority of the local community but *did not* live within the local community.

He was referred to as a '*spokesperson*' in the community for the school by the

other participants in School A, engaging in outreach programmes aimed at strengthening the relationships between the school and community. One such initiative that came out of this 'collaboration' was the school allowing an authorised absence to those children who wished to celebrate Eid (a religious holiday celebrated by Muslims), a holiday which does not fall under the British school holiday system. While this individual was not identified as having been given any specialised treatment, a description of the number of times he was given release time to fulfil his role showed that the school valued him and what he did. Such a finding supports the work of Warin and Adriany (2015), who argue that Islamic religious discourse is pervasively associated with biological essentialist arguments found embedded deeply in school's practices. Adriany (2013) found, in her study of Muslim Indonesian ECEC settings, that religion and politics exert a powerful influence in maintaining essentialist binary construction of men and women, masculinity and femininity. A clear interdependence between biological and religious essentialism can be drawn from my findings mirroring both Adriany's (2013) and Warin and Adriany's (2015) conclusions.

Overall, given these findings, it can be inferred that those teachers who can establish and maintain links with the local community for the school can gain considerable professional capital within the workforce. While this could apply to both male and female teachers, it was implied that males are the principal benefactors of such relations often due to cultural gender binary views around males and masculinity. These findings around religious essentialist views also highlight the importance of intersectionality once more, it is how these different

155

factors interact which results in who and how individuals gain an advantage. The most important aspect to come out of this section is related to the male role model, the perceived need of the school to have those community relationships places male teachers in a position for possible promotional opportunities. It is the intersecting of shared cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds can be identified as being of more significance, not just the sole focus of gender alone.

4.1.3 Interpersonal personal relations

'As we grow up, other relationships become important: we make friends, we go to work, we have romantic liaisons—all of these everyday life events involve interpersonal interactions which greatly influence the quality of our lives' (Dwyer, 2000: 8).

The final aspect of relationships presented in the findings centred around the influence of personal relations. Unlike professional and community relations, personal connections were positioned as harming your promotional opportunities. While oppositional to professional relations, maintaining personal ties with other teachers was not prohibited. There was a stark distinction made by all the participants that keeping 'friendly' relations with peers was different to having more intimate friendships and relations amongst teachers, which Shawn (Class teacher) described as bonds that "go beyond the job". Interestingly, there was a clear gender divide associated with these two types of personal relations with the day-to-day 'friendly' relations associated with men and the more intimate relations associated with female teachers.

Within the following section, the focus will be given to the findings around personal ties covering favouritism, cliques and the role of these intimate friendships on promotion and career opportunities, within this, there will also be comparisons to professional relations and how they differ.

4.1.3.1 Favouritism and the 'golden circle'

Early on in this section when discussing professional relations, it was implied that there exists a certain amount of favouritism within the inner workings of groups, specifically management teams. Those interviewees in management positions insisted that favouritism based on either gender, intimate friendships or a combination of both is not prevalent, as Harper (SLT and Class teacher) argued "you would see it clearly and would be found out even quicker if that was the case". Despite this, the general view from the teaching staff interviewees differed, Jordon (Class teacher) explicitly stated that "can tell who the favoured ones are, and who isn't". For Shane (Class teacher), those on the receiving end of favouritism is dependent on "whose ass you kiss, [who you hang around with] very much your personal relationships". While closely linked to the idea of collegiality; the involvement of intimate relationships takes away the collaborative desire for the benefit of the school to more personal gains. Six teaching staff interviewees talked at length about the implications of favouritism,

> "It's whether you are in the little golden circle or if you are not. If you aren't you are treated differently, and your opinions are not valued as much… But only from the golden circle if you aren't in that circle doesn't matter who you are you aren't getting that promotion." (Dana – HLTA)

The discussion on favouritism along with the analogy of the '*golden circle*' was surprisingly identified by all the interviewees in School A as well as two interviewees from School C (Kelly – Class teacher and Pat – EYFS teacher). They discussed the need for "personal closeness with somebody in a managerial position" to gain promotions, as professional relations alone are not enough. This closeness, while identified as favouritism by teaching staff, was for those in management, an extension of building an effective and cohesive team "you want to be surrounded by people you work well with going to get the most out of" (Dakota – SLT and Class teacher). This was an interesting finding as it emphasises a potential misinterpretation by teaching staff practitioners on the reasoning behind employment and promotional decisions by senior leaders. This also raises questions around the idea of diversity in teams which will be deliberated in further detail in chapter 5 (Discussion) section 5.2.

Intriguingly, despite this potential misinterpretation, the interviewees expressed their perceptions on how personal, close relations to managerial staff can differ between male and female teachers. For male teachers, the overall belief was centred on promotional advantages,

> "There was a male teacher, risen from a class teacher within about 3 years became deputy head, and since moved to a headship in another school. He's worked in very close partnership with that head teacher to get to where he is now. His career has flourished because of that close relationship with the head teacher." (Jordan – Class teacher)

Such close relationships between teachers and management can be attributed to the previously mentioned ideals around role models, or two individuals

striking a collaborative and collegial professional relationship. In discussing the creation of collegial teams, interviewees in senior positions stressed the importance of having an effective working environment,

> "The relationship between senior staff here works really well, it's built up as time has gone on. They have their trusted team and they move together, that just shows that rapport is needed and that trust between each other, knowing how to challenge as well." (Harper - SLT)

Once again, the importance of the team dynamic is present and something that schools strive for but can create '*professional cliques'* which are hard to break into. Interestingly a concept arose stipulating the capacity for collaboration lies with opposite gendered teams. First brought up in the female focus group in school A, they recalled that during their collective experiences, the head and deputy head roles were formed of opposite genders,

> "I think from my experience that when there is a male in the leadership, whether that be head teacher or principal, there is a female deputy."
> (Frankie – Class Teacher)

The reverse was also seen in another school, 'The other 2 male teachers had been there since it opened in 2010, and she [head teacher] had set up her ideal staff' (Jordan – Class teacher), however, Cameron (TA) argued that this could simply be down to "human nature". This uncovers an interesting concept relating to section 4.1.2, that the establishment of gender-matched senior leadership teams could demonstrate a heteronormative assumption based around family, and the need for mother and father roles (Chevrette, 2013). The implication of this would be that collegiality and collaboration between teachers are not simply based on a team made up of individuals whose skills and

aptitudes complement one another, but the blending of both genders. Alex (SLT and Class teacher) suggested that this occurred for another reason,

"Nowadays especially you have to think carefully how you deal with your member of staff all about being/ showing you are being equal and fair."

The comment from Alex and something the participants hinted at, implies that there is an attempt by management teams to be unbiased and not show favouritism by consciously not surrounding themselves with those of the same gender. This suggests that within senior leadership teams there is an awareness of potential gendered discourses which could disrupt the balance of a collegial workforce.

In these instances, the gender of the teacher concerning both their professional and personal relations have a positive and direct impact on their promotional aspirations. The male interviewees pointed out that while advantages may be gained from such close ties, they also make you highly visible amongst the staff. Jordon (Class teacher) demonstrated this visibility by identifying the male teacher in his school by stating "everyone knows that he [another male teacher] is the golden boy in this school, gets all the jobs and opportunities". Further discussion and findings on 'heightened visibility' will be explored in more detail in section 4.3. It is hard to ignore the depiction of men who have a close relationship with management teams as the *'golden boys'* here. Interestingly, there was no similar description for female teachers, instead, personal relations were associated more with close intimate private friendships. Shane (Class teacher) provided an example where the existing intimate personal relationship

between one of his female co-workers and the senior leadership team (they were known to socialise outside of work) affected the team dynamic,

> "I did work with one female member of staff we were team teaching; this particular person would run upstairs and tell them what hadn't been done and I would get all the blame."

In Shane's example, there is a clear sense of favouritism occurring as a direct result of the individual's personal relations with those in management positions. However, this also suggests the use of unprofessional behaviours by those in management positions. Shane did state that this appeared to be a "unique situation" given that the personal relationships had been established before all those involved had become teachers. For the remaining interviewees, the implementation of personal intimate relationships was considered negative and something which many wished to try and avoid, this will be covered in more detail in the next section.

Cliques and relations beyond the job

The role of cliques was cited by interviewees as impacting potential promotions when enquiring about the role of favouritism as a product of personal relations. Once again, the majority of the discussion was centred around female teachers, implying the existence of gendered stereotypes. Kaden (HLTA) stated his experience of cliques is predominantly associated with female teachers: "there are [friendship] circles in these schools, circles in every school I've been in, they are close and always female". When it comes to personal ties and cliques, there appears to be a division and mindset of 'them and us' between male and female teachers. However, unlike the 'golden circle' mentioned previously,

school cliques are synonymous with having negative impacts on your chances of career advancement "if the clique does something wrong then they are labelled for it, aren't they? But as long as an independent stay out of it and strive forward" (Kaden). There was a sense amongst the interviewees that being part of a clique can mar both established professional and personal relations, thus affecting opportunities for advancement and promotions. Despite cliques and close friendship group being associated with female teachers, most of the female interviewees pointed out that they tried to avoid such relations: "I stay out of the cliques and friendship groups they are very 'bitchy' and give you a bad name" (Jaime – Class teacher). Even with attempts to avoid such groups, the female interviewees expressed that it is difficult to remove themselves from the cliques given their numerical majority: "most of the staff are female, you end up becoming part of one group or another" (Val – Class teacher).

In discussing friendship groups, the male participants suggested there exists a collegial like nature to female cliques consisting of a sub-culture. Jordon (Class teacher) provided his personal experience where he shared a class with a female colleague who was part of the "female clique that existed with management",

> "I was (felt) more under the microscope, while her [female colleague] shortcomings were being ignored. She was friends with the head teacher outside of school."

The female colleague Jordon referred to was best friends with the female head teacher and deputy head teacher, it was for this reason that Jordon felt that his side of the story was never listened to. Surfacing from this example, having a

personal friendship with the senior leadership team can potentially ostracise other members of the workforce. Furthermore, while advantages may be gained here, they are not exclusive to just male practitioners. Interestingly, the male participants cited personal friendships groups as being a barrier in their day-to-day life as a teacher: "being in a minority is really hard, it's very difficult to make friendships with a group of friends already, push your way into the group" (Kaden - HLTA). Shawn (class teacher) pointed out that the relationships between female colleagues differ than between male colleagues "female teachers they are very close-knit groups of friends, the men aren't really involved in that.". Yet despite this apparent exclusion from personal friendship groups, the male interviewees viewed this as a positive, associating this the reason for males more successfully accumulating professional capital,

> "they [management] aren't happy with gossip and such… because you aren't part of the cliques you can progress easier if you don't have a close relationship with others than it's much easier to be above them [higher in the schools management hierarchy] and give instructions or discipline them you don't have to worry about friendships getting in the way." (Shawn – Class teacher)

While the male interviewees did feel that personal relations could have some benefits, such as providing you with "someone to talk to about any worries" (Kaden – HLTA), overwhelmingly, the male participants identified friendship groups as a non-vital pursuit within their teaching career. Shawn (Class teacher) concluded that female teachers "don't just work in a school it is part of their social life as well, part of their identity. We will go home after this; we work here we don't live here". This reflects the previous comments seen within

section 4.1.2, with the distancing of personal and professional spheres. An interesting dynamic to arise from these comments is the existence of a parallel idea of collectivism, differing from that of the collaborative collegial idea presented previously. Additional coverage on male minority status and outcomes will be covered in section 4.3.1.

4.1.4 Review of Theme 1: Intersectionality and promotions – The role of relationships on career movement

Throughout the findings within theme 1, there is a distinct presence of intersectionality demonstrating the complexities around the factors that influence the promotion of practitioners. Practitioners placed professional relations and collegiality as the main factor in promoting individuals, intersecting with factors such as being a good teacher and having the right skill set. The narrative of collaboration and collegiality indicates a gender-neutral approach to promoting staff, however, gender was never entirely dismissed by the participants. A clear distinction on gendered assumptions arose with males linked with gaining professional relations and females were linked with pursuing personal friendships groups, as Kaden explained "men stay out of the politics and gossip [cliques]… definitely seen as a positive by the management". Such findings suggest that for males the focus is squarely on collecting professional capital, in pursuit of career progression, implying the existence of the 'glass handcuffs' (Blithe, 2015) for men. Therefore, suggesting that certain types of relationships within the workforce were interpreted as being a potential barrier to career progression. One clear finding from personal relations is the lack of

peer support and friendship group that men participate in. While identified as a positive for these males, given the freedom to pursue professional relations further, there is a distinct impression that this also led to isolation and notions of loneliness, this will be covered in further detail both within section 4.3 and section and 5.3.

Practitioners cited the perception around the role that local communities have on maintaining gender as a key factor in promotional prospects within primary schools. Central to this is the continual adherence to gender binary beliefs on the positing of males as role models to tackle boys' disadvantages. The important distinction here is that this is upheld because of participants perceived image of sociocultural values and assumptions over what is needed within schools. This leads to a contradictory position of practitioners, both aiming for a collegial workforce while utilising gendered discourses to promote men into certain positions within schools. Yet gender is not the only considered factor in this argument, several other intersecting factors including, race/ethnicity, religion, age, years of service and favouritism are heavily used in conjunction with wider gendered assumptions and social narratives and brought into practice in the schools. The implications here are that generalisations are made due to their connection with dominant stereotypes leading to dangerous oversimplifications towards the roles that not only gender, but other factors can/ might play within primary schools. However, gender does not appear to be a singular factor, as it is always presented as part of a bigger intersecting web of considerations.

4.2 Theme 2: The role of positive discrimination and anti-discrimination practices on promotions; finding a middle ground.

This theme is used to describe all the codes that showed the findings on the inner-workings of career advancement and employment practices within schools derived from the importance of intersectionality in promotional opportunities. Given the findings of theme 1 and the consistency from interviewees around the concept of collegiality, it was surprising to uncover a division between the teaching staff interviewees and managerial staff interviewees on the understanding of how promotions are received in schools. This division indicates the lack of a distinct, coherent and shared understanding around the inner workings of promotions and career movements diminishing the idea of collegial workforces. An important point in which all the interviewees agreed on was that promotional opportunities were highly visible and rigid within primary schools, as expressed within the male focus group of School A "the process is very closely managed, there wouldn't be an opportunity for it [unfair advantages]". Interviewees referenced the oversight of academy boards, governors and agencies like OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) who monitor recruitment and employment within schools. Section 4.1 presented guidance provided by OFSTED which allows for little deviation and autonomy for managers, therefore, supporting the interviewees' assumptions. Despite some shared views on promotion, the findings suggested that the main point of contention and conflict was around the role that gender plays on career progression.

For the five interviewees in management positions, for the most part promotions remain gender neutral claiming they are both "attainable" and "achievable" for everyone (Morgan and Reese – Head teachers). Reference is made to the use of a "scoring process" that Dakota (SLT and Class teacher) stated allows recruiters to make decisions based on the "best candidate" against a set of specific criterion provided by the school. Managerial interviewees pointed out that schools "aren't allowed to specify it [gender] in a job application" (Harper – SLT and Class teacher). However, in "limited circumstances" both Reese and Morgan argued that it may prove useful to use gender as a criterion "when I lose a male, I do want to replace them" (Reese) restating the desire to have role models for the local community. Reference to positive action practices; aimed at encouraging and supporting under-represented groups within the workplace (O'Cinneide, 2009), allows for gender to be used as a specific criterion for recruitment and promotional decisions,

> "If you had two candidates in front of you [one male, one female], it allows
> for a choice to be made."

While gender is used as an example in the context of this comment, Morgan (Head teacher) argued that any criterion can be utilised as long as schools can "back up the decision with a valid reason". This was also echoed by Reese (Head teacher) who pointed out that despite the apparent freedom of positive action, that continual oversight and monitoring is required keeping the "recruitment process in check and not biased".

Morgan (Head teacher) provided an example where he had implemented positive action for promotional purposes,

> "There was a position within the school for a reading lead position, there were two female candidates and one male candidate, all three had scored the same throughout the interview and observation. When deciding who should get the job, we discussed the importance of having a male in that position to enthuse boys about reading. The male candidate got the job in the end."

In the example provided by Morgan, gender is a deciding factor on who received the job, nevertheless, shown to only have been considered after the initial interview process had taken place and no clear candidate was obvious. Yet, there is the implication that an existing preconceived desire for a male teacher before recruitment was present with Morgan reaffirming the "importance of having a male in that position". While this does indicate again the potential of an invisible discourse centred around 'everyday sexism' occurring from the managerial interviewees, Morgan argued that too much focus is given to gender, therefore, taking away from other factors that can be considered,

> "from the equal rights and diversity, we are allowed to advertise, for example, a bilingual Punjabi speaker, but not a specific gender, therefore, you are actually favouring certain people."

Both Reese and Morgan stated that they had made employment decisions based on the candidate's ability to speak another language but did not have to employ positive action as it was "written into the job criteria list that they had to be bilingual". Here the use of preferential treatment to favour certain individuals, while unlawful under British law (Beirne and Wilson, 2016), can be seen as a legal grey area. An important finding to arise from the data is the

inclination to only see gender as just another characteristic (race, religion, belief or sexual orientation) and could indicate why management teams were initially so dismissive of gender as an invisible discourse, in favour of a more visible discourse concerned with equality.

The move to be more gender-neutral, as implied by the interviewees in managerial positions, was identified as being linked to a school's financial budget dictating "what kind of teacher they employ" (Shawn – Class teacher). This was expanded upon by Morgan (Head teacher),

> "So, there's a shortage of teachers, then they cut funding anyway, so you can't hire more teachers, instead of employing a male teacher (balance), you instead go for the cheaper option [newly qualified teacher]."

Here financial limitations change the how recruitment and promotion are viewed. This would align with the previously mentioned finding by managerial staff that promotions are gender-neutral, with the cheapest option being the main consideration, something most of the interviewees also picked up on,

> "Because of the budget cuts, a lot of schools are looking for the cheapest options to save money. So, if you're an NQT (Newly Qualified Teacher), in my opinion, you have more chance over an experienced teacher" (Shane).

Schools have legitimate and legal right to choose a male over a female or vice versa through using positive action, but a shift in focus towards the 'cheapest' teachers is now a driving factor in recruitment. Interestingly, despite choosing the 'cheapest' option also being a form of preferential treatment it was not

identified by any of the interviewees as being a problem. This indicates that a focus on factors such as gender are considered far more decisive further implying that gender is emphasised above other intersecting factors on promotions and employment.

On the other hand, and anticipated, in response to the question 'how and who is likely to receive a promotion?' the teaching staff interviewees positioned gender as a key central factor,

> "I think they [men] progress fast to the deputy role, key stage manager, internal progression; I've known a couple of males who after a couple of years of being an NQT, have got into leadership roles" (Dana - HLTA).

Such findings both directly opposes the previous findings presented by the teaching staff interviewees on collegiality and support the findings on local community relations as seen in theme 1. Here gender was positioned as a central factor in aiding promotions, specifically due to the numerical minority of male teachers: "A lot of the time the male has an advantage because there are less males, and they want males" (Quinn – EYFS teacher). For the most part, this was traced back to the discussions on male role models and the desire to have strong male figures in schools: "I've been in when they get a male applicant, and they are like finally a male teacher" (Lou – Class teacher). There were hints, however, from the teaching staff interviewees that male teachers are rapidly promoted because of this favouring "you [male] would get fast-tracked quickly as they seen to be hard to come by and sought after" (Pat – EYFS teacher). The wording of 'fast-tracking' implies the use of the illegal practice of positive discrimination and preferential treatment (Equality and

Human Rights Commission, 2010), benefitting members of a disadvantaged or under-represented group. This supports Reese and Morgan's previous statements about gender being the main focus of positive discrimination in schools.

Throughout the findings, it was indicated that teaching staff are aware that gender does play some part in career advancements, yet, unaware as to how it is considered. Remarkably here there seemed to be little awareness from teaching staff interviewees on the existence or use of positive action, indicating that their interpretations are derived from their perceptions of such practices, rather than a clear understanding of the system. The difference in viewpoint on male advantages stem from the understanding or lack thereof, of the availability of legitimate means to promote men. When positive action was explained to the interviewees, several stated, "I didn't know that existed" (Quinn – EYFS teacher); "I'm a little bit shocked about the positive action law" (Pat – EYFS teacher). For those teaching staff interviewees, the use of positive action is implicit in nature, something they had not come across or made aware of. Surprisingly, it was hinted that there is somewhat of an assumption from those in managerial positions that teaching staff knew of the existence of positive action and how it can be used. This was despite Harper (SLT and Class teacher) admitting that the actual use of positive action "is never made public outside of the interviewing panel, not even to the successful candidate". This indicates that practices of positive action on recruiting, interviewing and promoting are not communicated effectively with little or no transparency amongst the wider teaching staff.

4.2.1 Gendered micro-promotions

One of the most striking findings from the collected data is the identifiable use of a subtle way to promote and advance teachers without using the formal means of promotion. Throughout the findings, comments were made about teachers taking on additional roles and responsibilities referenced as "brownie points" and "small jobs". Kaden (HLTA) directly referred to this accumulation of 'brownie points' and 'small jobs' as "micro-promotions" describing them as,

> "They aren't full promotions, not top tier with pay or title. They are extra responsibilities."

What is most interesting here is the difference in micro-promotions compared to an actual promotion given the lack of formality and rewardable financial benefits, then what incentives are given? Kaden explained what they provide "I can build up my CV and down the line apply to get a promotion they give you a slight edge, it's something". Micro-promotions, therefore, appear to be advancements aimed primarily at building one's professional portfolio, in turn increasing one's professional capital within the workplace. It can be inferred then that this is an extension of having strong professional relationships with those in senior leadership positions. Interestingly, despite the identification across the interviewees, Kaden commented that these micro-promotions are "not really discussed" with Shawn (Class teacher) stating "you get brownie points; they are implicit points though not explicit".

In pursuing this line of enquiry further the interviewees were asked why micro-promotions exist? One of the main arguments to be put forward was embodied

by Lou (Class teacher) that there is a culture of "pushing men into managerial positions". Jordon (Class teacher) too shared this view recounting his own experiences "I'm approached to do jobs and favours way more often [than females]; so, for that, I'll get brownie points for doing so". This could explain why they are viewed as implicit practices within schools and could account for the misinterpretation and apparent unfamiliarity of positive action by the teaching staff interviewees.   This further indicates that due to the unregulated nature of micro-promotions, in comparison to positive action, there is much more flexibility to 'promote' certain individuals into positions. Interestingly, Pat (EYFS teacher) argued that micro-promotions result in "promotions can be given but in name only" implying that they overcome the previously mentioned financial issues faced by schools. Individuals can be placed into positions within schools without the need to worry about the oversight and financial issues mentioned previously. Within the next two sections, micro-promotions are explored further to substantiate the claim that they are gendered in favour of male teachers as well as how they are awarded and their outcomes.

4.2.1.1 Micro-promotions in action – The case of Morgan and Jordan

During the first stage of coding and analysis, evidence of micro-promotions specific to career trajectories were found in both Morgan and Jordan shared experiences. Therefore, follow up interviews were conducted. Appendix 6 shows the schedule and questions that were asked of Morgan and Jordan, where appropriate lines of enquiry and questions deviating from this schedule

will be shown within the next section. Both interviewees were from different schools, at different times in their teaching career, and holding different positions. Morgan (Head teacher) had been in the teaching profession for 12 years, while Jordan (Class teacher) had only been teaching for 3 years. While there existed several other participants, who had experienced micro-promotions, Morgan and Jordan were chosen as they occupied the upper and lower quartile for years in the profession from my participant teaching sample. None of the female interviewees indicated any longitudinal effects of micro-promotions promotional opportunities and career advancement, as a result no follow up interviews were conducted with them.

Morgan

While Morgan never directly mentioned micro-promotions in his interview, he was upfront about not having a "traditional route" in teaching,

> "I got into teaching by pure chance, from working in Japan, which was a bit of a runaway from university, I worked in a primary school over there, came back took the GTP [graduate teaching programme] route into teaching rather than the PGCE."

It is important to point out here that Morgan came into teaching with prior experience, additional knowledge and skills, this is reflected by getting onto the GTP course which is notable for only accepting the most promising teachers and difficult to get onto (Foster, 2000; Smith and McLay, 2007). Morgan continued to detail his career once in teaching,

> "Took a job as an NQT, worked at that school for 5 years before moving to where I am now, as an assistant head, worked through the ranks

174

> relatively quickly, right place and the right time to some extent. Then 3 years of being an assistant head, I was successful at getting the head role here."

Morgan commented that upon entering teaching he felt "for someone who is ambitious you can see how they could get into a system where they think I can work my way up here". This implies that early on Morgan was aware of the potential progression opportunities that could aid in promotions, admitting that he felt his career progression has been "very rapid", putting this down to the right place at the right time and "taking all the opportunities I could get". A key point here which identified Morgan's career trajectory as the outcome of micro-promotions is that "some of them were just additional small roles that I didn't get paid for". One such role was around being the disciplinarian in the school,

> "Old school I trained at they struggled for a male disciplinarian. I became the one who kids were sent to when being naughty"

I included this finding here as Morgan assumed this additional role without financial or career movement benefits. The position as an "authoritative figure in the school", provided him with both managerial skills and an increased status becoming more visible across the school. Despite gender being presented here as an important interesting factor, Morgan was reluctant to suggest that he had been given opportunities because of his gender, rather believing that "being geeky for data and assessment and that was the gap that needed fixing at the time". This is in keeping with the gender-neutral approach seen from Morgan and other senior leadership interviewees throughout the findings thus far. Morgan persistently reiterated that his career trajectory is mainly down to his pro-activity,

> "I've always worked as hard as I can at it there have always been opportunities that I've been willing to jump at and take which have proven good and come out well."

Shifting the focus back towards a gender-neutral approach, Morgan situates micro-promotions as accessible to those who seek them out and available to all. Additionally, Morgan pointed to his visibility: "I was already a known quantity from previous settings", suggesting the importance of having strong professional relationships as mentioned in section 4.1. This again demonstrates that intersectionality is an important aspect influencing promotional progression and decisions. Morgan's progression appears to stem from several fronts given his previous skills, gender, accumulation of professional capital and his pro-activity.

The actual day-to-day micro-promotions that Morgan received in his career were provided in an overview of his movement throughout the first 5 years in teaching,

> "I've always wanted to be whatever I'm not now, always doing something different, so when I was a teacher, I wanted well for 2 years I was fine in year 3, then I wanted something different, so I got a managerial role, did that for a year then I wanted to be something different."

It appears that Morgan's insistence on doing something different along with being competent at assessment and data handling offered him a variety of opportunities to progress. The micro-promotions that Morgan received do appear to have happened all at once, leading to formal promotions. This indicates that micro-promotions do not necessarily have to appear over a longer

period, despite the small marginal benefits, receiving many in quick succession rapidly can influence career movement. Morgan talked at length about the importance of the appraisal system, which appears to be a crucial chance to negotiate micro-promotions and additional opportunities,

> "I've always managed to balance it by being a relatively strong performing teacher all round. So, I always felt when I went into a meeting or appraisal I was going in on a strength, so I could say I was interested in taking something else on. I try to be successful in the role I'm doing to use it as leverage for a higher position."

This is an interesting idea presented by Morgan, who implies that the success of one micro-promotion can be used to "leverage" another. From this it can be inferred that receiving multiple micro-promotions simultaneously, as Morgan appeared to do, can result in a faster payoff for the individual if they are consistently good in those roles. Due to Morgan's current position as a head teacher, he was reluctant to attribute such opportunities to anything but "right place, right skill set and at the right time" although he did note that his career had been a "fast-tracked" one. It is clear though that he had received rapid progression through micro-promotions, albeit with only relatively small stop gaps between actual formal promotions.

Jordan

Unlike Morgan, Jordan provided a clear picture of his experiences of being on the receiving end of micro-promotions. When asked about his career so far in teaching Jordan stated,

"I applied for schools direct learning on the job [GTP – Graduate Teaching Programme]. I got one and did a year in a really leafy school. After that year I applied for the job here and got it. Started in year 4 and did a year there, since I've moved to year 5, it's been great, been going up really enjoying myself. Career is progressing."

Both Morgan and Jordan were part of the graduate teaching programme inferring that those on the receiving end of micro-promotions may be identified as 'promising teachers' or those with the ability to progress into managerial roles. Between the two interviewees that took place with Jordan (occurring about three weeks apart), he had been on the receiving end of additional micro-promotions which he detailed,

"Since the last time we spoke I've asked for more and now taking on more roles, shadowing the English lead, doing the website, plus what I was already doing before. I'm now involved in some of the SLT meetings with pupil conferences. All because I'm asking for more stuff because I can manage the class"

Once again, the importance of being pro-active is shown, Jordan had also stated that the previous opportunities he had been given were also from asking superiors for additional roles. When asked how he went about getting these extra responsibilities Jordan commented,

"I went to the head teacher, I had been thinking it for a while, but what made me kick into gear was, there were 3 assistant head positions in the school open, 3 internal staff got them. So presumably they take on more responsibility as an assistant, so I could take on what they left behind. That was my thinking. I asked about it and they were like fine and gave

me some new stuff. I'm going to follow it up soon and see how I'm doing

whether they think I could do more or any advice on those things."

Jordan's comment here points out an important aspect of formal promotions, some positions cannot be given unless there is a gap or need for that position to be filled. Jordan did mention that the option to shadow a subject lead or manager can be seen as a micro-promotion as you are getting inside knowledge and experience of that role,

> "It's just another factor to add to their CV, another thing that the bosses can consider when hiring someone. Then mention what you have done to senior leaders, maybe during appraisals. Definitely need to mention it though, in your reviews."

The importance of the appraisal system is evident here, implying that they are a good opportunity to secure micro-promotions for those pro-active enough to seek them out. This also linked closely with Morgan's idea of being visible in the school, something which Jordan deemed important "People need to come to you for advice and then the higher ups notice that then consider you for positions".

Unlike Morgan, Jordan talked at length about how gender had impacted his micro-promotional opportunities. He further explained his situation "I'm in a group of 4 NQT's, and I'm the only male. As far as I know, I'm being pushed into middle management next year". The interesting word choice of 'pushed' by Jordan implies that micro-promotions are not entirely the choice of the individual, furthermore, the implication that his gender played a role suggests that senior leadership teams consciously attempt to move males in managerial

roles. For Jordan, the access to micro-promotions was mainly due to his gender,

> "If I was to put it on a scale of 1-10, I think it's up there like a 7/8. By being the male teacher, they might think of the different behaviour strategies that they will use or different ways the pupils look up to them. If there is a particularly difficult class or a class where the kids don't have a lot of male role models in their lives such as non-affluent areas. Then they will see in my opinion, a male teacher as a good thing. Like a little tick, and if there are two candidates the same, I think they would prefer the male teacher. But then likewise if they wanted a more maternal figure like down in EYFS or KS1, where perhaps a more affluent area, sensitive issues or certain things they might need/ want to hire a women."

Jordan makes several arguments here, mainly reflecting the discussion points presented in section 4.1.2 around community relations in theme one. This also indicates that the accumulation of micro-promotions is as result of the positionality of a teacher within a school along and the idea of male role models. There was also the comment from Jordan which implied that women could benefit from micro-promotions, however, once again there was the implication, they could be a misinterpretation of positive action practices.

In providing further evidence that gender is a factor in the distribution of micro-promotions Jordan provided examples where he felt gendered stereotypes had helped him,

"For example, anything to do with technology is directed at the male teachers in school. I experienced it last week actually, it was quite embarrassing, during assembly and the projector wasn't working and the head was looking around the room because she didn't know what to do. She saw me at the back of the room, there were a dozen females in front of her and I'm right at the back, I got called up to help fix it and I didn't know how to do it as I've never used it before. Eventually, one of the female teachers got up and fixed it, she looked quite shocked [the head]."

The use of gendered presumptions here indicates adherences to the gender binary from managerial teams, suggesting once again that micro-promotions are a direct consequence of such beliefs. Jordan continued with examples of additional tasks and jobs that he gets asked to do,

"I get asked lots of favours not just technology, moving things, or building things. We [other males] built the stage last year, which got us out of class, which was nice. But those things add up, so you become a bit more in the head teachers mind for positive things. If they can manage this and that then perhaps, they can manage this responsibility next year, so head of this or head of that."

For Jordan, this was all part of the procedure to progress his career identifying them as "they are just small jobs, if you can do all of those small 20 things, then you can do this one big thing, maybe be head of this subject or that subject". Through the employment of gender binary beliefs, Jordan believed that "the majority of men are, in my experience, they are career-driven and want to do the favours to get the brownie points, so they have a slight edge it's". Given

this view it would infer that there is an expectation for men to pursue micro-promotions given such gendered stereotypes, adding further importance that Jordan felt like he was getting "pushed into middle management" by the senior leadership team.

4.2.1.2 Features of micro promotions – Gendered or not?

There has been a continual referral to micro-promotions as being mainly accessible by male teacher only. All the examples provided by the interviewees support this interpretation and further reinforced through the identification of several underlying key factors. Because of this, there is the argument that micro-promotions are 'gendered' given the apparent "preferencing of males over females" (Lou – Class teacher) supporting the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 1996). Within this next section, the main features of gendered micro-promotions will be presented taken from the previous examples provided.

Pro-activity

A key feature to arise from the two examples was the importance of being pro-active in one's career. This idea of "chasing up those opportunities" (Chris – TA) and "showing interest" (Alex – SLT and Class teacher) was identified as a key factor in securing promotional opportunities. Continually identified throughout the findings is the need to have a "certain amount of personal drive" to receive career opportunities. Both Morgan and Jordan made it known that they wished to have more roles and responsibilities within the school resulting in receiving micro-promotions. Three of the interviewees (Morgan and Reese

– Head teachers and Chris – TA) identified micro-promotions and pro-activity as gender-neutral and down to "are you opportunistic enough" (Chris). However, there was an overwhelming assumption from a majority of the interviewees that pro-activity was gendered and associated with "males chasing it" (Cameron – TA; Val – Class teacher; Pat – EYFS teacher; Shane – Class teacher). Reese (Head teacher) argued that due to "the small number of male teachers in schools it could be misinterpreted as them being favoured". Reese explained that there would always be a loser when it comes to opportunities given,

> "Sometimes it can be frustrating for those people/ teachers who have that self-drive and can show/ demonstrate that, but there is nothing there for them at the moment."

Yet through micro-promotions, as defined by Jordan, opportunities can be given regardless of how small they may be. The insistence of both Reese and Morgan to deny the gendering of micro-promotions must be taken cautiously, as Morgan did provide evidence that he had experienced such advancement. The official responses by Reese and Morgan, "I'd want people to, through the appraisal system be saying I'm doing all right, I'd like to try something different", can be attributed once again to their position as Head teachers. Jordon (Class teacher) specifically linked his pro-activity to micro-promotions and the jobs he had done,

> "It's because of all the favours I've done, if you look at the others [female teachers], one hasn't done any, she has just been a teacher. To get on those middle leadership roles or higher you've got to prove that you are

willing to go the extra mile and how you are going to do that without doing

favours."

Several male interviewees shared similar narratives referring to their pro-active approach having an impact on their advancements. Kaden (HLTA) associated his pro-activity with his career movement "If I didn't chase them [promotions] no, I don't think so; maybe not as fast'. With Alex (SLT and Class teacher) pointing out 'each time [job/ role application], there was a need to show interest".

The link between showing interest and being pro-active is associated with male teachers concerning the previously mentioned finding around the impact of families. Having a family was discussed as affecting the creation and maintenance of professional relations thus disrupting career progression and promotional opportunities but not prohibiting them,

> "Teachers who don't have demanding families or children seem to be the ones who advance, in terms of progression, those without young families, move much quicker." (Harper – SLT and Class teacher)

The accumulation of continual yearly work does play a role in the strengthening of professional relations and thus accessing micro-promotions. Harper (SLT and Class teacher) commented about her thoughts on starting a family,

> "Well the 6 months off alone is something you have to think about, you see it happen when people come back in and it's not what they want anymore because their priorities have shifted and changed."

Most of the participants here agreed that the decision, or potential decision to have children can affect promotion aspirations of female teachers due to

maternity leave. Interestingly here there is the implication that female teachers are not on the receiving end of micro-promotions and or promotions due to the potential of having/ starting a family. When asked 'Does the potential for starting a family impact female teachers ambition?' Morgan rejected such a notion stating that "It depends on the individual; I think there are plenty of women who seek a pay rise [promotion]". To emphasise this point further, Reese (Head teacher) gave an example where a female colleague's pro-activity had been rewarded,

> "A female member of staff is going over to our sister school to do a deputy head secondment; it's going to be tough. She said, 'I want more', and she'll be given more and expected to do more, but that's regardless of who you are and where you are, in my experience if you want more than if you ask, there is more. There is always more to ask for".

For Reese, those who were able to 'strike the work-life balance' would be open to do more tasks and take on more responsibilities.

Despite once again the insistence from those interviewees in managerial positions in the existence of gender-neutral practices; across the rest of the findings, there were several presuppositions around gender binary beliefs concerning men and family commitments. For men a disassociation with family commitments allows for the time to take on micro-promotions as they "might be able to stay after school later, do extra things" (Taylor – Class teacher); "maybe because they aren't mothers don't have the same responsibilities that way; they have the time to do the training and work the longer hours" (Frankie – Class teacher). Therefore, the hours are being put in as cited by Shawn (Class

teacher) "if you want management/ career progression in anything you have to put in consistent annual yearly progression". Yet upon further discussion with the all the interviewees, there were indications that men have little choice but to continue working insinuating once more at the existence of 'glass handcuffs' for men (Blithe, 2015). An interesting point here links to Jordan's comment about "being pushed into management", it was insinuated that micro-promotions are not always desired by the individual but rejecting such opportunities can be damaging to your career.   These assumptions can be directly derived from gendered stereotypes which created presumptions about an individual's reliability to *consistently* do the job affecting potential professional relations; this will be discussed in further detail in section 4.3 later in the chapter. As a result of this, the interviewees conceived that males become 'more visible' to the leadership team as "it's seen by your supervisors" (Alex – SLT and Class teacher), gaining substantial professional relations, heightened furthermore by their minority status and existing visibility within the school.

Placement within schools

Another argument which reveals how micro-promotions are gendered is seen in the positioning of practitioners within the school. When asked 'who would you expect to find teaching in primary schools?' the interviewees immediately displayed binary beliefs around where specific genders are best suited to teach (Kollmayer et al, 2018). Therefore, it was not unexpected when interviewees began to categorise practitioners into two groups, the "lower end of school" consisting of EYFS and KS1 (years reception-2) was associated with females

while the "upper end of school" consisted of KS2 (years 3-6) was associated with males,

> "It's often expected though; a lot of male teachers are up in upper key stage 2 classes. I know here we did have a male teacher in reception, but I do think it is uncommon, it is more common that they are put higher up the school". (Frankie – Class teacher)

This gendered divide around where practitioners are best suited to teach was implied as being important for the distribution of micro-promotions. Kelly expressed that men are expected to be positioned with the higher age groups "in year 4, 5 or 6 or as an SLT". The reasoning behind males being associated more with the upper rather than the lower end of primary school was centred around the perceived 'prestige' that comes with the position,

> "People higher up the school are more looked upon as managerial material because they are doing the data, the assessment, teaching at a higher level." (Frankie – Class teacher)

Furthermore, it was suggested that there exists an intrapersonal belief by male teachers to wish to teach in the upper end of school. Asked if he would ever teach further down the school, Alex stated, "if someone was to offer me a job in KS1 I'd think twice". For Kaden (HLTA) this was more of a subconscious belief,

> "The higher you are in the school the more highly regard you are, as in year group. The year 6 teachers have a little bit more prestige than those in 5, 4 etc".

An implication of this finding suggests that conscious decisions to place males in upper KS2 classes and provide them with micro-promotions could be an implicit form of preferential treatment.

Interestingly, it was suggested by a majority of the male interviewees that working in the lower end of school meant fewer chances to receive micro-promotions with Jayden (HLTA) pointing out that that "I've been at this school [teaching in reception] for 6 months and I've yet to receive any kind of advantage". This was an interesting finding and backed up by Shane (Class teacher) who felt that he had not received any advantages compared to men in the upper group years in his school. The implication of this finding demonstrates firstly that there is a general perception that use of micro-promotions occurs in favour of men in the upper years of schools and that there is somewhat of an expectation from men themselves to receive them. From the discussion around teaching in the lower end of schools, many of the interviewees questioned why micro-promotions were not utilised more in the lower year groups in school given the numerical minority of male teachers as Quinn (EYFS teacher) pointed out "they are crying out for key stage 1 male teachers". Morgan and Reese did agree that the use of positive action could and is designed for such scenarios, however, no evidence appeared within my findings to suggest that this happens. Gerstenblatt et al (2014, 67) along with Harwood and Tikonic (2016, 589) suggest that due to Early years work carrying misperceptions of being 'child-minders' or 'babysitters' they lack an established 'professional identity' which may be less appealing to men already in a minority. Coupled with teacher shortages, aiming positive action and/or micro-

promotions at male teachers towards the lower end of the school, could potentially drive perspective practitioners away from the profession.

This latter concept could materialise through a more gender-balanced workforce and could also affect outcomes for young children and transform the perception of the status of ECEC as low status, intellectually unchallenging 'women's work' (Lupton, 2000, Osgood, 2012), addressing Tickell's concerns about the negative impact for the workforce (Tickell, 2011) because of the current gender imbalance.

4.2.2 Review of Theme 2: The role of positive discrimination and anti-discrimination practices on promotions; finding a middle ground

Overall, the findings in this section indicate a clear and distinct disconnect between managerial and teaching staff. The interpretation of promotions as either positive discrimination or preferential treatment further highlights the lack of communication between these two groups on the inner workings of promotional movements. There is a general misconception by teaching staff on the use of positive action, leading to misinterpretations of unfair advantages for males and not as a legal form of positive discrimination. From this, gendered assumptions around promotion emerged, including the identification of micro-promotions. The continual association with males further compounded the idea that these promotions are gendered deriving partly from their minority status. While it was suggested that these gendered micro-promotions on their own amount to little advancement, collectively over a period, they result in a potential

advantage for the individual. Interestingly, those in managerial positions stated that any advantages, outside the use of positive discrimination and positive action, would be an admission to illegal practices. Morgan (Head teacher) was explicit about this terming it "professional suicide", further highlighting the implicit nature of these micro-promotions. However, micro-promotions could be viewed as falling under the scope of positive action, given the male teacher minority status. Despite a lack of understanding surrounding positive action and the use of positive discrimination, the male interviewees in teaching roles were fully aware that some micro-promotions are gendered. Furthermore, they perceived it as preferential treatment, yet, were still willing to exploit this fact to advantage and progress themselves in higher positions.

Throughout this section, there emerged a clear presence of heteronormativity within the organisation of the sample schools. The positioning of male and female teachers in schools could potentially be a factor promoting more males into managerial roles. The stereotype of males teaching in the upper end school and females teaching in the lower end of school appears to be an ingrained expectation of modern primary schools. This has been documented repeatably within the literature of Early Childhood Education and Care (Warin, 2018), where the profession is commonly viewed as 'women's work' (Lupton, 2000: 9). The status of practitioners is often viewed to reflect this viewpoint resulting in what Josephidou (2017; 3) claims is an 'unappealing salary' and 'brings with it limited career opportunities'. Rolfe (2006, 103) describes it as a workforce which over relies 'on young white women', and therefore, implies the use of explicit preferential treatment. Further specialised treatment was also

described by Lou (Class teacher) for female teachers who can demonstrate "nurturing and motherly" features. This too demonstrates that the use of a more subtle implicit preferential treatment is used in favour of female teachers. While the link between positive discrimination for positionality was explored a little by the interviewees, this was associated more with the recruitment of teachers as opposed to where they might teach.

4.3 Theme three: Expectations and pressures – Visibility, Stereotyping and career opportunities

Within theme one and two the interviewees continually referred to the expectations and pressures that teachers face. Much of this was linked to generic teaching expectations and skill set as seen in theme 1, peer relationships and qualifications. As well as this the interviewees talked at length about specific gendered pressures that exist within teaching, which were implied as being additional pressures on top of the existing teaching ones. Such expectations and pressures are viewed as "theoretical ones" by Jordon (Class teacher) as they are neither "discussed or brought up" within a teacher's daily life. Despite the implicit nature of these pressures and expectations, for Jordan and the other male interviewees, the issue was that "if you don't conform to it [expectations] there is something amiss". This inference of 'conforming to a certain ideal' was the basis for the expectations mentioned by all the interviewees, Shane (Class teacher) explained that for male primary school teachers they are "expected to be a certain kind of male in teaching", but admittedly no interviewee was able to clearly define what this meant, mirroring

the findings of Brownhill (2014). While not being able to identify clearly what this meant, the interviewees indicated observances to normative stereotypes of male practitioners.

From the findings, several popular gendered stereotypes (Cloer, 2006) were found upholding the idea of a 'certain kind of male' corresponding with available research literature such as men as role models (Carrington and Skelton, 2003; Cushman, 2009) and men as disciplinarians (Snyder and Green, 2008). Alongside these popular gendered stereotypes, and linking to my findings, the focus has also been given to where men and women should teach in schools (Hutchings et al, 2007; Sumsion, 2000); male and female role in the family (Hultin, 2003); male teachers advancing and fast-tracked into managerial positions (Heery and Noon, 2017) and heteronormativity with specific attention on the sexuality of teachers (Griffin, 2017; Bhattacharyya, 2002) within the available literature. Much of the gendered stereotypes towards men established in my findings persists in adhering to the gender binary, stipulating men as progressing and being in positions of power, "I think men [naturally] want to be the leaders" (Dana – HLTA). Within Dana's comment, she stipulates that there are innate differences in aspirations between men and women signalling the existence of gender 'performativity' (Butler, 1990). This led to several assumptions around men in teaching, for example, Val (Class teacher) presented the idea that "men don't want to teach, door shut in a room having a meeting", while Alex (SLT and Class teacher) stated that "I'll say I work in a primary school, they think you are the Head teacher or caretaker". As well as pointing out how men are positioned and how they are viewed, findings will be

presented in this section revealing some of the ramifications for female practitioners.

For the most part such gendered stereotypes were recognised as having negative connotations attached to them, as explained by Chris (TA),

> "I've been on trips and visits with female teachers and I've been assumed to be the teacher in charge, higher ranking teacher or head teacher."

Dana (HLTA) too provided an example of this gendered expectation,

> "When anyone asks my husband what he does for a living, and he says I'm a teacher, they always assume it's high school; people who aren't in teaching always assume that males teach in high school. Then surprised when they find out he teaches in primary school."

These two examples exemplify the existence of pre-conceived gender essentialist assumptions about male and female teachers, and where they are perceived to teach. While this expectation can be attributed to an easy mistake or simple misunderstanding, Chris (TA) indicated that this "happens quite a lot, almost embarrassing". The implications here are two-fold, initially, it places pressure on male teachers to assume such roles to satisfy these expectations, while also undermining the female teacher's position and authority amongst the staff and children in the school. The male interviewees did suggest that these views persist because men are generally "a bit more competitive" (Alex – SLT and Class teacher). However, Kaden (HLTA) made an important distinction: "I think *some* males are more career-driven", implying some men find themselves in a state of elevated visibility or 'hyper-visibility' within schools. Before moving

onto the 'hyper-visibility' of male practitioners, it is important to point out once more that the interviewees' opinions are derived from their interpretations of wider perceived sociocultural values and beliefs around popular stereotypes and assumptions. Due to this, caution in citing these findings will be taken, in particular questioning where such assumptions stem from society itself or from the interviewees own self-imposed pressures and expectations?

4.3.1 – Being a 'minority' – hypervisibility of male teachers

A recurring theme in my findings is a frequent reference to the numerical minority of men in teaching. The minority status of males is attributed to their receiving and being on the end advantages and promotional opportunities within schools (Williams, 1995). The male interviewees argued that given their numerical minority, they are subject to a more "heightened visibility" (Shane – Class teacher) than their female peers, reflecting the argument of Kanter's (1977) tokenism theory. The minority status of males is presented by the male interviewees as being akin to the "centre of attention" (Cameron – TA), resulting in "people's first judgement of you being important" (Chris – TA).   This judgement for the male interviewees was based around binary stereotypes, with an expectation for them to be "more masculine" (Dakota – SLT and Class teacher).   A manifestation of these expectations can be seen most clearly through the previously established 'gendered micro-promotions', with such extra jobs like fixing things and moving heavy objects being ascribed to males. Kaden (HLTA) shared his experience of being on the receiving end of this pressure: "Well I'm sort of seen as the handyman because I know what I'm

doing with a drill". For Kaden, this latent pressure to be the 'handyman' was distracting him from his main role within the school but something that he felt he "should do" to uphold this idea of the male teacher. It is again implied that to refuse or complain about such extra jobs would only isolate yourself further, therefore, indicating a culture whereby male teachers do not openly talk or discuss such concerns.

This was reflected in my data with Shawn's (Class teacher) insistence that "I don't consider it discriminating". However, this doesn't detract from the fact that they considered this an inconvenience and solely resting on their shoulders. Some female interviewees did touch on this pressure for males stating, "we just need a bit of muscle" (Taylor – Class teacher), "some schools just need jobs doing, I'll ask the blokes to fix things" (Val – Class teacher) but failed to comment on why they hold this view or how this might make the male teachers feel. There is a concern here that the female participants showed little awareness of the potential damage that such assumptions and stereotypes could be having on their male peers. Furthermore, this demonstrates adherence to gender essentialist practices which are not openly discussed or challenged. This could account for male teachers gaining strong professional relations within schools, and why 'micro-promotions' are generally given to them. In the following sections, three findings which contribute to the heightened visibility of male teachers will be presented.

It was established in section 4.1.2.1 that there exists a desire for male role models in schools. As a consequence of this my findings exposed underlying gender essentialist beliefs from the participants, centred around male teachers being the disciplinarians in schools, listed below;

- "I think a lot more people expect males to be stricter it just seems to be a stereotype associated with men" (Frankie – Class teacher);

- "maybe because they are better disciplinarians, they are more frightening to the children" (Pat – EYFS teacher).

- "they would never say but like if you, as a male, we expect you to be tough and disciplined" (Dakota – SLT and Class teacher).

- "as a male, you are expected to be more of a role model, someone the kids can look up to" (Alex - SLT and Class teacher).

- "I do think male teachers are more authoritative" (Lou – EYFS teacher)

Such views are not new and have been seen across the available research literature (Hansen and Mulholland, 2005; Martino, 2008; Malaby and Ramsey, 2011) attributing the innate quality of exercising discipline firmly with male practitioners. Worryingly, the assumption provided by the participants in my data, that men are 'better' disciplinarians, shows a deep-rooted adherence to the gender binary. This is seen clearly in an example provided by Frankie (SLT and Class teacher) who stated,

> "If you want the child to take note that you are angry at them you would send them to this teacher [Alex], who for most children in this school it is that one male teacher who they respect more."

In Frankie's example, she explicitly mentioned Alex as being to 'go-to' teacher when children are in trouble. Her reasoning links back to the idea of teachers sharing the same cultural or religious background as the children, however, no participants made this link for female practitioners. Such a finding mirrors research conducted by Lahelma (2000) who found that female teachers, despite being competent disciplinarians themselves, wished for the presence of a male teacher to take on that role. Participants did show some awareness that such discourses arise citing "the perception from society, and certain parents" (Dakota - SLT and Class teacher) as a factor, so by "placing a male who is perceived to be a disciplinarian make kids upset if told they might have to go to him". When asked about his role in the school Alex (SLT and Class teacher) was quite upfront about being seen as a disciplinarian, "yes in this school I am seen as the behaviour manager, children are sent to me". When asked why he was seen in this way, Alex too explained that it was because of his religious and cultural beliefs he shared with the community surrounding the school. Links can be drawn with recuperative masculinity politics here with a desire for male role models to alleviate the 'moral panic' (Titus, 2004; Brownhill, 2014). Importantly, Alex conceded that at no point was he approached or consulted about assuming this 'authoritative' role within the school. Associations with Blithe's (2015) 'glass handcuffs' metaphor can also be drawn here. Interestingly, the identifiable invisible discourses of 'everyday sexism' acknowledged within my data thus far can also be seen to drive key 'invisible mechanisms' that keep men continually working through 'unseen apparatus, discourses, practices, material constraints and gendered assumptions' (Blithe: 2015, 8). Cushman (2010) too found similar findings in her research, describing

little to no '[unspoken] resistance' to the idea of men assuming such normative stereotypical roles. This finding indicates that men may be forced to assume roles which they either do not want or do not feel comfortable doing to meet the heteronormative assumptions of what it means to be a 'male teacher'. The choice to use glass metaphors as a key theoretical concept in my research is confirmed here, something people cannot always see but can feel (Blithe, 2015).

Much of the typecasts and expectations around being a 'disciplinarian' and 'father figure' for male teachers can be seen to derive from their own experiences of own family life. The male participants expressed some of the latent pressures which they have experienced, listed below;

- "be the bread-winner in the family" (Kaden – HLTA)

- "it has fallen with me working full time" (Morgan – Head teacher)

- "I'm always thinking, what is the level and pay that I could support a family on" (Jordan – Class teacher).

- "There is some expectation not to remain a class teacher. I think outside of school and within… If you are a male going into the profession you need to be aiming higher." (Alex – SLT and Class teacher)

Once again, an adherence to gender binary views connected to 'traditional' explicit expectations of the nuclear family (Wilkinson, 2000; Kitzinger, 2005) is seen. Despite participants arguing that such 'traditional' values are less important in modern society, assumptions that men are not expected to deal with family and females more likely to assume a prominent role. Lou (Class teacher) commented that "for females, motherly duties, collect children going

home and making the tea" were prominent in my findings. Concerning maternity leave and family commitments, as seen in section 4.2.1, such understandings can create potential barriers to promotion for female teachers. The 'traditional' view of the mother figure associated with female teachers, potentially leaves male teachers with fewer family responsibilities and ultimately more free time,

> "Look at the likes of one of the male assistant heads, who had a young family, just had a kid, obviously having a kid hasn't damaged his prospects at all" (Kaden – HLTA).

Interestingly here the 'intrapersonal' pressure to move into higher-paid positions is not necessarily something done by choice, the female interviewees agreed that "if they are going to have a family then their partner is going to have to have time off, so they need to be earning enough money to do that" (Dana - HLTA). Rehel (2013) found in her study that couples retort to adopting a gendered division of paid and unpaid labour in parenthood. For those males with a family, they felt the need to just uphold this "stereotypical image" (Reese – Head teacher) of the "providing father" regardless of how they felt. Male participants without a family identifying this as potential future-proofing of their careers indicating that pressures and 'intrapersonal' expectations could lead male teachers to seek career advancements to adhere to this 'breadwinner' mentality.

The expectation and pressures surrounding families were cited as the reason why males don't want to take time off, Alex (SLT and Class teacher) expressed that "if I started taking time off as a father how the school would treat me, get

back to school!" further citing, "there is a fear to take the foot off the gas or slow down". This reluctance and fear of taking family time off is identified as a key factor by Alex for him progressing into managerial roles. Once again, the existence of Blithe's (2013) 'glass handcuffs' as a consequence of gender binary beliefs is present. This can also be identified as a consequence of male teachers being in a minority and visible within the workforce, as the 'fear' of not appearing to meet expectations keeps men pursuing managerial work. Such findings bring into question whether male practitioners can be viewed as nurturers? Certainly, in my data, clear findings show that roles assumed in schools by male and female practitioners echo the 'traditional' nuclear family. The heteronormative assumptions and gendering of stereotypical domestic roles place men as the 'breadwinner' and women as the 'caregiver' (Powell and Greenhaus, 2010). This viewpoint appeared so ingrained that both Alex and Dakota (SLT and Class teacher) both expressed "I'll just not even ask or suggest it [family time off]". In Britain, both maternity and paternity leave are the right of new parents (Government Equalities Office, 2019b) outlined in the 'Implementing your school's approach to pay' (Government Equalities Office, 2019c) guidance booklet. This was reiterated by both Morgan and Reese (Head teachers) who acknowledged that both male and female teachers have a right to dedicated family time. However, maternity and paternity leave is only granted if asked for, placing ownership on the individual to make the decision themselves (Allen et al, 2012). Therefore, research has found that men are selective with taking paternity leave (Rehel, 2013) while women utilise maternity leave to be the 'caregiver' to the new child (Offer and Schneider 2011). This implies to some extent a culture of not questioning popular stereotypes and

expectations but instead attempting to meet them; engaging only in public fathering activities (Shows and Gerstel 2009).

As a consequence of these stereotypes about men as role models and disciplinarians, there is an explicit expectancy that male teachers have an advantage in job prospects as pointed out by Frankie (SLT and Class teacher),

> "I know a couple of friends who have gone for jobs and been overly confident thinking they stand a pretty good chance because they are the only male candidate and the school haven't got any."

This assumption can be seen as a direct consequence of the male numerical lacking across primary schools; despite the findings in section 4.2 placing gender as nothing more than a final ticking of the box. Jordan (Class teacher) explained that there was an explicit expectation to obtain a job easily based on his gender,

> 'I've always been told as a student when I was training, you will find it easier to find a job because you are a man in primary schools, and they want men in primary schools.'

This places an interesting juxtaposition between the expectation and reality of career prospects for male teachers, and could also further explain the opposing views between teaching staff and managerial staff as seen throughout theme 1 and 2. From this, it is inferred that the influence of the interpretation of popular sociocultural gender essentialist view plays an important part in establishing individual's beliefs around the role that gender plays in promotional opportunities: "I think it's more expected that they [men] will be in management than a female teacher" (Shawn – Class teacher). The lack of challenging

expectations implies that male teachers conform to these gendered stereotypes, while those males who go against or do not meet this expectation can be left exposed and in a state of 'hyper-visibility'. When asked how staff may perceive a male teacher who has not progressed within a school, Dana (HLTA) encapsulated a stereotypical response from peers "he's been here a while, should have been doing that by know". This comment in turn suggest that a male teacher not progressing may affect their ability to capture and maintain professional capital. Jayden (Class teacher) argued that given the numerical minority of male teachers "because it is primary and there are fewer men then you would assume, they would go to the top", there exists an explicit expectation to have moved or progressed. Jordan restated the idea that, "if they don't conform to it, there is something amiss". All the male interviewees expressed that they had felt pressure to quickly move into some sort of managerial position,

- "males can probably see that visually go with that they won't look left or right, that's where they are going and will go for it" (Alex – SLT and Class teacher).

- "you go for a promotion if you don't get the job you don't want to stay in that school anymore it's very awkward" (Jordon – Class teacher).

- "I think it's more expected, more expected that you will want to be in management" (Chris – TA).

This appears mainly out of fear of being in a state of heightened negative visibility, rather than an innate desire to reach a managerial position.

For the female interviewees, this was not seen as anything more than a consequence of utilising these within the workforce, for the male interviewees this is both something that was unavoidable and something that they had to try and live up to by being, "masculine and strong" (Alex). The importance of being in a minority for males here is that often they are the only one, therefore, they must assume these roles further compounding their visibility as a minority. An interesting discussion arose amongst the male interviewees around the desire, or lack thereof to progress in managerial positions,

> "I think it's a bit of both, men do want to progress, but then sometimes they are pushed to progress further by people who think it's a good idea to have a male for whatever reason." (Jaime – Class teacher)

While the employment of positive discrimination via micro-promotions is evident, it may not always be what the individual wants, this could also apply to all those who are on accelerated courses. For the male interviewees, there was a reluctance to defy such advantages despite not necessarily wanting it, feeling like they "can't say no" (Dakota – SLT and Class teacher). In this case, the impression and belief can lead to an assumption that all males wish to progress and climb the career ladder, or for that matter need help and support to do so. Dana (HLTA) pointed out that this could result in a negative outcome,

> "Personal experience as well with an ex-partner, he was moved up the ranks because he was male, well before he was ready. He struggled to deal with the pressure."

This demonstrates that the use of positive discrimination against males can inadvertently have negative unintentional consequences. While built on good intentions, it does not necessarily yield a desirable outcome for the individual,

something the male interviewees believed was overlooked by those in managerial positions.

Sexuality and the male teacher

Once again in the findings, there was evidence of gender essentialist views, specifically around the sexuality of teachers. Interestingly, despite the participants' reluctance and hesitance to discuss such topics, the views and assumptions they expressed to indicate the existence of homophobic assumptions surrounding men teaching children. However, such views were held by both men and women in my findings. This differs somewhat from the expected norm found in the wider research literature that men defend their heterosexuality by engaging in homophobia behaviour (Epstein, 1997; Marlow, 2019). Frankie (SLT and Class teacher) for example explained that "there is a thing with men who teach EYFS or KS1 being perceived as a bit gay really, a bit feminine", about the age phase male teachers are perceived to teach. Such viewpoints show the damaging narrative surrounding men teaching children, as Morgan (Head teacher) recollected his early teaching career,

> "Old school I trained at they struggled had two males one in reception so not that intimidating, and the year 5 teacher who was *gay*, so kids weren't frightened of him. I became the one who kids were sent to when being naughty."

Here an important assumption is highlighted, mirroring the findings of Burn and Pratt-Adams (2015, 160) that 'women are best at Early Years teaching as it's like mothering' supporting gender essentialist stereotypes. Amongst teaching staff, there is an expectation for a male teacher to teach in the upper years of

school. Furthermore, if an individual is placed down in the lower end of school, then what impact does this have on their own identity and self-impression? The overreliance on a binary view of gender here assumes that males in the lower end of the school who can express more 'feminine' skills run the risk of being labelled as potentially 'gay', regardless if they are "providing those skills really well" (Quinn – EYFS teacher).

For those who are gay or presumed to be gay are often not considered in this 'disciplinarian' or 'masculine' role mentioned earlier. Importantly this finding emphasises how the 'perception' of a certain type of individual can shape the beliefs and expectations of individuals and groups. Taylor (Class teacher) further discussed this expectation,

> "I know a lot of male nursery teachers though who aren't gay, but people do think because the way they act, like why aren't you teaching higher up in school?"

Taylor's point here indicates the weight that such an implicit expectation can have appearing to have surface from the perception of 'feminine' women in the lower school. Kelly (Class teacher), for example, discussed how she would expect a male in the lower end of school to be, "quite flamboyant". Alex commented on this,

> "I do know of males who have been down in reception and if they have had that feminine touch, they could provide those skills really well. For me, anyone who is 'straight' wouldn't have those skills."

Alex demonstrated a strict adherence to heteronormative beliefs here, presenting a worrying commentary on the perceptions held by practitioners

around sexuality. This could imply male practitioners 'fear of being homo-sexualised' (Anderson, 2011; 7) termed 'homohysteria', given the number of participants leaving the sexuality box blank in the 'participant data sheet' (Appendix 4) mentioned in Chapter 3 (Methodology). In a gender-atypical profession such as teaching, male practitioners may have a latent fear of being considered 'gay'. Out of all the participants, only one openly identified themselves as homosexual, subsequently, he taught in KS1 and reception meeting the stereotypical image provided by other participants. However, he stated that he had felt little in the way of a negative backlash from either his peers or the families of the children he teaches. This does suggest actual practices within the school do not reinforce these prevalent homophobic assumptions/ stereotypes, posing the question, is 'homohysteria' an introspective worry for male teachers?

To pursue how gender binary beliefs affected perceptions of sexuality further, the remaining male interviewees were asked *'would you ever consider teaching in the lower end of school?'* Jordan (Class teacher) stated,

> "I would be embarrassed to teach in EYFS or KS1 because the further you go down the school it gets less… external people like family members, friends etc.… further down you go, the less it is about teaching the more it is about babysitting, which is unfortunately seen as a feminine trait, or a female role."

The implication of being labelled as 'feminine' is a clear indication of 'homohysteria' and a dominant factor in deciding where males wish to teach. Such stereotypes can be seen as damaging to female teachers and young

children as well. The implication that female teachers are 'babysitting' can be inferred as feeding into the idea of being embarrassment as Jordon pointed out, worrying about how he will feel in the eyes of the public, family and friends as also being a factor. Linking back to what Jordan said earlier, 'If you don't conform to it there is something amiss', once again implies that given the stereotypes that exist for males, there is no room for compromise and exploration of their teaching selves. The male interviewees expressed an expectation that they need to be something "*more* than just being able to do your job" (Cameron – TA), while never really being stated or discussed to which they must conform to it (Brownhill, 2014). Furthermore, divisions amongst male teachers into groups was apparent, those deemed to be 'straight' and teaching in the upper end of school, and those perceived as 'gay' teaching in the lower end of school. To emphasise this finding, Kaden (HLTA) provided an example from his own experience,

> "I get funny looks when I work down in KS1 and EYFS, that's from parents as if to say what are you doing here?! They ask if I am qualified to work down here."

This is an interesting finding, that being 'qualified' to work in the lower years could imply two things, academic qualification, or skill-based or aptitude qualification. Much research has been conducted on this with the Early Childhood Education and Care sector (Josephidou, 2017), focused on Connell's 'marginalised masculinity' (2005) denoting men who are perceived to be 'gay' or 'other' for teaching in the sector (Sumsion, 2000). This becomes problematic for the male practitioner as someone who needs to be continually watched due to wider society likening homosexuality with paedophilia

(Thornton and Bricheno, 2006; Brody, 2014; Burn and Pratt-Adams, 2015). This, in turn, could affect how he feels about engaging with the children (Brody, 2014) and may limit the opportunities he feels he has to disrupt his own and others' gender performances (Butler, 1990; Warin and Adriany, 2017). Such heteronormative and homophobic assumptions can be identified as a key factor in why most males are potentially found further up the school, so too why males are usually placed there as identified previously.

Emotion and self-pressure

An interesting aspect in the gendered stereotypes of male teachers, as expressed by the interviewees, is around the controlling of emotions and appearances of being 'tough' and 'hard' indicating adherences to gender binary beliefs. Alex (SLT and Class teacher) believed that because males "don't want to be seen to lack that hardness in yourself, or to the staff" they gravitate to embodying these traits to show their gender compliance. In discussing this further with the male interviewees, there was a consensus that this is just accepted as the norm, with Jordon (Class teacher) stating "I've not really thought about it much" confirming a lack of openness about the implicit nature of such stereotypes and expectations. The male interviewees all agreed that there exists 'little discussion' amongst male peer groups about what being 'tough' or 'hard' looks like as Alex (SLT and Class teacher) identified himself as the 'male disciplinarian' of the school, "children are sent to me when they have been naughty".

This implication here is that male teachers are aiming to embody masculine behaviours; 'the ability to control unruly students, a commitment to sport' (Mills

et al, 2008: 72). As well as projecting this image of toughness and resilience, to be a 'disciplinarian and a leader', the male interviewees also discussed being detached from one's emotions,

> "Males tend not to be open about thoughts and feelings, so don't really talk about it; males shut up and get on with it." (Alex – SLT and Class teacher)

The controlling of one's emotions is interestingly only associated with male teachers, specifically those deemed to be leaders or potential leaders (Mills et al, 2008).   There was a consensus that male teachers "can often be more distant" (Jayden – Class teacher), as well as an expectation for men to be more of a "resilient person who doesn't talk about this just get on with it" (Jordan – Class teacher). Given the emphasis on such stereotypes and expectations for male teachers, there was apprehension from the male interviewees around not fulfilling this 'role', firstly as it called into question their ability to do the job and professional status, while secondly made them visible for the wrong reasons. In the findings, there was a reluctance to reject or refuse to take on these roles by the male interviewees, with Jayden (Class teacher) specifically expressing "you have a fear of saying no". By rejecting these roles, the male interviewees stated that this would be intentionally placing yourself in the spotlight for all the wrong reasons, hinting at the 'hyper-visibility' they face. The interviewees were aware that rejecting a stereotypical expectation could also be a negative for female teachers but hinted that given their majority status there is much more flexibility and scope to inhabit. Even the female interviewees admitted that they too participated in upholding this expectation, placing males as the disciplinarians with an overreliance on saying 'go to Mr…' to be punished. This

posed an interesting finding around collusion in maintaining essentialist views. The inferred idea that there is little scope for males to occupy other traits beyond those prescribed through a gender binary approach appears to stem mainly from their minority status. Warin (2018) calls this 'role positioning' finding that male practitioners are often positioned by others and themselves to adhere to the gendered stereotypes. For example, Alex (SLT and class teacher) is the only male in the school, the responsibility of being a 'male role model' and 'disciplinarian' of the school ultimately fell upon him, something he complied with.

As seen in section 4.1, personal relationships and close friendships were identified by the interviewees as being associated more with the female staff than male. For Cameron (TA), however, linking directly to his [male] numerical representation "being in a minority is hard, it's very difficult to make friends", emphasised and backed by all the male interviewees. There was a sense of distance and isolation being conveyed by the male teachers as well due to being "the only male in a school" (Kaden - HLTA). Feelings of isolation were a recurring point of discussion, pinpointed as being directly affiliated with their minority status,

> "Females seem to have more peer support and understanding from each
> other, males tend not to have it." (Alex – SLT and Class teacher)

This lack of peer support was seen as a result of men being "less open about how they feel" (Frankie – SLT and Class teacher) linking back to the stereotype of men and leadership roles being detached and presenting a 'tough' image

(Coleman, 2002; Johnson et al, 2008). This again influences intrapersonal and interpersonal pressures on the individual,

> "I don't know whether it's embarrassing to say, it can be a big deal
> sometimes when you don't make friends at work." (Kaden - HLTA)

Such comments were only expressed within the individual interviews and avoided throughout the focus groups. This showcases that male teachers' despite their reservations about gendered expectations, still, adhere to them so not to be at the end of negative assumptions. Coupled with this, being the centre of attention, the fear of embarrassment and or not meeting the expectations of others was identified as a key factor in continual reinforcing these stereotypes about male teachers. Shane (Class teacher) shared his experience of being in that spotlight and the outcome of isolation,

> 'When I first started it would be maybe the head teacher and no other
> males in schools. You were looked upon as 'oh a male'."

Shane expressed that because he was only one of two male teachers at the school, he felt that he was more on the end of "tongue in cheek banter". This experience was not a singular event, interestingly both male and female interviewees shared examples and experiences where male teachers had felt isolation at being the only male in the school. This was expressed most clearly in the dynamics of the staffroom, as Jordan (Class teacher) states,

> "You would see the group of girls laughing hysterically and if you were
> to get involved the topic would change. It's not that much of a negative,
> more the friendships you make in the workplace."

This lack of strong friendship groups amongst peers is identified as a driving factor for as Jordan identified this as making him "more focused to go and do

the progression stuff", the isolation felt during the teaching phase is, therefore, not as big of a change especially when managerial positions are mainly viewed as "sat alone in a room" (Lou – Class teacher). Moving from one isolated environment to another is a contributing factor to the disproportionate number of males in management within schools, given their prior experience and ability to work independently.

Yet upon further inspection, there is a discrete underlying presence of self-expectation and self-pressure that males placed upon themselves. Such self-imposed expectations and pressures derive from observing other "successful male teachers" within primary schools,

> "I looked at a lot of the successful male teachers that I've known; in a lot of the other schools, 'cool teacher' male ones they have this confidence or persona about them." (Jordan – Class teacher)

Given the lack of peer support and male groups, the minority status and 'isolation' identified by many of the male interviewees only leaves them with the option to recognise other successful males and emulate the traits and behaviours they show. Jordon (Class teacher) identified this as "a self-fulfilling prophecy"; males copying or mimicking other males leads back to the earlier argument of an undefined consensus on what it means to be a male primary school teacher (Brownhill, 2014). With undefined role models expressed in section 4.1.2.1, and undefined contextual expectations placed upon males, they look to other male teachers as their role models.

For those groups of males who have failed to meet the expectations placed before them, such 'hyper-visibility' can have consequences in terms of their career movement and a general feeling of worth in the school. This, in turn, leads to male teachers looking to one another to model their behaviour on seemingly. It is inferred that male teachers place many of the pressures and expectations on themselves to be a certain kind of teacher. Discussion around mimicking 'successful males' uncovered an interesting finding that the male teachers are not homogenised as the findings may suggest. Instead, there exist divisions amongst male teachers within primary schools. Further expansion and discussion on this will be explored in section 5.3 of chapter 5 (Discussion).

4.3.2 Review of Theme 3: Expectations and pressures – Visibility, Stereotyping and career opportunities

Overall, the findings in this section have shown that for males, expectations and pressures are inextricably connected to perceived gendered stereotypes. Within this and linked to their minority status, there is an observance to gender binary beliefs and sexuality driving the 'preference' of heteronormative male teachers within schools. Showcasing these heterosexual behaviours is considered a must if one is to advance and progress in their career. Therefore, those showing gender variance or non-conformity combined with their minority status results in them being 'hyper-visible' within the school. With a general idea of conformity to the societal 'norm', male teachers pursue a heterosexual image, feeling the need to aim for such values and ideas to avoid an accusation

of being perceived as 'gay' or 'feminine', leading to more males in the upper end of primary schools.

The desire to have heterosexual male teachers in schools feeds into the idea of role models and 'recuperative masculinity politics'. This was identified through the expectation of being disciplinarians and in positions of authority within schools. Being viewed as the father figure for the boys is something that the male teachers struggled to move past when considering their own families. With such a continual reliance on gender binary beliefs, male teachers appear to be forced into assuming traditional roles of the breadwinner and commitment to work. While a gender binary narrative is not necessarily unique to teaching, how it is communicated to the males appears to be. The findings pointed out that male teachers are neither told nor shown how to overcome these expectations and stereotypes. Furthermore, there is little discussion or communication about this amongst teachers, implying that this goes beyond an implicit expectation and more of a latent one. Male teachers instead rely on observing and adapting their behaviour to match that of perceived 'successful' male teachers that they encounter. An attempt to be on the receiving end of micro-promotions continues to reinforce this idea of rewarding males meeting these expectations, further underpinning and legitimising the stereotypes and expectations that exist. While the findings suggest that male primary school teachers attempt to move away from this 'self-fulfilling prophecy', there is a fear of doing so as it results in further visibility. Awareness and the pursuit of micro-promotions is a clear indicator that for male teachers a move into managerial positions, where the stereotypes are perceived as less damaging, is desirable.

Chapter 5 Discussion

Having provided a detailed overview of the findings, this chapter will outline my interpretation of the collated data accompanied by an in-depth discussion offering 'contextualized explanations' rather than 'general theories' (Bude, 2004, p. 324) as well as delineating my original contribution to both knowledge and the field of gender studies. Further details on the contribution my research provides will be outlined fully in the subsequent chapter (Chapter 6 Conclusion).

In Williams' (1992) seminal work on the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, she theorised that males in gender-atypical professions receive advantages because of their gender; this is despite their numerical underrepresentation as tokens or 'minority status'. She concluded that this is achieved through the fast-tracking of males' careers and rapid movement through the career ladder into managerial positions. Given the prominence of the 'glass escalator' in underpinning my theoretical (conceptual) framework, my research questions, as presented in chapter one, reflect the main foundations of Williams' framework,

1) To what extent does gender play a role in the 'promotion' of primary school teachers?

2) To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the subject of preferential treatment?

3) To what extent does a male primary school teacher's 'minority status' have an effect on promotional career prospects?

At the beginning of each of the themes presented in this chapter, there will be a quote from Williams (1992) outlining the aspect of her phenomenon that is under discussion. This will also aid in the links with the research questions as set out above.

In the previous chapter (Chapter 4 Findings), three interconnected themes were used to help answer these research questions. Practitioners presented contradictory perspectives on the type of relationships which impact career movement (Theme 1: Intersectionality and promotions – The role of relationships on career movement). On one side there was a practitioner-led adherence to gender-neutral practices of collegiality presenting professional capital as a key aspect of career movement. While conversely there was the oppositional perceived perception of sociocultural expectations adhering to gender binary practices surrounding male role models. This fed into the argument about the legality and means by which teachers were 'promoted' and progressed in their careers (Theme 2: The role of positive discrimination and preferential treatment on promotions; two sides of the same coin?). Emerging from this theme practitioners brought to light the subtle, implicit day-to-day application of promoting individual teachers, through the use of gendered micro-promotions. Once again practitioners shared perceptions of the influence that perceived socio-cultural values and beliefs societal influenced by a media-fed public discourse had upon the application of practices within educational settings. Many of these beliefs were attributed to the upkeeping of, and overreliance on gender binary stereotypes forcing men in gender-atypical work to be hyper-visible, thus seeking out and imitating other 'successful' male

teachers who reside in positions of power (Theme 3: Expectations and pressures – Visibility, Stereotyping and career opportunities). This theme suggests that there is a sense of gender-flexibility amongst practitioners but the perception of public discourses limited this in favour of attempting to meet such expectations.

5.1 Theme one: Intersectionality and promotions – The role of relationships on career movement

'Men take their gender privilege with them when they enter predominantly female occupations, this translates into an advantage in spite of their numerical rarity' (Williams, 1992: 263).

For Williams (1992, 1995) there existed a clear connection between promotion and gendered privilege upholding the 'glass escalator' phenomenon for men in gender-atypical professions. At times the participants rejected this gendered connection, which "depends on who is best for the job" (Quinn – EYFS teacher), as it was seldomly considered a sole factor; instead part of a multitude of intersecting factors influencing and determining one's career opportunities. The inclusion of intersectionality in my research, differing from the majority of literature on the 'glass escalator' (Williams, 1995; Budig, 2002; Hultin, 2003; Huffman, 2004; Maume, 2004), establishes a fundamental contribution to knowledge concerning male fast-tracked promotions. Through this, several lines of enquiry about the different factors were uncovered affecting promotion and will be covered throughout this chapter. The overarching finding of

practitioners' perception of socio-cultural expectations by a media-fed public discourse which has been well documented in the literature (Cloer, 2006; Martino and Kehler, 2006; Martino, 2008), clearly demonstrated gender was still considered to play a significant part in the promotion of primary school teachers. The questions I asked the participants throughout the initial interviews came from a gender-neutral perspective, therefore, not prescribing any pre-existing judgements on their responses. This could account for finding that the promotion of teachers is in part achieved through a gender-neutral approach of collaborative collegiality and professional relationships in the workforce. Participants did, however, show awareness of issues surrounding invisible gendered discourses and gender privilege for men in gender-atypical professions. Importantly, gender was downplayed as an influential factor it was never dismissed outrightly. Emphasis and awareness of these two conflicting beliefs do provide contradictory messages about the teaching workforce. There is a suggestion that while there is an overall striving for gender-neutral practices within schools; my data demonstrates the inclusion of practitioners trying to work alongside 'everyday sexism' in the form of gender essentialist views.

A key aspect of Williams' (1992, 261) argument is that gendered discrimination often occurs from 'outsiders – people they meet outside of work'. Close links can be found here to the expected perceived sociocultural values and beliefs expressed through media-fed public discourses. Participants were keen to separate their own professional beliefs from that of a wider perceived sociocultural rhetoric, focusing on a clear narrative on professionalism promoting the existence of togetherness within the teaching workforce.

Interestingly, the repetitive idea of distancing oneself from professional and public spheres is according to Robertson et al (2011) not entirely unexpected, as often they hold conflicting beliefs. This shared response from the participants demonstrates a sense of collegiality and the collective nature of the teacher workforce (Löfgren and Karlsson, 2016), referred to by the interviewees as 'professionalism' or 'collaborative teaching'. Such findings of collegiality amongst the teaching workforce are not surprising given the similar training, oversight (Brint, 1994) and environments that underpin teaching pedagogies influencing the everyday lives of teachers (Shah, 2012). Fox and Wilson (2015) point out that a sense of affiliation with one another lends to collaborative language, yet this shared vision of togetherness and collaboration could imply Datnow's (2011, 148) 'compulsory orientated contrived collegiality', suggesting a potential inability to see gender issues in a critical way (Hogan, 2012). While practitioners showed awareness of gendered issues, the continual insistence to return to collegiality and a 'gender-neutral position' could imply a lack of existing dialogue and engagement with gendered discourses amongst practitioners.

The implication of an 'everyday sexism' occurring within the workforce supports the argument by Williams (1995) that men can exploit their gender privilege to advance themselves. Yet, my findings reject the idea that such invisible discourses consisting of gendered essentialist views are continually present within the workforce. The main premise of theme 1, the importance of professional friendships and relations, does identify a 'gender-neutral approach', but hindering the development of a team based on a mutual

collaborative environment, stability and economic outcomes rather than just a focus on gender. In mirroring both Bourdieu's (1997) as well as Hargreaves and Fullan's (2012) concept of capital, my findings comprised of a repeated central idea focusing on the 'right type of person for the job'. Participants showed mindfulness of several intersecting factors consisting of skillset, qualifications, personality and ability to work as a team with gender noticeably absent. Once again this shows attempts by practitioners to display gender-neutral practices in education, rejecting that men and women must have certain roles as teachers (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). A further demonstration was provided through equal visible discourses in my findings by the interviewees' use of the umbrella term 'teacher', as opposed to more specific gendered pronouns like he, she, Mr, Mrs, male, female. The removal and lack of gendering here can be interpreted as a conscious movement to move beyond the gender binary (Dvorsky and Hughes, 2008), attempting to create a gender-balanced workforce through collegiality. The findings on 'mixed gendered teams' and the 'golden circle' establish that participants see same-sex management teams as potentially creating gendered barriers to promotion, similar to the 'glass ceiling' (Hymowitz and Schellhardt, 1986). While this does imply that gender is a factor considered for promotions, given that it is discussed in combination with collegiality, it can be interpreted as educational establishments overtly attempting to improve the 'gender balance' of primary schools by ensuring equality of opportunity (Harris and White, 2013).

Despite the continual attempts to separate themselves from perceived sociocultural expectations of gender, contradictions arose in the participants'

comments, "*Keep an eye on the male applications coming through, because of the value of males as role models for kids whose dads*" (Reese - Head teacher). This calls into question what Rohrmann and Brody (2015, 411) call 'surface 'gender neutrality', which can be traced back to official anti-discriminatory policy speak. However, is at odds with deeply embedded understandings of gender. The narrative on the impact of male role models in schools confirms Connell's (1996) cultural gender hierarchical view of the 'patriarchal dividend' and the preference of men and masculine behaviours, deriving from traditionally held ideas of male and female labels (Mallozzi and Campbell-Galman, 2016). Reflecting the consensus found in the literature (Martino, 2008), the participants identified this as society attempting to offset the rise in single-parent families and the worry over a lack of masculine figures in children's lives. The important distinction here is that practitioners identify the media-fed public discourse around the need for male role models as driving gender as an influential factor in promotion. Hence participants pointed out the desire for heteronormative masculine behaviours such as disciplinarian, assertiveness and authoritative leadership to be present in schools. Here adherences to gender binary beliefs along with the influence of heteronormative assumptions of maternal and paternal roles (Warin, 2014) create a parallel narrative at odds with the practitioner-held view. This indicates the nuances of 'everyday sexism' and the invisible discourses that persist and influence day-to-day practices.

Interestingly, the discussion on role models was not entirely focused on gender, the inclusion of intersectionality once again opened up numerous dialogues about the complexity of ethnicity, religion and culture playing a role in the

promotion of teachers. Participants talked largely about local communities, referred to as the 'area that we are in' (Shane – Class teacher), as opposed to society at large, showing that each area is unique and contextual. Individuals like Alex (a Muslim male teacher) as well as Jordon (a White British teacher), experienced compound advantages due to their ties with the local community. Yet Reese (Head teacher) was able to talk about several female teachers who had also experienced advantages given their similar religious and cultural background "I'd want to replace the strong female Muslim teacher with another". This does show that there is some gender flexibility (Warin and Adriany, 2017) in the types of role models schools are showing. For the most part, however, role models were still firmly associated with males as seen in the findings, Alex as a religious role model while Jordon a role model for boys in single-parent families. The implication that the role of gender on promotion is highly contextualised and dependent on the local situation of each school creates an interesting dynamic to the question of gender affecting promotions. While it can be argued that those practitioners are inadvertently 'policing' gender (Butler, 2006: 45) through upholding traditional gender orders, participants seemed more concerned with creating an effective team. Such a finding supports the claim by Menter et al (2002, 4) who conclude the teaching workforce must be 'representative of the community at large'. This type of 'intersectional awareness' was also seen by Warin (2018, 45) in the context of Bradford, England where a diverse staffing 'with a mix of men and women' including 'an intentional representation of religious, ethnic and cultural groups who live around it'. The issue for practitioners is achieving this without appearing to be biased or exclusive specifically towards gender.

With the findings on intersectional factors such as ethnicity and religion playing a part in the promotional and career opportunities of individuals, claims by Wingfield (2009) and Smith (2012) along with Williams (1992, 263) that 'the crucial factor is the social status of the token's group--not their numerical rarity' is disputed. This also addresses a failure of Kanter's (1977) Tokenism, as presented by Cognard-Black (2004) on the influence of intersectionality has upon token groups and individuals. In the context of my findings, males in School A from ethnic and religious backgrounds shared with the local community were the ones on the receiving end of promotional advantages. Likewise, in school C, two of the white British male teachers had experienced advantages given their gender and the desire for community linked role models. An important consideration here is that the intersecting of both gender and local contexts appear to collectively influence the promotion of teachers. This challenges an important feature of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon and supports the conclusion by Woodhams et al (2015), that it is not just males and not all male teachers who are on the receiving end of advantages. Gender, therefore, can be seen as part of a wider intersecting web of factors presenting a far more complex representation of the promotion of primary school teachers.

Despite the identification that other intersecting factors besides gender play a role in the promotion of teachers, gender binary beliefs can still be seen to prevail throughout the way promotions are considered. Ashely (2003) and Connell (2005) argue these outdated binary approaches of what men and women can do maintains gendered discourses. This was seen most

predominantly within the findings around the intersecting of family and promotion, with the influence that gendered assumptions around female teachers and career breaks have on male teachers' chances. McQuaid and Lindsey (2005), Houle et al (2009) and McIntosh et al (2012) all conclude that female practitioners have relatively poor performance in their careers when motherhood is a contributing factor, which is something mirrored in my findings. While the interviewees generally agreed with this statement, the male interviewees attributed this less to bias gendered practice and more to the difference in maternity and paternity leave, citing the limited time given to males as a reason why they may be advantaged. The longer time out of work for family commitments as referenced by the male interviewees reflects what Waldfogel (2007) terms the 'penalties of motherhood'. Regardless of some examples within my findings of female interviewees progressing after maternity leave and managing a family, there was still a general view from the interviewees that such career breaks affect the promotional chances of females. The views presented about maternity and paternity leave do not necessarily apply to everyone, reaffirming here the role that gendered stereotypes and binary beliefs have on upholding these assumptions.

Despite gender binary views influencing assumptions around career and promotional movement from society, within education several other factors were presented by the interviewees. Moving beyond gendered factors, financial restraints were established as becoming increasingly more significant in the decision on promotional opportunities. This is evident within popular media and recent literature (Henshaw, 2017; Andrews and Lawrence, 2018;

Coughlan, 2019) that financial pressures are forcing educational establishments to watch and take care of their budgets more closely than before. The range of intersecting factors differs considerably here, with a shifting desire for the candidate to be cheaper so financially viable for the school. Interestingly, the participants pointed out that promotions are also dependent on the financial capabilities of the school. Intersecting with financial factors, the interviewees also discussed the age of teachers playing a part in potential promotions. For the most part, a promotion was linked with younger teachers, rather than the expected older teachers with more years of service. Smith and Webber (2005, 404) reason that this is because of what they term the 'double standard', where 'a personal characteristic is judged against another unrelated attribute'. In the case of my findings, this was age (personal characteristic) and financial cost (unrelated attribute), showcasing that wider interesting factors do play a relatively large role in the careers of primary school teachers.

In answering research question one, 'To what extent does gender play a role in the 'promotion' of primary school teachers?', theme 1 has shown that gender although while influential in the promotion and advancement of teachers, is far more complex than presented by Williams (1992, 1995). My findings do not reject that gender is still a factor, it has been shown that men are still on the receiving end of some forms of advancement. However, the metaphor put forward by Williams (1992, 1995) does not appear to accurately depict the subtle, implicit mechanisms that are used to aid the promotion of male teachers, which will be explored within theme 2. Instead, I argue that gender is

sometimes a consideration when promoting teachers, relying on gender binary beliefs and assumptions born from a media-fed public discourse. Concerns over the 'moral panic' and a desire for male role models (Brownhill, 2014) in local communities seem to be the main contributor in keeping gender as a significant factor in deciding who is and is not promoted. Theme 1 has major implications for the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, in particular, its use of gender for promotion and career advancement can be seen as more of a reactionary response to appease local communities. Given that all male teachers are not experiencing advantages and being fast-tracked into managerial positions, it stands to reason that the 'glass escalator' is not a permanent fixture in operation within schools. This could explain the larger narrative of collegiality amongst the interviewees and insistence on gender-neutral policies. The continual returning to ideas of gender-neutral practices and collegiality infers that practitioners are attempting to move away from adhering to perceptions of socio-cultural assumptions. Furthermore, the role of gender on promotion appears just as flexible and dependent on the context and situation of the school as any other intersecting factor.

5.2 Theme two: The role of positive discrimination and preferential treatment on promotions; finding a middle ground.

'Indeed, subtle mechanisms seem to enhance men's position in these professions – a phenomenon I refer to as the ''glass escalator' effect' (Williams, 1992: 263).

226

Throughout theme 1, Williams' (1992, 1995) metaphor of the 'glass escalator' was not sufficient enough to definitively demonstrate the subtle mechanisms promoting men in gender-atypical professions. The findings in theme 2 further support this claim as a large proportion of practitioners were unable to successfully articulate the inner-mechanisms of promotion. The participants had limited or surface-level understandings, and at best were only able to identify the use of annual appraisals and yearly pay increases (Looney, 2011; The Education Regulations, 2012; Department for Education, 2013; Radinger, 2014). This is surprising given that this information is freely available to all, both inside and outside of education. It was established that amongst practitioners managerial staff were the ones who held a cognisant perspective of the inner-workings of employment procedures. They vocally dismissed both explicit and implicit use of preferential treatment, as seen with Morgan's (Head teacher) 'professional suicide' analogy, instead focus was given to 'positive action' practices. For managerial staff following the legal guidelines (Government Equalities Office, 2011), the use of positive action was a legitimate and impartial way to promote those with protected characteristics (gender, sex, ethnicity, religion). Nevertheless, its use in primary schools was particularly tied to gender with male teachers predominantly on the receiving end due to their token status, supporting Kanter's (1977) analysis. Despite their expressiveness around positive action and positive discrimination in the interviews, it became apparent those in senior leadership roles do not openly communicate this with their staff. This was evidenced through practitioners inability to separate positive discrimination and preferential treatment apart, using them interchangeably throughout the interviews. This was explicitly made

apparent when they were directly questioned on the use of positive action, stressing both an unawareness of its formal existence and implementation within British law as well as its potential use within their schools supporting similar findings as Perren et al (2012). Yet this can be identified as a larger issue with positive action, with Noon (2012) arguing that there has been limited publicity surrounding the use and application of such practices, so the same would be expected internally within schools.

The existence of an internal discrepancy as a result of inadequate communication among practitioners contradicts the predominant narrative around collegiality and 'togetherness' that had been continually presented (Bess, 1992; Hatfield, 2006). This reveals that there is not a collective narrative over the subtle ways in which individuals are promoted. As a consequence of this, the majority of practitioners can be seen to inhabit and share the dominant public opinion of being 'steadfastly against any forms of positive discrimination' (Beirne and Wilson, 2016: 226) due to the limitations of evidence to demonstrate a decrease in discriminating thinking and workplace inequality. Yet this apparent lack of collegiality and communication can be seen to arise from a complex situation for management teams. There needs to be a fine balance between attempting to promote a collegial workforce amongst the staff, while also attempting to mitigate the local community expectations without the obvious use of either preferential treatment or positive discrimination. Managerial staff face additional limitations due to the rigidity of the educational system as well as the restrictions on privacy and data protection. It is common practice within schools that the outcomes of promotions, appraisals and pay

increases are purposefully kept out of public knowledge (Middlewood and Cardino, 2001). This aligns with the conclusions of Blader and Rothman (2014, 66), that differences between those in and outside of management exist because instead of an 'expectation for decisions to be made public', they are kept 'behind closed doors'. Consequentially, transparency is absent on the inner-workings of employment procedures within schools, despite a focus on 'performance, productivity, accountability and transparency' (Forrester, 2011: 5) seen in educational reforms around the appraisal and development of teachers.

It was inferred in theme 1 that because of the perception of sociocultural values, expectations, schools employ specific types of teachers (based on gender, religion and ethnicity) in an attempt to meet the needs of the local area and said expectations. Linking to the findings of research theme 1 and the wider literature (Jones, 2003: Wood and Brownhill, 2018), positive action is mainly used as a response to 'recuperative masculinity politics' and the apparent '*need*' or '*desire*' for more males in schools. This can be seen through practitioners discussing positive action concerning recruitment, '"when I lose a male, I do want to replace them" (Reese – Head teacher) rather than for internal promotional purposes. What differs considerably from the use of preferential treatment is that positive action follows the legal framework of British law under the Equality Act (2010) and while gender can be a deciding factor, it is not reliant on it. Morgan gave explicit examples utilising positive action in favour of both male and female teachers demonstrating that it is not wholly a gendered, one-sided practice. Managerial interviewees were very aware of the potential

repercussions for using explicit biased and illegal practices to promote and advantage certain individuals or groups, regardless of their protected or token status. Once again, this hints at the use of more subtle, impact practices to promote men in teaching, outside of the legal framework identified as 'gendered micro-promotions' in the findings.

But what makes gendered micro-promotions different from the fast-tracked progression alluded to in Williams (1992) 'glass escalator' phenomenon? Micro-promotions, as shown through the examples in section 4.2.1 in the previous chapter, are the small-scale jobs and opportunities given to teachers. Through these examples, it was demonstrated that micro-promotions rely on gendered stereotyping, hence the addition of 'gendered', with the jobs given correlating with heteronormative and masculine traits associated with male teachers. Identified as displaying hegemony in Connell's (2005) dominant masculinities, micro-promotions for men include: sports-related clubs and activities, technology-based tasks, boy orientated curriculum design (recuperative masculinity based) and general lifting and moving of objects. While being on the receiving end of micro-promotions is viewed as gaining advantages, individually they do not amount to much, as no actual promotion is gained. However, the accumulation of micro-promotions overtime results in the social status of that male to be increased and made visible to those in managerial positions. Micro-promotions are seen as CV builders, helping gain experience and favour with superiors, therefore, places the individual in a better position to gain promotions given their surplus of experience and additional skills over their peers.

There appears to be a conscious attempt by managerial staff to reach a compromise on both appeasing societal concerns and discourses and creating a gender-neutral collegial workforce. Instead of unfair and biased career advantage as seen through fast-tracking, gendered micro-promotions provide the individual with a heightened-visibility amongst the staff. Interestingly, the managerial interviewees neither directly denied nor acknowledged the existence of gendered micro-promotions. This may be a consequence of 'intersectional invisibility' (Purdie-Vaughns and Richard, 2008) of male teachers' subordinate identities as a minority group within teaching. With micro-promotions not resulting in traditional career promotion, there appears to be ample scope to use forms of preferential treatment and legitimised through positive action Equality Act (2010) to provide male teachers with additional opportunities and chances. This was seen through the example Morgan provided where he gave the position of reading lead to inspire boys within the school and the local community.

Practitioners, despite their limited knowledge of positive discrimination and preferential treatment, were keen to express that 'specialised' treatment went beyond career advancement. Much of the literature positions both preferential treatment and positive discrimination as aiding in career movement only (O'Cinneide, 2009; Noon, 2010; Burton, 2014). However, both male and female practitioners identified that 'special treatment' is often given to female teachers when concerning non-career situations, for example, family commitments. Surprisingly, all the interviewees argued that female teachers are granted more flexibility and leniency due to these family commitments than male teachers.

This is established within the literature by Fennell and Arnot (2008) and Giles and Middleton (2008) who found that women with childcare responsibilities were able to take more time off and be absent from work compared to men. Much of the literature discusses preferential treatment and positive discrimination as giving individuals compound advantages over others (Kanter, 1977; Williams 1992; O'Cinneide, 2009; Davies and Robinson, 2016; Noon, 2010). The findings inferred that for some men, the receiving of micro-promotions fulfils this assumption, yet for female teachers, there appears to be little advantage gained despite receiving similar treatment through flexibility. Importantly, micro-promotions become gendered because they provide men with advantages relating to career, whereas there seem to be little career progression outcomes for female practitioners.

5.2.1 Finding a new metaphor – 'The Glass Travelator'

It can be seen that managerial teams are burdened by legal necessities and obligations which sustain the teaching profession, combined with a sense of duty to meet the needs of the children under their care. Working in the legal framework of positive action provides limited opportunities to re-address discrimination for token groups or individuals (Hepple, 2011; Noon, 2012). As a result of these restrictions and positive action occurring in "certain circumstances" (Reese and Morgan – Head teachers), the identification of more subtle, implicit practices of gendered micro-promotions prompted the conception of a new more suitable metaphor presented here.

<u>*The 'glass travelator'*</u>

Picture an 'airport' where everyone is beginning their journey identically, entering the building and passing through security.   This resembles practitioners starting their career in teaching or at a new school, with 'security' acting as an analogy for the interview process. Once through 'security' there begins a divergence in the pace in which individuals reach the 'boarding gate', symbolising a promotion, at the other end of the building.   For the most part, individuals are walking, moving along with their luggage in tow. Within the 'airport' there exists a travelator, a moving walkway, which moves individuals and their luggage along at a *marginally* faster pace and with considerably less effect. Access to the travelator is monitored by 'attendants' and only those with '*upgraded tickets'* are allowed entry. Attendants are representative of those in senior leadership roles, deciding who will receive an 'upgraded ticket', the acquisition of promotional prerequisites through 'gendered micro-promotions'. Instead of one continuous walkway to the gate, there exists several smaller 'travelators' meaning that individuals can get on and off, therefore, the travelator is potentially accessible to all. Tickets can also be 'downgraded', losing favour with those in management, with individuals leaving the travelator proceeding to re-join those in walking to the gate.   Taking the glass travelator allows individuals to be first in line for the 'boarding gate', symbolising first in line when it comes to promotions, it does not, however, guarantee that a promotion will be available.

The metaphor of the airport seems appropriate given the professional journey that teachers make throughout their teaching careers. The 'glass travelator'

233

denotes a moving walkway providing marginally quicker movement, changing the assumption of promotional advancements in gender-atypical professions compared to Williams' (1992) upward trajectory of the 'glass escalator'. The 'glass travelator' was originally proposed by Kullberg (2013), as mentioned in the introduction, and outlined further here,

> 'It is rather about a male retreat where men do not want managerial positions but nevertheless are found in attractive parts of the working field. The 'glass escalator' has been supplemented by a glass travelator which leads to specialist niches or attractive fields within the profession (*assessment leads, computing leads, managers and consultancy roles*). Parts of the escalators thereby become available for women' (Kullberg, 2013: 1505).

Kullberg presents a more suitable contribution, compared to the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, in identifying who the receivers of advantages are and how this might occur within professions. Kullberg's explanation of the 'glass travelator' does mirror some of my findings in implying that men even though they do not desire positions of power are still the receivers of advantage. My original contribution, therefore, has been to take Kullberg's original metaphor and develop it further, presenting a more subtle nuanced dimension of promotion through the establishment of 'gendered micro-promotions'.

The main dynamic change comes about from the inclusion of intersectionality and subsequent identification that micro-promotions and advancement can be acquired by any number of individuals. As a result of this along with the finding of several smaller travelators, the visibility of advancements and promotions is

called into question. Despite the travelator metaphor still retaining the 'glass' symbolism, 'micro-promotions' themselves are a clear indication of the *'invisible nuances'* of everyday practices occurring behind closed doors. 'Micro-promotions' were primarily used to appease gendered concerns of the local community, so it would stand to reason that for the most part, male teachers were more likely to receive '*upgraded tickets'*. For the individual practitioner, they remain in a constant state of obliviousness as to whether they meet the needs and desires of the management team and whether they will be 'upgraded' or 'downgraded' onto the travelator. The implication of being able to access and be removed from the travelator points out again the complexity of intersecting factors of what schools are looking for in their staff. It was identified in chapter 4 (Findings) and theme 2 (The role of positive discrimination and preferential treatment on promotions; finding a middle ground) that the main factors considered when looking to promote an individual are: strong relationships with those in managerial positions, and the intersecting of several key factors including gender, qualifications, skill set, experience and community links.

In further developing the metaphor and analogy of the 'glass travelator', there emerged evidence of the exact timings of how fast promotions were gained by the participants. This addressed a significant gap in the research literature as no definitive time frame was established by Williams (1995) or other researchers (Budig, 2002; Hultin, 2003; Smith, 2012; Price-Glynn and Rakowski, 2012) on the actual timings of fast-tracked career advancement via the 'glass escalator' phenomenon. Within my findings, I am able to ascertain

detailed outlines of the male interviewees' career movement and promotional time frame to test against the claims of the 'glass escalator' in comparison to that of the female interviewees. This was done through the use of a data set conducted by the Department for Education (2018a, 3) which sought to provide 'further analysis looking at the characteristics and trends of teachers in leadership roles'. Figure 5.1 demonstrates a longitudinal study on the promotion of teachers in the number of years, from their qualification to managerial roles from 2010 to 2016. The use of lower, median and upper quartiles is useful as it allows for my findings to be placed clearly within an established set of criteria for the promotional patterns of practitioners within teaching.

Years since qualification	2010				2016			
	Classroom Teacher	Middle Leader	Senior Leader	Head teacher	Classroom Teacher	Middle Leader	Senior Leader	Head teacher
Lower quartile	2	6	12	18	2	6	11	18
Median	6	11	17	26	7	11	16	22
Upper quartile	16	21	29	33	14	18	22	29

Figure 5.1 School leadership in England 2010-2016: Characteristics and trends

By comparing my participants with the data in figure 5.1, I was able to draw out any gendered differences. For the male practitioners, the time frame of progression from classroom teacher to middle leader was between 5-11 years, with progression from classroom teacher to a senior leader between 12-15 years on average, showing a *slightly* faster progression but still within the lower quartiles set out in figure 5.1 by the Department for Education (2018a). For the female practitioners, the time frame of progression from classroom teacher to middle leader was between 5-13 years, with progression from classroom

teacher to a senior leader between 13-18 years on average, showing minimal differences when compared to the male participants.

The fastest promotional advantage seen within my research was by Morgan (Head teacher), who within eight years of qualifying as a teacher reached the position of a head teacher. However, he came into the profession with ten years of teaching abroad, business and managerial experience, effectively taking the same amount of time and gathering of experience as those within the profession. Morgan was the only outlier from the participants and thus left out of the above time frames for the male participants. Of the other three male interviewees, they all received a promotion within a year of the lower quartile for middle management and senior leadership as laid out in figure 5.1 by the Department for Education (2018a). Surprisingly, the rate of progression to the role of head teacher matched the findings in figure 5.1. This implies that fast-tracked careers to the top are a rarity and not solely based on gender inequality practices. While still faster than the norm, all of these males had intersecting factors, such as previous skill set or experience which played a role in their promotions. The remaining male interviewees who had been promoted all fell into the lower quartile.

The fastest accumulation of micro-promotions within my research was seen in Jordon, who within two years had managed to be put on a pre-management course and shadow subject leaders. This would put him years ahead of the lower quartile of a 'standard' progression of a school teacher. It is unclear whether these career gains would have been achieved with or without the use

of micro-promotions given that Jordon was very pro-active in seeking out opportunities. While the longest accumulation of micro-promotions within my research was seen with Alex who experienced several years of micro-promotions before he managed to move into a middle management position, however, three years later he rapidly moved into a senior leadership role. still comes in under the lower quartile as seen in figure 5.1. In Alex's case, his movement and career progression have been linked heavily with his connection with the local community. Given this connection, gendered micro-promotions, for the most part, can be seen as a way to appease societal concerns and discourses around role models.

In answering research question two, 'To what extent, with regards to promotion, are male primary school teachers the subject of preferential treatment?' there is a misconception between what is thought to happen with the promotion of male primary school teachers and what occurs. While an outward appearance of preferential treatment is being used, there is an implicit nuanced sophisticated application of positive action being employed. This subtle use is, however, far less aggressive than the standard use of positive action where the outcomes reflect an actual promotion or employment. Male interviewees were able to identify the use of gendered micro-promotions given the preference of males in career opportunities based on binary beliefs, as the jobs they were being asked to do were often gender-stereotypical ones, especially around sports and general lifting tasks. Yet the nature and implementation of gendered micro-promotions appear to both appease societal concerns around a lack of male role models, while simultaneously limiting rapid fast-tracked careers of

those male teachers. Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2003, 220) identify this as schools 'drawing on popular discourses to connect to students' which reiterates the impact societal concerns have upon schools. Despite these findings, the disparity and lack of communication between teaching staff and managerial staff result in a misinterpretation of what is going on. The presentation of the 'glass travelator' provides a more accurate depiction of the day-to-day application of promotional advantages that men receive in primary school teaching positions. It is important to point out that 'glass travelator' provides a marginally faster accumulation of social capital compared to the 'glass escalator', it does not guarantee that promotion will ever be received but only gets the individual to the front of the line.

5.3 Theme three: Expectations and pressures – Visibility, Stereotyping and career opportunities

'The extent to which these stereotypes contribute to the 'glass escalator effect' by channelling men into more 'legitimate' (and higher paying) occupations, they are not discriminatory' (Williams, 1992: 264).

The coverage of the literature in chapter 2 demonstrated that men in gender-atypical work are either identified through Tokenism (Kanter, 1977) as a disadvantaged group or through Williams (1992) 'glass escalator' phenomenon as advantaged. However, throughout theme 1 and 2 the inclusion of intersectionality enables the emergence of a more detailed understanding of the complex, nuanced mechanisms underpinning promotion. Likewise, my

findings once again challenge the assumptions of the available literature supporting Woodhams et al's (2015) suggestion that not all men in female-dominated professions can be on the receiving end of advantages or promotion. Practitioners' use of the phrases "more visible" (Jordon – Class teacher) and "highly visible" (Male focus group school A) reference a sense of '*heightened visibility*' amongst male teachers within primary schools. I termed this heightened visibility of male teachers as 'hyper-visibility'. The use of intersectionality allowed for the documentation of the perceived variations that male and female practitioners can utilise within their teaching identities and behaviours. This has implications for the career movement of male teachers as Skelton (2003) points out that complexities arise from this position as there is a desire to purposefully bring in males who embody heteronormative traits. This is referenced in the literature (Sargent, 2005; Cushman, 2009; Mills et al, 2008; Brownhill, 2014) as displaying of masculine behaviours (independence, disciplinarians, sportiness, leadership) for males, with a rejection of stereotypical female feminine behaviours (nurturer, kind, loving, empathy). Several participants identified themselves as meeting these masculine ideals, with Shawn and Shane (Class teacher) both believing advantages were gained because 'we were sporty'. Alex (SLT and Class teacher) cited being an ethnic and religious role model in the community as aiding his career advantages and promotions. However, while some practitioners had felt positive outcomes due to their hyper-visibility, this was not seen as a universal result for all-male practitioners. A prerequisite to being on the receiving end of positive hyper-visibility can be identified as adhering to a strict set of expectations showcasing heteronormativity, embodying masculine traits as a disciplinarian, and being the

'right kind of male' placed upon male teachers often is unachievable for the majority of males.

A central theme to emerge from the overall findings was that not all men can receive advantages. This aligns with May's (2015) argument that traditional dominant groups can also experience inequalities of the status quo, with the 'domination of one group of men over other men and women' (Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2013: 104). The implication here is that men do not form one dominant group on the end of advantages as seen by Williams (1992) and neither are they wholly disadvantaged as seen by Kanter (1977). Despite males already being a minority within teaching, there is the recognition that they are also subdivided into multiple sub-groups which Murray (2015, 3) describes as the 'minority within the minority', or 'minority men'. Being categorised as this infers that they have failed to meet what Mills et al (2008, 71) termed as the 'imaginary male teacher', poised both as a saviour and the disciplinarian towards unruly students. Due to this image and perception, it appears that for male practitioners there is a limited window in operating their identities and behaviours. Gatrell and Swan (2008) too recognised that men are constantly under pressure to maintain their 'masculine' identities. Dominant forms of masculinity in a given historical and society-wide setting legitimises unequal gender relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2018). From this, Connell (1987, 1995) conceptualised the idea of 'multiple' masculinities when discussing dominant forms in gender relations, which are formed into the framework of masculinity sub-groups.

The practitioners in my research can be categorised similarly into three distinct sub-groups following Connell's framework of masculinities (2005). Of the 11 male participants, only 2 (Morgan and Reese) were identified as being in the dominant group of 'hegemony', advancing into managerial positions faster than the lower quartile as set out the Department for Education (2018a) in figure 5.1. Like with the conclusion of Connell (2005, 79) and Brody (2014), men 'rigorously practising the hegemonic pattern [of masculinity] may be quite small', therefore inferring that not many men meet such standards. For the most part, a majority of the male participants, 8 out of 11, fall under Connell's complicit masculinities (2005, 79), who benefit from the 'patriarchal dividend', without 'being the frontline troops of patriarchy'. Only 1 male participant (Jayden) could be identified as occupying the subordinate group. Connell's (2005, 79) description of these men being 'excluded from the circle of legitimacy' comes about due to individuals showcasing traits mainly associated with females. In the case of Jayden, he was both openly gay and taught in the lower end of school and a willing contributor of gender-flexible practices (Warin, 2019), which results in him being easily distinguishable from the other men in primary school settings. Interestingly, my findings discredit Connell's (2005, 79) final group of marginalised masculinities centred on the 'interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race' as participants with multiple protected characteristics were equally on the end of advances compared to men from white British backgrounds. What can be seen, however, is a further sub-division of men within the complicit masculinity group as some were on the receiving end of gendered micro-promotions and able to travel on the 'glass

travelator' while others were not. Despite these men not receiving micro-promotions, their overall image did not appear damaged and remained out of the subordinate group.

The men in both the hegemony and complicit groups can be seen to be meeting the heteronormative masculine behaviours which Mills et al (2008, 72) describe as 'the ability to control unruly students, a commitment to sport, maintenance of emotional distance and the willingness to work hard'. Davies (2006, 436) argues that heteronormativity is part of the 'act of formation' contributing to how male teachers construct their way of interacting. Interestingly, ten of the eleven male interviewees expressed that occupying anything outside of hegemonic masculine behaviours was difficult, which can be seen as a consequence of their 'hyper-visibility'. As a consequence of recuperative masculinity politics, the existence and desire for male teachers as role models, influenced by societal concerns over the feminization of schools (Martino and Kehler, 2006) and the 'moral panic' (Titus,2004: 145; Brownhill, 2014), force males to embody masculine identities. The male interviewees expressed that they felt all males are expected to fulfil such masculine role so as not to make themselves more visible. Furthermore, the female practitioners, despite their position of gender flexibility, also pointed out that such expectations exist. This also opposes Hogan's (2012) claim that men in the complicit masculinity group are more likely to be gender-blind with a reluctance to critically engage with gendered discourses. Yet, the male interviewees expressed awareness of occupying forms of masculinity, furthermore, expressing that such behaviours are never explicitly defined. Undefined and unspecified heteronormative behaviours

appear to be a consequence of what the school and local community considered the 'norm', for the individual there was no consistent behaviour that could be upheld across different schools. Brownhill (2014, 248) specifically identifies the confusion around what he refers to as 'the male role model's job description', with men trying to model unspecified characteristics and behaviours. Due to this lack of specified heteronormative masculine expectations and a lack of consistency on male behaviours and identities supported by Foster and Newman (2005), male practitioners instead resort to self-expectations and self-pressures. Such self-imposed expectations and pressures derive from observing other 'successful male teachers' within primary schools (Jordon – Class teacher), which is identified by those in the hegemonic group. Once again this implies that the scope for male teachers to occupy identities and behaviours outside of heteronormative masculinities is rather narrow, showing the limitations that come with hyper-visibility.

Compared to the male interviewees, within the findings, the female interviewees perceived that they had a much wider capacity to express a range of behaviours and identities. This was seen in the positions that the female participants held in each schools ranging from teaching in the lower end of school to senior leadership roles. Female practitioners expressed an inclusive disposition of gender flexible practices (Warin and Adriany, 2017; Warin, 2017), which implies that they at least attempt to 'disrupt the slow but steady progress of gender entrenchment' (Warin and Adriany, 2017, p. 384). This also expresses that both male and female teachers can occupy masculine and feminine identities in teaching. This supports the argument by Kerfoot and Knights (1996) that

masculinity in management is more akin to a performance, rather than a distinguishing factor common only to men, thus mirroring the conclusion of Collinson and Hearn (1996, 7) that masculinities and femininities are 'not homogenous, unified or fixed, but diverse and shifting'. This can, though, be attributed to their numerical majority within the teaching workforce, with female teachers having to fulfil a multitude of roles. This is not to say that schools require men to embody masculine behaviours, agreeing that what matters is their competency rather than their gender. Of the female interviewees sampled, none expressed any negative outcomes or consequences from occupying both masculine and feminine roles, disputing the findings of Desmarais and Alksnis (2005, 37) who found that female showing successful 'masculine' behaviours might be accused of 'failing to perform their feminine role properly'. Harper (SLT and Class teacher) expressed that she was often known as the "female teacher who told children off", contradicting the wider literature ideal of the nurturing feminine female teachers. This finding also disputes with Green and Cassell's (1996, 168) suggestion that women are seen to lack these masculine traits needed for management, instead they are characterised as: 'submissive, nurturing, warm, kind and selfless'.

With these findings, one would expect given such a wider scope for occupying a variety of behaviours and identities that female teachers would be desired more in teaching. However, the binary scope that society continues to uphold, places male teachers in positions of prominence making them 'valuable' and 'desired' (Morgan). Such flexibility and 'preferential treatment' in this form is attributed by Klassen and Chill (2010) as a heightened awareness from those

in management about the conflict female teachers have between work and family roles reaffirming gender mindfulness. Interestingly, the male interviewees expressed that they felt this type of 'advantage' was not accessible to them. Alex provided a personal example and experience where he only took one week of his paternity leave to ensure that he had some 'left-over days' in case of emergencies surrounding his children in the future. Alex was vocal that he believed he would be given less flexibility to have potential days off and look after his children compared to several of his female peers who had been given leniency to do just that. The implication here is that the perpetual existence of a gender binary system is reliant on stereotypes of what each sex 'should be doing' (Butler, 2006) and providing each sex with specific assumptions, for women flexibility in their work; for men movement in their career.

5.3.1 A consequence of visibility: Factors affecting promotion

The impact of hyper-visibility was seen to have further consequences for male teachers, which were highlighted by the interviewees as having an impact on promotional decisions. The ability to meet this heteronormative ideal was partly attributed to where teachers are positioned in schools. Like with much of the findings there existed a distinct gender binary viewpoint of where males and females were best perceived to teach, this is identified in both my findings and the literature as being influenced by society (Smith, 2010; Francis, 2010). All of the Interviewees shared experiences of men being more commonly placed in KS2 (ages 7-11; Years 3-6), while females were more commonly found in KS1 (ages 5-7; Years 1 and 2) and ECEC settings (ages 3-5; Nursery and

246

Reception). Yet a look at figure 5.2 visibly demonstrates a more balanced gender distribution that the literature or practitioners perceptions suggest. There exists a clear gender disparity in ECEC and reception as well as head/deputy head teacher positions. There is a surprisingly higher number of male teaching assistant and higher learning teaching assistants than expected from the literature as well.

Figure 5.2 - Interviewees teaching positions
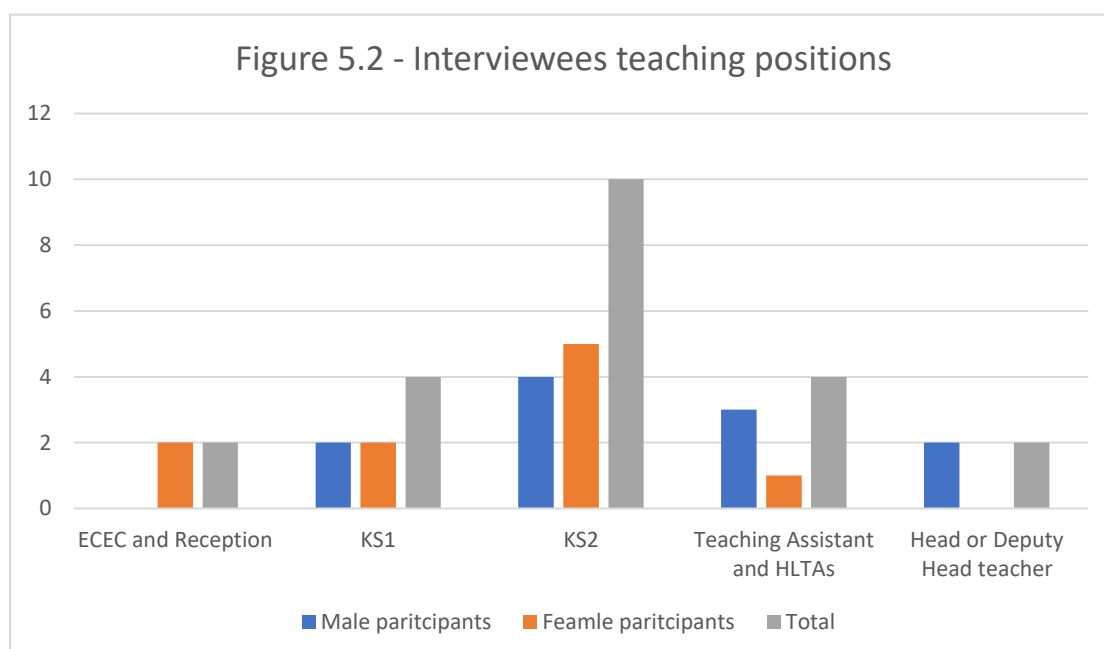
Therefore, for male teachers to be outside of this 'norm', they are more likely to be subject to a heightened hyper-visibility and subject to stereotypes about their sexuality as Frankie (Class teacher) commented 'there is a thing with men who teach EYFS or KS1 being perceived as a bit gay really, a bit feminine'. However, the interviewees pointed out that some men are more aligned with feminine features rather than masculine ones and were suited to teaching in the lower years to what Francis (2008) terms 'male femininity'. Both Jayden and Shane, who worked in KS1 classes, identified themselves as being in the subordinate group of men due to where they teach, with Jayden calling himself

a "rare breed". This awareness by the male interviewees echoes the work of Warin (2019, 304), which concludes that given their minority status, male practitioners in ECEC settings would be 'attuned to gender issues'. This argument was further pursued by the interviewees that if there was truly a commitment to providing male role models to children then this would be reflected throughout education not just towards the latter stages of primary school. Brownhill (2014, 1) and Watson (2010) both point out that local and governmental campaigns are urging 'brave men' to work in the ECEC sector as well as in early primary school years. Yet the connotation of men being 'brave' to teach in these lower years of education implies that binary stereotypes and pressures still exist for men. This was seen within my research findings as there was little vocal community desires to have male teachers in the lower end of schools.

Another area in which all the male interviewees expressed the effects of hyper-visibility was around heteronormative assumptions upholding expectations around families and family. While the gendered expectations in schools place female teachers as the motherly figures and having families are expressed in the literature (Oakley, 1985; Riddell and Tett, 2006), the male expectation seems to be one of a 'breadwinner' (Cushman, 2005). The apparent use of gendered stereotypes is troubling in both these cases. Firstly, this prompts the idea of gender-specific spheres with distinctive family roles. While secondly, supporting gendered essentialist behaviour expectations around motherly and fatherly traits. For men, in particular, the 'hidden pressure', as coined by Jayden, to provide for your family may be a driving factor in men pursuing higher

paid jobs and advancing up the career ladder. Once again, the hyper-visibility of male teachers allows for a little movement and the rewarding of following such heteronormative masculine discourses, mirroring Blithe's (2015) 'glass handcuff' metaphor. This results in pushing men away from being viewed as nurturers, reaffirming the roles of mothers and fathers in the domestic 'nuclear family' stereotypes.   However, both the literature and my findings dispute the impact this has on males, with Houle et al (2009) states that such traditional concepts of family, that males serve as the provider while women serve as the mother figure is outdated. Several female interviewees shared experiences of situations where they had been the main breadwinner in their house due to circumstances or chosen career. Such findings challenge the work of Hakim (2000, 167) who found that female workers depend on 'adaptive occupation, fitting paid work around their domestic role'.

In answering research question three, 'To what extent does a male primary school teacher's 'minority status' have an effect on promotional career prospects?' insights have been gained into understanding the nuances of promotional opportunities that men and women face in teaching. The impact that hyper-visibility has upon male teachers cannot be understated, since their experiences whether good or bad seem to stem from their numerical minority within primary schools. Yet the of role society is an identifiable driving force behind promotional prospects, because the continual adherence to gender binary beliefs from society forces both men and women to occupy masculine and feminine behaviours respectively. It was established in answering research question two that 'gendered micro-promotions' are the day-to-day application

of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon and a form of positive discrimination. Given the use of positive action practices to allow the preference of men over women for a job, those in charge of employment within the school would want to bring men who display the heteronormative masculine traits to appease local community concerns. This is achieved through gendered micro-promotions which too have a strict criterion, relying on recuperative masculinity politics and the rewarding of hegemonic masculine behaviours through jobs such as leading sports clubs, fronting certain topics (e.g. Physical Education, Computing, Technology-based subjects) and work surroundings.

The identification of three sub-sets of male teachers, dominant, complicit and subordinate, further shows the complexity that male teachers face when negotiating their behaviour and identity. For male teachers, interconnecting with their numerical minority, they can be seen to have less scope to occupy behaviours outside of the prescribed binary belief. Access to 'gendered micro-promotions' seems to be based on meeting these binary expectations. Interestingly, regardless of whether a male teacher is on the receiving end of 'micro-promotions', they remain hyper-visible. If an individual does meet these heteronormative masculine expectations, then their visibility is positively viewed elevating their status within the school. Whereas, if they fail to meet such expectations, then their visibility becomes a negative consequence. This manifests as not gaining promotions within the school, yet this can apply to a vast majority of female teachers as well. The negatives for males can instead be attributed to the individual themselves, placing self-pressures and expectations to try and meet societal standards. The numerical minority of male

primary school teachers does play a role in their promotional prospects; however, this is only a factor due to the vocalisation of societal pressures and concerns around male role models.

5.4 Chapter 5 review

This chapter has addressed the '"So What?" question' which Trowler (2016, 50) advises as a necessity to demonstrate 'the wider significance of this research to the academic community generally and/or to the economy, society or culture?'. In answering my three research questions I argue that preferential promotional treatment aimed at men does occur in primary schools, however, in a much more subtle implicit manner than outlined by Williams (1992, 1995). In theme 1 (Intersectionality and promotions – The role of relationships on career movement) intersectionality was positioned as a key factor in the promotion of practitioners demonstrating a complex array of influences on who is advanced. In theme 2 (The role of positive discrimination and preferential treatment on promotions; two sides of the same coin?) it was shown that the process of advancement of male teachers is not as rapid as proposed by Williams and the wider literature, instead marginal advantages are gained. Finally, in theme 3 (Expectations and Pressures – Visibility, Stereotyping and career opportunities) male teachers are seen to be on the receiving end of heightened visibility having continually maintain a specific masculine identifies within schools, which was proposed as being a self-imposed expectation by men themselves. The contribution to knowledge will now be laid out next in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In chapter one, I delineated in the rationale that there was a need to investigate the disproportionate number of men in managerial positions in primary school education, in particular, 'To investigate the promotional patterns of male primary school teachers to identify how far advantages are being received and who is receiving them'. Through the exploration and use of a theoretical framework made up of, Williams' (1992) original 'glass escalator' phenomenon, Kanter's (1977) tokenism and newer work on intersectionality (Olesky, 2011; Guittar and Guittar, 2015; Hill-Collins and Bilge, 2016) I sought to understand the types of career opportunities that were available to men in teaching. The main gendered discourses which I addressed and sought to challenge were that all men receive compound advantages as a result of their minority status, reinforced by society's preference of men and masculinities (Kanter, 1977; Williams, 1995; Connell, 1996), as well as the receiving of compound advantages equating to men experiencing rapid fast-tracked career movements into managerial positions (Hymowitz and Shellhardt, 1986; Budig, 2002; Ryan et al, 2007; Blithe, 2015). The inclusion of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon was inspired by a call from Williams (2013, 626) for 'new metaphors to explain gender inequality' as the 'glass escalator' is no longer reflective of the current labour market. Through the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis, my research reaffirmed that existing metaphors and understandings around gendered promotions and career advancement do not reflect precisely the everyday practice within school settings. A generalisation and focus on a small fraction of men who already reside within a minority within primary schools

252

result in an oversimplification of all men's experiences in this profession. This thesis, therefore, has contributed a more sophisticated metaphor, the 'glass travelator' to convey male teacher advantages, as well as a new concept 'gendered micro-promotions' which depicts the nuanced application of day-to-day practice of gender inequality in primary schools. Furthermore, this thesis contributes further understandings of the '*politically correct'* culture of schools whereby gender essentialist views and assumptions upholding 'everyday sexism' are shared collectively but never challenged openly.

In this chapter, I bring together the key findings from the preceding chapters that relate to the above concerns and illustrate my core thesis contribution – that the 'glass escalator' phenomenon exists in a far more subtle and implicit way in primary schools than presented by Williams (1992). I conclude this thesis with a section exploring my claim for contribution to the wider literature followed by implications of my findings for both theory and practice around gendered inequality and promotion. Lastly, I will present the limitations of my research, discussing possible directions that future research could be taken in.

6.1 Making the claim for contribution

Petre & Rugg (2010, 14) state 'making a significant contribution means adding to knowledge or contributing to the discourse'. Within chapter two, I acknowledged several gaps in the available literature including the 'glass escalator's' deficiency in capturing and understanding the promotional patterns of men and women demonstrating who is advantaged or disadvantaged; a

deficiency of research centred on the role of intersectionality and the 'glass escalator'; and the limitations of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon to factor in the day-to-day practices and experiences of male practitioners in the context of British primary schools. In answering my research question and addressing these gaps I have contributed the following to the literature,

i.   An examination of the promotional patterns of male teachers in British primary schools, identifying that only certain men are advantaged. As part of a minority group in primary schools, those men who teach in the lower end of school are not advantaged, as assumptions over their sexuality are associated with working with younger children.

ii. Extending and contributing knowledge to the available research literature on the role that intersectionality plays in promotions and career movements as well as an understanding of how they are achieved.

iii. A re-examination of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon within primary school education identifying the nuanced sophisticated application of day-to-day practices through the conceptualisation of 'gendered micro-promotions'.

iv. The identification and expansion of the 'glass travellator' as a more suitable metaphor to describe the type of advantages that are received by teachers in British primary school education.

A central weakness of the 'glass escalator' phenomenon was the exclusion of intersectionality, identified both as a continual criticism throughout the literature (Price-Glynn and Rakowski, 2012; Woodhams et al, 2015; Karlson, 2012) and by Williams (2013) herself,

'I now believe that the concept is of limited use in explaining men's economic advantages over women…the concept lacks an analysis of intersectionality. The 'glass escalator' was based on the experiences of straight, white, middle-class men' (Williams 2013, 610).

The 'glass escalator's' focus on gender led to a limited and narrow conclusion on what upholds compound advantage or disadvantage. There have been in recent years a rise in the number of research studies being conducted utilising intersectionality to better grasp an understanding of gender inequality in gender-atypical professions. Nevertheless, coverage is often only given to one or two intersecting additional socio-cultural factors, for example, class, disability, ethnicity, and sexuality (Lupton, 2006; Wingfield, 2009; Karlson, 2012; Price-Glynn and Rakowski, 2012; Woodhams et al, 2014). Equally, I included intersectionality in my conceptual framework to address gender inequality in gender-atypical professions, however, I did not stipulate or frame pre-dictated factors. Instead, intersecting factors were drawn from the experiences and comments of the participants and in doing so contributing to the understanding of the impact that a wide range of factors have upon promotions. My research supports previous studies (Taylor et al, 2011; Carbado et al, 2013; May, 2015) while contributing to new understandings recognising intersectionality, not as a fixed entity applicable to all, but rather fluid and varying contextually. Evidence was seen in the findings concerning gender and ethnicity, in one schools it was considered a vital combination yet of little consequence in another.

The complexity of intersectionality demonstrated that the 'glass escalator' phenomenon only captures the experiences of a small proportion of individuals in unique circumstances, identifiable as the hegemonic masculine groups in my findings. This is something Williams (2013, 610) herself acknowledged as 'the 'glass escalator' was based on the experiences of straight, white, middle-class men'. This in part comes from the 'glass escalator' phenomenon's application within several gender-atypical professions (nursing, librarianship, elementary school teaching and social work), consolidating the individual experiences of men in these areas into one universal outcome. By encompassing all male's experiences into a generalised statement, the actual promotional patterns of men are not accurately reflected. My main contribution to knowledge is twofold, primarily it presents a more accurate metaphor in demonstrating gender inequality in sex atypical professions than Williams' (1992) seminal definition, moreover, it offers a deeper focused lens to understand the gendering of promotional patterns by placing emphasis on a single profession. A focus on the general results in a loss at the specific. While placing these professions under this umbrella of 'predominantly women's work' (Williams, 1992: 253) was useful in providing an initial entry point and general framework for the types of gender inequality that occur in gender-atypical work, it fails to account for the subtle differences across not only gender-atypical professions for men but also occupations in general. In teaching for example, as expressed continually in my findings, the 'glass escalator' phenomenon as laid out by Williams (1992) would not occur explicitly given the regulated existing procedures and monitoring that exist around promotions.

The main shortcoming of the 'glass escalator' metaphor, therefore, lies in its inability to capture the complexity of promotions and career movement of men in gender-atypical professions. My research confirms previous findings of Kullberg's (2013) notion of the 'glass travelator' metaphor contributing to new understandings which effectively convey the day-to-day application and practice of gendered inequality in primary schools. In chapter two, the 'glass escalator' phenomenon was framed as an aggressive tactic to place men in positions of power such as managerial teams and senior leadership roles, through fast-tracked promotions. Figure 6.1 establishes the differences between the 'glass escalator' and 'glass travelator', demonstrating the reconceptualision of who is on the receiving end of advantage. This newer metaphor provides a more accurate depiction of the practices I uncovered.

Another important contribution of my research was the emergence and discovery of 'gendered micro-promotions', contributing considerably to a richer understanding of the internal workings and promotional rewards which elevate men into positions of power and progress up the career ladder. While aspects of gender-inequality were still present in my findings, it was seen to take place at a more marginal and slower rate than envisioned through the 'glass escalator'. The conventionally understood outcomes from the 'glass escalator': higher wages, rapid fast movement and additional support, as seen in the literature (Hultin, 2003; Huffman, 2004; Maume, 2004) differ from the actual workings of promotion and career opportunities.

Table 6.1 - **Differences between 'glass escalator' phenomenon and 'glass travelator' metaphor**

'Glass escalator' phenomenon	'Glass travelator' phenomenon
• Form of preferential treatment using unlawful practices.	• Form of positive discrimination using the legitimate practice of 'positive action'.
• Advantages are gained considerably faster than the norm.	• Advantages are gained over time, marginally quicker than the norm.
• Outcome involves rapid career movement and substantial pay increases.	• Outcome includes minimal career movement and no pay increase in the short-term.
• Promotions are achieved through fast-tracked progression into managerial positions.	• Promotions are achieved through the accumulation of small jobs and tasks (micro-promotions).
• Heightened-visibility as a consequence.	• Heightened-visibility as a consequence.
• Accessible to all male teachers.	• Not accessible to all male teachers.

The identification of professional capital being utilised to favour individuals demonstrated a unique dynamic to the way promotions are accessed. How does professional capital become gendered? This is a key component in understanding promotion in primary schools; capital, within the context of my findings, appears to stem from the gender essentialist views held by practitioners. Bourdieu (1984, 107) points out that 'sexual properties are as

inseparable from class properties as the yellowness of a lemon is from its acidity'. It can be seen that one's *'habitus'*, determined by the professional structure, shapes the class-based capital that men and women receive resulting in gendered forms of cultural capital (Laberge, 1995). Parallels can be drawn with the conclusions of Dumais (2002, 47) who argued that for men, capital is often acquired for 'educational qualification and getting a job'. This supports my findings on the gendering of 'micro-promotions' along with Williams' (1992) and Connell's (1996) notion that society favours masculinity and male presence as my research indicates that it is predominantly male practitioners who end up on the receiving end of these advantages. However, there were also subtle inferences in my research which indicate that micro-promotions may also be open to some female practitioners who could also receive advantages. There is scope in my contribution here to speculate that micro-promotions also exist for females in gender-atypical work given the parallels with being a minority and calls for more representation across the workforce. My research, therefore, disputes the idea that benefits were open to all men, instead argues that many male teachers receive no additional extras than their female peers.

In recognising 'gendered micro-promotions', I was able to uncover how they were being used by senior leadership teams to promote male practitioners in schools. Interestingly, they are closely aligned with legitimate and lawful practices through the implementation of positive discrimination practices, through positive action. This is unlike the 'glass escalator' phenomenon which is recognised as preferential treatment given its outright prejudice in promoting men based on their gender. Critically, not all male teachers are able to achieve

any advantages from their gender, but only those displaying 'desired' traits of hegemony (disciplinarians, role models, leaders) are able to gain access to additional advantages. This does, however, reaffirm the existence of the 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell, 1996) as a driving force in shaping gendered discourses and influencing promotional decisions. The key fundamentals of the 'glass travelator' metaphor as presented in my findings is the invisible nature of the 'micro' nuances of 'everyday sexism' practices as well as the reinterpretation of this rapidity in which promotional advantages are gained, in favour of more marginal returns. While my research does not dispute that males are often the ones on the receiving end of additional advantages, through 'gendered micro-promotions', it does disagree with the idea that career movements are rewarded at a much more fast-tracked rate than the norm. Despite an abundance of research literature claiming that men in gender-atypical professions are progressed at a rapid fast-tracked rate (Williams, 1995; Connell, 1996; Wingfield, 2009; Lewis and Simpson, 2012; Simmons et al, 2015), my research challenges this with only one out of the eleven male interviewees experiencing a faster than 'normal' promotion. This demonstrates that men's career movements for the most part still occur in a typical timeframe for promotion as delineated by the Department for Education (2018a) figures as referred to in Chapter 5. Yet, despite a similar timeframe, behind closed doors there exists an invisible gender essentialist discourse, subtly placing male practitioners into positions of advantage.

6.2 Implications of the research findings

An important aspect of presenting findings from my research is to signify what wider significances they pose, Fox (2017, 68) argues that by identifying the implications of research there is an 'opportunity to indicate what good or what use your research could be...to show it has value and practical applicability in the real world'. Presented in this section I have identified several significant implications of my research both theoretically and practically which will be of interest for those involved in education. Key implications for both individual and institutional levels will be covered, including recommendations for both policy and practice.

Individual level

At the individual level, the implications of my research have an impact on practitioners and their understanding of promotions within schools. Outlined here are some of the key issues that practitioners faced, bullet-pointed for convenience,

- There is a deficiency in the understanding of the multiplicity of promotions and how they can be accessed within and through the appraisal system. Teaching staff showed awareness specifically on the 'traditional' model of career movement within teaching, that being years of experience equating to promotional opportunities.

- Promotions were associated with established gendered presumptions which uphold gender binary stereotypes perpetuating a continuous cycle.

- For male teachers as a minority group, there is evidence of an inadequate support system amongst male teachers to discuss their understanding and attempts to meet the vagueness of embodying the 'right kind of male' ideal.

My research and findings are of particular interest to teaching practitioners in providing an accessible representation of the inner-workings of promotions and promotional decisions within primary schools. This knowledge is important to practitioners, given that in my findings, teaching staff interviewed demonstrated an inadequate understanding of promotions and the utilisation of the appraisal system in shaping one's career. The need for a clear understanding of the appraisal system is vital as they are identified as the cornerstone for professional development and promotional discussions (O'Pry and Schumacher, 2012). Many of the senior leadership interviewees commented that those who had made good use of the appraisal system to ask for more opportunities and or layout their future plans were the ones who had more success at progressing in teaching. My findings revealed that a small minority of teachers can successfully utilise and navigate the appraisal system to progress their career stressing the importance of '*pro-activity*' by teachers as mentioned by senior leadership interviewees.

There seems, however, to be a need for more clarification and coverage on the usefulness and influence that appraisals provide for the individual when considering career planning. There exists sufficient coverage of this within the research literature as provided in chapter two (Looney, 2011; Forrester, 2011;

Education for England, 2012; Department for Education, 2012; Department for Education, 2018b), however, either due to an inability to access or oblivious to its availability, practitioners do not seem to be successfully accessing such literature. This lack of understanding could account for the participants' gendered views when discussing promotion. There is an implication here that a lack of understanding could lead to resentment towards men (or more specifically certain types of men) who appear to be on the receiving end of 'preferential treatment' within schools. Therefore, this information needs to be distributed in a way which practitioners can interact with it. This could be achieved either explicitly during the initial training stage, or through continual CPD opportunities and workshops on career and promotional advice. While there is an argument for easier access, ownership also needs to be placed on the shoulders of the practitioners themselves to some extent as professional development is the responsibility of both the school leadership team and the individual themselves (Middlewood and Cardino, 2001). There is the argument that those who do access this information and take responsibility for their professional development are somewhat rewarded with progression opportunities.

One key area of my research which is of further interest to practitioners is around the gendered discourses that persist within teaching. My data showed a lack of gender awareness amongst teaching staff and the impact this might have on the lives of teachers. Much of the consciousness that did exist with males associated with masculine behaviours and females with feminine behaviours was mainly as a consequence of rumours and speculation which

conform to gender binary stereotypes. The participants suggested that this inaccurate reflection of actual practices may be influenced by essentialist notions from popular media outlets. The persistence of these gendered stereotypes implies a lack of internal discussion and awareness on the more nuanced gender differences that exist in teaching. Such practices being distinguishable and openly discussed is important for practitioners as the identification and understanding of gendered discourses could help with the ongoing battle in dismantling gender inequality within teaching.

A recommendation to engage practitioners in critical thinking and acknowledgement of the multiple gender differences that exist within teaching would be through additional training and CPD opportunities. A suggestion for specific CPD chances would be the use of GST (Gender Sensitivity Training) in which Warin (2015, 103) argues 'has to become a key element of initial teacher training (ITT) and continuing professional development (CPD) if we want to disrupt the slow but steady progress of gender entrenchment'. Furthered by Josephidou (2018, 189) who proposes that the utilisation of GST could 'support individual practitioners in examining gender critically in a holistic way'. In turn, this could lead them to examine 'their own practices in the workplace and empower them to both lead on gender equal pedagogies and challenge and disrupt gendered behaviours and practices' (Josephidou, 2018: 189). Josephidou (2018, 189) does caution, however, that one-off GST sessions would not provide the necessary desired outcomes, instead opting for 'progression of ideas over a period of time where participants would have the support of either online or face to face groups'. Therefore, the

implementation of GST should be implemented initial teacher training phrase then embed as part of the annual CPD cycle within institutions would prove the most effective strategy. The use of GST was proposed mainly to take place within ECEC settings (Warin, 2015; Josephidou, 2018). Given the gendered issues and similarities of the two educational establishments it would not be difficult to repurpose and adapt this training to suit the specific setting. This would not only aid in the identification of specific implicit gender inequalities within education but also bring a focus onto teaching discourses creating reflective practitioners. Furthermore, the use of GST opportunities would be important in allowing practitioners to question their own beliefs, and that of others, about gender.

While overall my research findings are of use to practitioners generally, they would also be of particular use for male teachers. The illusion that all men must be or should be aiming for managerial positions is one of the main consequences of the 'moral panic' and gender binary beliefs underpinning the labour market and gender-atypical work. My findings around the 'patriarchal dividend', pre-existing assumptions, expectations and pressures placed on male teachers lead to men's perceptions of their own 'hyper-visibility' in teaching. The implication for male practitioners is the uncovering of a clear absence of peer support and insufficient forums for men to openly discuss and comprehend gender-specific expectations, supporting the findings of previous research I conducted (Cousins, 2014). The need for such forums is important, not only for the male teachers themselves in undertaking peer to peer dialogues but also changing the culture around male practitioners' feeling of isolation and

loneliness. Once more, I feel that there is a need to address this during teacher training. The responses shown in Chapter 4 (Findings) of the male participants' experiences of being 'embarrassed' about being more emotionally open demonstrates the need for an ethos around openness, concerning pressures and expectations.   Rhodes and Beneicke (2002, 297) point out that developments in policy towards greater teacher development were designed to bring about support in the form of 'coaching, mentoring and peer-network mechanisms'. Kelly and Antonio (2016, 138) have found that with modern 'peer support groups' taking place on social network sites, practitioners are 'not reflecting on practice, giving feedback or modelling practice'. Although they do conclude that 'that large, open groups seem best-suited to pragmatic advice on teaching' (Kelly and Antonio, 2016: 148). Recommendation for the use of open forums on social network sites for professional development would be difficult to implement or positively influence. However, there is an argument to be made on the creation of more stable and professional peer support groups. Success has been found in Singapore with a 'buddy system' where new teachers are assigned a buddy, mentor or supervisor (Goodwin, 2013) to create an effective teacher network. The re-creation of this system in both British schools and gender-atypical professions alike would allow for an open dialogue of not only the promotion but also in addressing gendered discourses. To circumvent any issues around the rejection of personal relations, as seen throughout my findings, having this type of forum would allow for a strengthening of collegial bonds.

This recommendation for more male peer support groups would also be beneficial in addressing the assumption that all men are advantaged as well, given the tendency for males only to notice other 'successful males'. However, this does not have to be restricted to just single-sex groups. The integration of both sexes would serve to open channels of discussion and support as such issues are not limited to males only. There is also the case for such support groups to exist in the wider field of gender-atypical professions for men. Parallels can be drawn with men in ECEC (Warin, 2017; Warin and Adriany, 2017; Josephidou, 2018), care work (Bagilhole and Cross, 2006; Hussein, 2011; Pease, 2011) nursing (Dyck et al, 2009; McLaughlin et al, 2010; Hoeve et al, 2014), airline attendants (Tiemeyer, 2007; Mills, 2017; Yeoman, 2019) and secretaries or administrative assistants (Lee, 2000; Hahcr et al, 2012). Many of the findings that I have presented here and the implications for individual practitioners have the potential to carry over into other gender-atypical professions given the similar conditions they face, and the probable favourable outcomes as mentioned in the literature.

Institutional level

At the institutional level, the implications of my research have more of an impact upon leadership teams and school overseers around the handling of promotions within schools. Outlined here are some of the key issues facing institutions:

- How schools communicate with their staff around the inner-workings of promotions, appraisals and pay rises?

- The ability to establish, maintain and encourage expectations which move beyond 'gender binary' assumptions towards that of a collaborative collegial workforce.

- Being open about promotions based on social categories and sometimes intersecting social categories.

At the institutional level, there is a chance to address one of the previously mentioned implications, on how schools communicate with their staff about promotions and promotional opportunities. Currently, the discussion and outcomes of promotions are tied closely with the appraisal meetings and are only privy to senior leaders and the individual themselves. However, the findings in my research indicated that often while the individual is aware that they are receiving a promotion or pay increase, there is an uncertainty of the conditions in which they were awarded. As seen in my findings the confidential nature of appraisal meetings, while designed to keep promotions and pay increases as a personal matter, they lead to speculation and rumours about favouritism and preference of certain individuals including 'preferential treatment' for men. This finding is useful to institutions primarily as it would inform them how appraisals are viewed and how they are being accessed as a consequence. Specifically, around the issue of gender, a recommendation for institutions would be to increase the transparency of practices through the implementation of new policies. One suggestion would be to follow a similar model implemented by the Australian government through the Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012 (Australian Government, 2016) where businesses are held accountable with requirements for employers to consult with

employees and trade unions to ensure gender equality. Publication of employers' reports on decisions regarding employment and/or promotion allows for greater public accessibility (Sutherland, 2012). Similar internal policy and practice would ensure that senior leadership teams are able to effectively communicate decisions to their employees. This would be of further use when the employment of positive action is implemented, for example, where the use of gendered preferences and/or protective categories are deemed a legitimate factor in decision making. Throughout the findings, there was a distinct differing on the awareness and understanding of positive discrimination policies and availability by teaching staff, compared to senior leadership teams. Through a more transparent system, not only would potential misunderstandings around favouritism and gender inequality be dismissed, but also the conditions of a promotion would be apparent and create fairness to all who strive for it.

Further recommendations for institutions would be the tackling of presumptions and expectations around the role of teachers in conjunction with gendered stereotypes. This is important considering the apparent internal struggle amongst senior leadership teams to move away from the use of traditional gendered expectations, from the men being 'father figures' and 'role models' to single-parent children, to more collegial practices as identified in my findings. While leadership teams did show awareness of utilising gendered assumptions such as moving a male teacher to a specific class given behavioural issues of the boys, this was not openly discussed with the teaching staff. There is clear evidence from my data that senior leadership teams appear to be genuinely making strides in utilising a collegial mindset when dealing with their workforce,

however, there is an overreliance on falling back on gendered practices to meet the needs of the local families. Given the identification of subtle, implicit practices of gendered inequality within schools, there is clear evidence of a requirement for more explicit discussions and awareness. Once again, the utilisation of CPD opportunities focusing on GST concerning leadership and career movement could aid in the 'normalising' (Hogan, 2012) of gender narratives which empowers practitioners to be agents of change. Alongside this, the initiating and maintaining open dialogues between leadership teams and the wider workforce would provide a more transparent system in which all parties were clear on promotional decisions. A combination of these two CPD prospects would move the focus away from practitioner gender (or other protected characteristics) into 'recruiting a diverse workforce with diverse skills who can be gender flexible' (Josephidou, 2018: 201), while keeping in line with the core belief of collegiality.

From all of the implications for both institutions and practitioners mentioned in this section, the key recommendation has been to establish and maintain open dialogues between senior leadership teams and teaching staff. Utilising CPD opportunities such as 'gender sensitivity training' with a greater focus from within the teaching training programme itself could help foster a new culture amongst teachers which prepares and provides them with an accurate understanding of the inner-workings of their profession. My research illuminates the participants' perceived assumptions of sociocultural values and beliefs, and also demonstrates the impact this has upon an individual's understanding of influencing decisions on the movement of teachers both

laterally and promotionally. Limiting such knowledge exclusively to management teams results in miscommunication, misinterpretation of promotional movements, which reinforces stereotypes and maintaining widespread gender-binary views amongst practitioners.

Dissemination of research

To further make the claim for contribution, and to demonstrate how I have been communicating these implications to practitioners, the findings from my research have been disseminated in person at academic conferences. I have presented papers at the following conferences, seminars and Symposiums:

- 'Learn to walk before you run: Reflections on the competition of a pilot study', Department of Educational Research, (Work in progress conference), Lancaster University (June 2017).

- 'Exploration of the glass-escalator' (Symposium), British Educational Research Association (BERA), University of Brighton (September 2017).

- 'Placing 'Superman' on a pedestal: An exploration of the 'glass escalator' and its implications for male primary school teachers', Department of Educational Research, (Work in progress conference), Lancaster University (June 2018).

As part of my involvement in the work in progress conferences at Lancaster University, several international visiting academics were present. During this, aspects of my research were presented and discussed as part of an open forum, where feedback and open dialogues with peers were accessed. From this, I was able to gain valuable insight not only into the formation of my research but also how it fits into the wider scope of educational research

internationally. This was both helpful in presenting my findings and engaging in peer discussions about my research of the directions it was going in.

A further opportunity to disseminate my research arose from my involvement with the symposium at the *British Educational Research Association Conference ,* which was accepted as a special interest issue entitled 'Beyond gender binaries: Pedagogy and practice in early education and childcare (EEC)' to explore the possibilities for gender transformation that exist within early education and childcare (EEC) settings in an international context (Yuwei et al, 2020). My article, 'Collegiality vs role models: Gendered discourses and the 'glass escalator' in English primary schools' (Cousins, 2020), took one aspect of my research around the gendered discourses upholding the 'glass escalator' phenomenon in primary schools.

6.3 Limitations and future research

An important aspect of research is considering its limitations, using reflexivity practices Greener (2018, 568) argues that identifying the limitations of one's study 'not only demonstrates rigour but also gives the authors a chance to identify clear directions for future research'. This has an impact on both the internal validity 'limitations of the study design and integrity' and external validity the 'outward generalisability of reported results' of research (Price and Murnan, 2004: 66). Consideration of the methodological limitations of my research and a reflection on the research process were all addressed in chapter three (Methodology). For this section, several 'impact' and 'data' limitations will be

presented, along with suggestions and discussion on potential future or further research on this topic.

One of the main limitations of my research is the willingness of the participants to admit to any positive discrimination in their favour. While some participants, like Morgan and Jordan, were relatively open to their experiences around receiving advantages, the other participants were less prepared to do the same. The unwillingness of the participants to share practices of fast-tracked promotion and advantages itself illuminated the presence of a culture of non-disclosure and discussion amongst peers. My research was able to uncover and suggest some ideas as to why this occurred, however, without concrete first-hand experiences from practitioners, inferences are all that could be drawn. Such a limitation in my research was not, however, an unexpected one. I mentioned throughout Chapter 3 (Methodology) and Chapter 5 (Discussion) that this is a consequence of the nature of what was being studied. The likelihood of receiving admission from senior practitioners on the existence and utilisation of favourable discrimination practices being used in schools was relatively low at the designing stage. This limitation is not unique to my research though, which appears to be a hurdle present in the wider literature.

A further limitation of my research was around sampling and generalisation of primary school settings. While I was not expecting to generalise to the extent that Williams' (1992) original research had to a wider population, there were noticeable commonalities between schools. This ultimately aids in the internal validity of my findings given the ability to cross-reference themes and examine

various findings. As mentioned in Chapter 3 (Methodology), where possible a balanced sampling of male and female participants (see Appendix 5) is deemed important.   Due to this there is a limitation in exploring how different communities may impact promotional outcomes.   There is the prospect of extending the sampling of schools in my study further to incorporate the differing types of schools that exist within Britain, from state-run, academies, private schools, to more specialised schools like SEN (Special Educational Needs) or PRU (Pupil Referral Unit) school settings.   Not only do these different types of schools run differently in terms of how they are set up and organised internally, but they also have an array of financial and policy-setting differences which could impact on how promotions are approached.

Linking to this, the geographical scope of my research can also be identified as a limiting factor. While I attempted to ensure a variety of different schools were sampled (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3 – Methodology), casting a wider geographical sampling net would be useful in seeing the differences between inner-city schools and communities in comparison to more rural schools. Also, often different types of schools are seen most prominently in certain geographical areas, for example, state-run schools are often synonymous with more urban city locations. This would also allow for further exploration of intersecting factors, for example in areas where single-parent families are not considered an issue, I would expect less focus on the 'need' for strong male role models resulting in a different set of factors affecting promotion. Additionally, casting a wider sample across more diverse geographical areas would enable further exploration of the numerous religious and ethnic factors

as delineated in Chapter 4 (Findings) and Chapter 5 (Discussion). While comparisons were able to be made within the sample group, they resided within similar geographical areas and from Muslim and Christian religious communities. This does not accurately reflect the multi-cultural composition of British society.

The inclusion of intersectionality as part of my theoretical (conceptual) framework was useful in identifying the numerous factors influencing promotions. However, my study is limited in its ability to explore and uncover the participants' own understanding of intersectionality. Within my findings, there was evidence to suggest limited practitioner awareness of some factors impacting or influencing promotional opportunities as delineated within chapter 4 (Findings). Yet, as determined in chapter 5 (Discussion), often gender, age and race were considered, whereas professional factors, for example, are considered as a separate entity and discussed so accordingly. As a result of this unawareness, the uncovering of deeper understandings of gender were hindered, specifically seen with sexuality. The participants' own lack of understanding of how certain factors influence one another through intersectionality led to findings with an over-reliance on heteronormative assumptions and underlying homophobic comments. As a result of this, and due to the scale and scope of my research, further exploration of where such beliefs and assumptions originate from is restricted. While my findings do suggest that wider societal beliefs and values played an influential part in the existence of such assumptions, an exploration into how these views transferred into the day-to-day practices is needed.

A final limitation of my research is a methodological consideration focusing on my role as an insider researcher through reflexivity and 'ethical mindfulness' (Warin, 2011: 809). While covered earlier in section 3.3 (Methodology chapter - Chapter 3), here an evaluation of the main advantage and disadvantage of assuming this position will be presented. The appeal of being an insider researcher was the understanding of everyday 'educator speak'. This did allow for further exploration around certain concepts, such as teacher expectations or appraisal meetings, without the need to continually clarify the context of the language being used. Such lived insight cannot be achieved without having access to prior knowledge and experience of being in a similar position to the participants. Yet because of this familiarity with the language and daily lives of practitioners, the practitioners often assumed that I knew what was being discussed. Phrases such as "you know what I mean" and "as you have seen" resulted in more complex and nuanced findings, such as 'micro-promotions', initially being obscured. To ensure that the experiences of the participants were captured clearly, I found myself throughout the interviews, having to ask for clarification on what they meant to ensure I had not misinterpreted what they said. I was also conscious that such phrases would not aid the analysis of the data as it would rely on further explanation when transcribing. While this did not affect my research findings, it did potentially take away from exploring some experiences further. Overall, assuming an insider researcher stance did not limit the outcome of my findings and/or contribution to knowledge. Being an insider researcher enabled me to navigate the subtle utterances and implied comments of the participants to uncover the day-to-day application of advancement and formulate the 'glass travelator' metaphor.

Future research

In chapter three I covered the issues I faced with the selection of the participants and how to gain access to them. Attempts were made within this study to obtain a wider spread of participants through purposeful sampling, obtained through the participant information sheet (Appendix 4). This was only filled out once the participants had agreed to partake in the research and before the data collection, this was to ensure confidentiality and create a trustworthy environment. Several participants left certain sections blank, most noticeably around sexuality, this may indicate an unwillingness to provide an answer or consciousness of any potential repercussions and existence of negative connotations associated with men working in care professions. As a consequence of this, the scope with which to explore the intersection of certain factors, like sexuality, was limited in this study. The importance of factors like sexuality in relation to my study is the connection with gendered discourses, specifically the presumption of men working in primary school settings having their sexuality questioned.

Unlike much of the previous research that had been conducted around intersectionality and promotion, I decided to not limit the scope of intersecting factors but to use those which arose from the data collection. Given the scope and representation of these intersecting factors, some were more prominently featured than others, for example, gender, ethnicity, religion and relationships, drawing parallels with the existing research literature. However, other unexpected factors dominated the discussions as well such as the identification and discussion around professional factors (qualifications, skill, ability,

experience) by the interviewees. I think an important area for future research into promotional patterns of teaching practitioners should be the exploration of professional factors. Future researchers could achieve this by focusing on different levels of the educational system in Britain, identifying which factors intersect most prevalently with professional factors. In doing so not only will the subtle day-to-day applications of advantage be drawn out but the research on how professional networks are formed and interact would also be benefited.

Another area of potential future research that arose from my findings would be the exploration of promotional timeframes. One of the biggest hurdles to overcome was the identification of a 'norm' by which promotions were judged. As there are multiple ways to be promoted within primary schools, the 'norm' is extremely subjective and dependent on the route that is taken. While there was an attempt to derive the timeframes of the interviewees from their own experiences, it was still difficult to judge what constituted as a fast-tracked career given the small sample size. Eventually, there was an overreliance on comparison figures published by the Department for Education (2018a), however, these are somewhat outdated and do not indicate the multiple routes open for promotions. From this I uncovered a significant additional gap in the current research literature on the time taken to acquire a promotion within primary schools, making the judgement of 'fast-tracked' careers becomes even more difficult to validate. There is a need for further research on these promotional patterns, uncovering the timeframes in which both male and female teachers take to gain a promotion. This could be achieved through the use of a longitudinal study, like that from the Department for Education (2018a), which

follows individuals in their careers would provide useful insight into the rapidity of promotions. Within this, there is also the scope to investigate how attitudes towards promotion change over time, strengthening an area alluded in my research around the links between personal beliefs and practice in educational settings. While there already exists a strong body of literature on the links between beliefs and practice, further research is needed specifically on the complexity of the lived gendered experiences of promotions.

As a result of my research on defining and expanding upon the 'glass travelator' metaphor, there opens up several avenues for future research. Firstly, given the contextual focus of my research, testing the legitimacy of the metaphor along with the concept of 'gendered micro-promotions' could further help understanding of the implicit nature of gender inequality that occurs in other gender-atypical professions. This would be most pertinent in those professions in which Williams (1995) used when theorising the 'glass escalator' phenomenon, to uncover the contextualised nuanced application of day-to-day practice like within my research. While my research included both male and female participants, the main focus was placed on the interpretation of male primary school teachers' experiences. Therefore, I think it would be prudent to also investigate whether women in a gender-atypical profession can also access gendered micro-promotions, or whether they have some access to marginal gains as predicted by Kullberg (2013) which is not just limited to men or a certain profession. Given that my findings found that not all men are privy to gendered micro-promotions, it stands to reason that this would also be the case elsewhere. Parallels could be drawn with the ongoing research into

women in Vice-Chancellor positions in Higher Education (Chard, 2013; Davies, 2015; Shepherd, 2017) looking at the disproportionate numbers in positions of power within educational settings. This would open up further discussions on the scope of gender inequality, by focusing on exactly who is advantaged or disadvantaged, both within single-gendered groups and across them.

6.4 Final thoughts

Undertaking this research study has been an invaluable learning experience in which I have gained insightful knowledge and understanding of the nature of research. I have learned that the hybrid nature of being both a researcher and practitioner can be incredibly rewarding given the immediate impact and real-world application that research can achieve. In assuming these two roles, I was able to bring a unique perspective to my research utilising my own experiences while taking the approach to research back into my role as a practitioner. Having assumed this position, I feel there is a need for more scope for teachers to undertake research to expand their opportunities to be reflexive and critical of their profession. The undertaking and completion of this research study has provided me with some key ideas to examine my professional values as a practitioner, and guidelines for possible changes to my future practice in the profession. The research process has also encouraged me to view my gendered assumptions and beliefs as a practitioner and how these might be overcome within my practice. This will be achieved upon my return to teaching by making use of the appraisal system and taking the aforementioned GST recommendation back to my leadership team. This way I will be able to

disseminate directly to practitioners and help inform my pedagogical stance. I will also continue to disseminate my work through the publication of research articles to ensure that my findings are both available to broader audiences and engage in peer reviews and maintain the validity of my work.

References

Abrams, F. (2014). Troops to teachers scheme failing to entice ex-soldiers into the classroom, *The Guardian*, accessed from; https://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/aug/05/troops-to-teachers-not-putting-ex-soldiers-in-classrooms on 17th January 2019.

Adom, D., Hussein, E. K. and Agyem, J. A. (2018). Theoretical and conceptual framework: Mandatory ingredients of a quality research, *International Journal of Scientific Research*, 7 (1), 438-441.

Adriany, V. (2013). *Gendered power relations within child-centred discourse: An ethnographic study in kindergarten in Bandung, Indonesia* (PhD thesis). Lancaster University, Lancaster, England.

Allan, J. (1993). Male elementary teachers: Experiences and perspectives, in; Williams, C. L. (ed). *Doing women's work: Men in non-traditional occupations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Allen, B. J. (2011). *Difference matters: Community social identity* (2nd Ed). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Allen, R., Burgess, S. and Mayo, J. (2012). The teacher labour market, teacher turnover and disadvantaged schools: New evidence for England, *Centre for Market and Public Organisation*, Bristol, Working Paper No. 12/294.

Allen-Kinross, P. (2018). Troops to teachers: Quarter of all trainees quit course without qualifying, *Schools Week*, accessed from; https://schoolsweek.co.uk/troops-to-teachers-quarter-of-all-trainees-quit-course-without-qualifying/ on 18th October 2018.

Altrichter, H. and Holly, M. L. (2005). Research diaries, in; Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. (eds). *Research methods in the social sciences.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Alvesson, M. (2011). *Interpreting Interviews.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Anderson, E. (2011). Inclusive masculinities of university soccer players in the American Midwest, *Gender and Education*, 23 (6), 729-744.

Andersen, M. L. and Collins, P. H. (2012). *Race, class and gender: An anthology.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Andrews, J. and Lawrence, T. (2018). School funding pressures in England - The Education Policy Institute, *Education Policy Institute*, accessed from; https://epi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Schools-funding-pressures_EPI.pdf on 18th September 2018.

Angen, M. J. (2000). Evaluating interpretive inquiry: Reviewing the validity debate and opening the dialogue. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10 (3), 378-395.

Angus, L. (1995). Cultural theory in educational administration; in, Evers, C. W. and Chapman, J. D. (eds). *Educational administration: An Australian perspective.* St Leonards, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin.

Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1983). Contextualising feminism: Gender, ethnic and class divisions, *Feminist Review*, 15, 62-75.

Ariogul, S. (2009). Investigating the experiences of male student English teachers in a traditional non-gender profession, *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences,* 1495-1499.

Armstrong, M. (2000). *Performance management: key strategies and practical guidelines* (2nd Ed). London: Kogan Page.

Arthur, L. (2010). Insider-outsider perspectives in comparative education, in; Milligan, L. (eds). Insider-outsider-inbetweener? Researcher positioning, participative methods and cross-cultural educational research, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46 (2), 235-250.

Ashcraft, K. L. (2013). The glass slipper: Incorporating occupational identity in management studies, *Academy of Management Review*, 38 (1), 6-31.

Ashcraft, K, L. and Mumbly, D. K. (2004). *Reworking gender: A feminist communicology of organization.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ashley, M. (2003). Primary schoolboys' identity formation and the male role model: An exploration of sexual identity and gender identity in the UK though attachment theory, *Sex Education,* 3 (3), 257-270.

Atkins, L. and Wallace, S. (2012). *Qualitative research in education.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Austin, A. E., Sorcinelli, M. D. and McDaniels, M. (2007). Understanding new faculty, and growth, in; Easterling, W. (ed). Collegiality: A singular concept? Accessed from http://hdl.handle.net/1805/2539 on 16th May 2018.

Australian Government. (2016). *Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012*, accessed from, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2016C00895 on 13th January 2018.

Babbie, E. R. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research*. (12th Ed). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage.

Bagilhole, B. and Cross, S. (2006). It never struck me as female: Investigating men's entry into female dominated occupations, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15 (1), 35-48.

Baker, M. (2010). Career confidence and gendered expectations of academic promotion, *Journal of Sociology*, 1-18.

Balkundi, P. and Harrison, D. A. (2006). Ties, leaders, and time in teams: Strong inference about network structure's effects on team viability and performance, *Academy of Management Journal*, 49: 49–68.

Ball, S. J. and Goodson, I. F. (1985). *Teachers' lives and careers*. London: The Falmer Press.

Ballet, K. and Kelchtermans, G. (2009). Struggling with workload: Primary teachers' experience of intensification, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25 (8), 1150-1157.

Barbour, R. S. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research: A student guide to the craft of doing qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bardwick, J. M. (1986). *The plateauing trap: How to avoid it in your career… and your life.* New York: AMACON.

Barmes, L. (2011). Navigating multi-layered uncertainty: EU member state and organizational perspectives on Positive action, in; Johns, N., MacBride-Stewart, S., Powell, M. and Green, A. (Eds). When is positive action not positive action? Exploring the conceptual meaning and implications of the tie-breaker criterion in the UK Equality Act 2010, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 33 (1), 97-113.

Barmes, L. (2012). Equality law and experimentation: The positive action challenge, *Cambridge Law Journal*, 68 (3), 623-654.

Barnett, P. E. (2013). Unpacking teachers' invisible knapsacks: Social identity and privilege in higher education, *Liberal Education*, 99 (3), 30-37.

Baron, J. N. (1990). Are the doors revolving or still locked shut? *Contemporary Sociology*, 19 (3), 347-349.

Barrett, G. (2003).   The concept and principle of equality in European community law; in, Costello, C. and Barry, E. (eds) Equality in diversity: The new directives, *Irish Centre in European Law*, 99-134.

Baxter, L. A. and Babbie, E. (2003*). The basics of communication research.* Boston, MA: Wadsworth.

Beale, F. M. (1979). Double jeopardy: To be black and female, in; Carbado, D. W. (ed). *Colour blind intersectionality, Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38 (4), 811-845.

Beasley, C. (2005). *Gender and sexuality: Critical theories, critical thinkers.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Beatty, C. and Tillapaugh, D. (2017).   Masculinity, leadership and liberatory pedagogy: Supporting men through leadership development and education, *New Directions for Student Leadership*, 154, 47-58.

Beauregard, T. A. (2007). Family influences on the career life cycle. In; Ozbilgin, M and Malach-Pines, A. (Eds). *Career choice in management and entrepreneurship: A research companion* (pp. 101-126). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Press.

Beehr, T. A., Nair, V. N., Gudanowski, D. M. and Such, M. (2004). Perceptions of reasons for promotions of self and others, *Human Relations*, 57 (4), 413-438.

Beirne, M. and Wilson, F. (2016). Running with 'wolves' or waiting for a happy release? Evaluating routes to gender equality, *Work, Employment and Society,* 30 (2), 220-236.

Beitin, B. K. (2012). Interview and sampling: How many and whom, in; Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A. B. and McKinney, K. D. (Eds). *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bell, J. (2010). *Doing your research project: A guide for first time researchers in education, health and social sciences* (5th Ed). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Bell, L. and Nutt, L. (2012). Divided loyalties, divided expectations: Research ethics, professional and occupational responsibilities, in; Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. (eds). *Ethics in qualitative research* (2nd Ed). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Berman, E. M., West, J. P. and Richter, M. N. (2002). Workplace relations: Friendship patterns and consequences (according to managers), *Public Administration Review*, 62, 217–230.

Bennett, M., Roberts, S. and Davies, H. (2005). The way forward – positive discrimination or positive action? *International Journal of discrimination and the Law*, 6, 223-249.

Berndtsson, I., Claesson, S. Friberg, F. and Öhlĕn, J. (2007). Issues about thinking phenomenologically while doing phenomenology, *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 38 (2), 256-277.

Bess, J. L. (1992). Collegiality: Toward a clarification of meaning and function, in; Easterling, W. (ed). Collegiality: A singular concept? Accessed from http://hdl.handle.net/1805/2539 on 16th May 2018.

Bhattacharyya, G. (2002). *Sexuality and society: An introduction.* London: Routledge.

Bloor, M., Frankland, J., Thomas, M. and Robson, K. (2001). *Focus groups in social research.* London: Sage.

Blader, S. L. and Rothman, N. B. (2014). Paving the road to preferential treatment with good intentions: Empathy, accountability and fairness, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 50, 65-81.

Blandford, S. (2012). *Managing professional development in schools.* London: Routledge.

Blithe, S. (2015). *Gender equality and work-life balance: Glass handcuffs and working men in the U.S.* New York: Routledge.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bode, R. K. (1999). Mentoring ad collegiality, in; Easterling, W. (ed). Collegiality: A singular concept? Accessed from http://hdl.handle.net/1805/2539 on 16th May 2018.

Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bonner, A. and Tolhurst, G. (2002). Insider – outsider perspectives of participant observation, *Nurse Researcher*, 9 (4), 7-19.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice.* Cambridge: Policy Press.

Brannen, J. and Edwards, R. (2007). 10th Anniversary editorial, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10 (1), 1-4.

Brannick, T. and Coghlan, D. (2007). In defence of being "native": The case of insider academic research, *Organizational Research Methods*, 10 (1), 59-74.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77-101.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research.* London: Sage.

Brayda, W. C. and Boyce, T. D. (2014). So, you really want to interview me? Navigating 'sensitive' qualitative research interviewing, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 13, 318-334.

Breen, L, J. (2007). The researcher in the middle: Negotiating the insider/ outsider dichotomy, *The Australian Community Psychologist,* 19 (1), 163-174.

Brehm, S. S., Miller, R. S., Perlman, D. and Campbell, S. M. (2002). *Intimate relationships* (3rd Ed). London: McGraw-Hill.

Brint, S. (1994). *In an age of experts: The changing role of professional in politics and public life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bristol, T. J. (2015). Teaching boys: Towards a theory of gender-relevant pedagogy, *Gender and Education*, 27 (1), 53-68.

Brodtkorb, T. (2005). The role of positive discrimination in UK anti-discrimination law, *Proceedings of the Academy of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues,* 9 (2), 1-13.

Brody, D. (2014). *Men who teacher young children: An international perspective*. London: Tretham Book.

Brown, K. W., Creswell, D. J. and Ryan, R. M. (2015). *Handbook of mindfulness: Theory, research and practice*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Browne, A. and Haylock, D. (2004). *Professional issues for primary teachers*. London: SAGE.

Brownhill, S. (2014). Build me a role model! Critical exploration of the perceived qualities/ characteristics of men in early years (0-8) in England, *Gender and Education*, 26 (3), 246-261.

Brundett, M. and Rhodes, C. (2011). *Leadership for equality and accountability in education*. Abington: Routledge.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th Ed). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bude, H. (2004). 'The art of interpretation', in: Flick, U., von Kardorff, E. and Steinke, I. (Eds). *A companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Budig, M. J. (2002). Male advantage and the gender composition of jobs: Who rides the glass escalator? *Social Problems*, 49 (2), 258-277.

Bullough, R. V. Jr. (2015). Differences? Similarities? Male teacher, female teacher: An instrumental case study of teaching in a head start classroom, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 47, 13-21.

Bulmer, M. (2008). The ethics of social research, in; Gilbert, N. (ed). *Researching social life* (3rd Ed). London: Sage.

Burkard, T. (2008). *Troops to teachers: A successful programme from America for our inner-city schools.* London: Centre for Policy Studies.

Burkard, T. (2017). Further forces scheme revisits troops to teachers idea, accessed from; https://www.cps.org.uk/blog/q/date/2017/01/31/further-forces-scheme-revisits-troops-to-teachers-idea/# on 17th January 2019.

Burn, E. and Pratt-Adams, S. (2015). *Men teaching children 3-11: Dismantling gender barriers.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Burns, N. and Grove, S. K. (1999). Understating nursing research (2nd Ed); in, Flood, A. (ed). Understanding phenomenology, *Nurse Researcher*, 17 (2), 7-15.

Burt, R. S. (2016). Integrating brokerage and closure as social capital. Paper presented at the Intra-Organizational Network Conference, in; Tasselli, S. and Kilduff, M. (Eds). When brokerage between friendship cliques endangers trust: A personality-network fir perspective, *Academy of Management Journal*, 61 (3), 802-825.

Burton, B. (2014). Neoliberalism and the Equality Act 2010: A missed opportunity for gender justice? *Industrial Law Journal*, 43 (2), 122-148.

Bush, J., Harris, D. M. and Parker, R. J. (2016). *Cognitive self-change: How offender experience the world and what we can do about it*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Butler, R. N. (1980). Ageism: A foreword, *Journal of Social Issues*, 36, 8–11.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (2nd Ed). New York, NY: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2006). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of identity* (Reprint ed). New York, NY: Routledge.

Butler-Kisber, L. (2010). *Qualitative inquiry: Thematic, narrative and arts-informed perspectives.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bygnes, S. (2010). Making equality diverse? Merged gender equality and anti-discrimination measures in Norway, *NORA: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 18 (2), 88-104.

Camp, W. G. (2001). Formulating and evaluating theoretical frameworks for career and technical education research, *Journal of Vocational Educational Research*, 26 (1), 27-39.

Campbell, J. (2001). The colonisation of the primary curriculum, in; Phillips, R. and Furlong, J. (Eds). *Education reform and the state: Twenty-five years of politics, policy and practice*. London: Routledge.

Carbado, D. W., Crenshaw, K. W., Mays, V. M. and Tomlinson, B. (2013). Intersectionality mapping the movements of theory, *Du Bois Review*, 10 (2), 303-312.

Carlena, M. (2019). Implicit stereotypes: Evidence from teachers' gender bias, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134 (3), 1163–1224.

Carrington, B., Francis, B., Hutchings, M., Skelton, C., Read, B. and Hall, I. (2007). Does the gender of the teacher really matter? Seven to eight-year olds' accounts of their interactions with their teachers, *Educational Studies*, 33 (4), 397-413.

Carrington, B. and Skelton, C. (2003). Re-thinking role models: equal opportunities in teacher recruitment in England and Wales*, Journal of Education Policy*, 18 (3), 253-265.

Casciaro, T. and Lobo, M. S. (2008). When competence is irrelevant: The role of interpersonal affect in task related ties, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 53, 655–684.

Catalyst. (2000). *Cracking the glass ceiling: Catalyst's research on women in corporate management, 1995-2000*. New York, NY: Author.

Chadderton, C. (2014). *The militarisation of English schools: Troops to teaching and the implications for initial teacher education and race equality*, accessed from; http://roar.uel.ac.uk/3348/ on 22nd January 2019.

Chan, T. W. (1999). Revolving doors re-examined: Occupational sex segregation over the life course, *American Sociological Review*, 64 (1), 86-96.

Chard, R. (2013). A study of current male educational leaders, their careers and next steps, *Management in Education*, 27 (4), 170-175.

Charlick, S., Pincombe, J., McKellar, L. and Fielder, A. (2016). Making sense of participant experiences: Interpretative phenomenological analysis in midwifery research, *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, 11, 205-216.

Chen, J. M. and Moons, W. G. (2014). They won't listen to me: Anticipated power and women's disinterest in mal-dominate domains, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 18 (1), 116-128.

Chevrette, R. (2013). Outing heteronormativity in interpersonal and family communication: Feminist applications of Queer Theory "Beyond the sexy Streets", *Communication Theory*, 23 (2), 170-190.

Christensen, A. and Jensen, S. (2014). Combining hegemonic masculinity and intersectionality, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 9 (1), 60–75.

Clark, M. (1990). *The great divide: Gender in primary school.* Melbourne: Curriculum corporation.

Clarke, V. (2010). Review of the book: Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research, *Psychology Learning and Teaching*, 9, 56-57.

Cleary, M. (2014). Data collection and sampling in qualitative research: Does size matter? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 70 (3), 473-710.

Cloer, A. (2006). Male classroom teachers, in; Martino, W. J. (ed). Male teachers as role models: Addressing issues of masculinity, pedagogy and the re-masculization of schooling, *Curriculum Enquiry*, 38 (2), 189-223.

Cognard-Black, A. J. (2004). Will they stay, or will they go? Sex-Atypical work among token men who teach, The *Sociological Quarterly*, 45 (1), 113-139.

Cohen, S. L. and Bunker, K. A. (1975). Subtle effects of sex role stereotypes on recruiters' hiring decisions, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60, 1-14.

Cohen, L., Manion, L and Morrison, K. (2011). *Research methods in education* (7th Ed). Oxon: Routledge.

Colarelli, S. M., Poole, D. A., Unterborn, K. and D'Souza, G. C. (2010). Racial prototypicality, affirmative action, and hiring decisions in a multiracial world, *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 18 (2), 166-173.

Colbert, A. E., Bono, J. and Purvanova, R. (2016). Flourishing via workplace relationships: Moving beyond instrumental support, *Academy of Management Journal*, 59, 1199–1223.

Coleman, M. (2002). *Women as head teachers: Striking the balance*. Staffordshire: Trentham Books Limited.

Collinson, D. and Hearn, J. (1996). Breaking the silence: On men, masculinities and management, in; Collinson, D. and Hearn, J. (eds). *Men as managers, managers as men: Critical perspectives on men, masculinities and management*. London: Sage.

Connell, R. W. (1985). *Teachers' work*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R. W. (1996). Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity and gender strategies for schools, *Teacher College Record,* 98 (2): 206-235.

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd Ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Costley, C., Elliot, G. and Gibbs, P. (2010). *Doing work-based research: Approaches to enquiry for insider-researchers.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Coughlan, S. (2019). Schools facing 'financial cliff edge', BBC News, accessed from; https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-46826990 on 21st March 2019.

Cousins, T. A. (2014). *'Excuse me Miss!' Exploring the teaching identities and experiences of male teachers in a single primary school.* Submitted as part fulfilment of the requirements of the Master's degree at University of Central Lancashire.

Cousins, T. A. (2020). Collegiality vs role models: gendered discourses and the 'glass escalator' in English primary schools, *Early Years: An International Research Journal*, 40 (1), 37-51.

Coyle, D. (2014). Phenomenology; in, Noon, E. J. (ed). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An appropriate methodology for educational research? *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 6 (1), 75-83.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1993). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity, politics and violence against women of colour, in; Taylor, Y., Hines, S. and Casey, M. E. (eds). *Theorizing intersectionality and sexuality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantative, and mixed method approaches* (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design* (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design* (4th Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process.* London: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. and Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry: Research design.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Cruickshank, V. (2012). *Why men choose to become primary teachers*, Joint AARE APERA International Conference, accessed from; https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED544531.pdf on 18th January 2018.

CSJ – Centre for Social Justice. (2013). *Fractured families: Why stability matters.* London: Centre for Social Justice.

Cuddy, A. J. C. and Fiske, S. T. (2002). Doddering but dear: process, content, and function in stereotyping of older persons, in Nelson, T. D. (Ed). *Ageism : Stereotyping and Prejudice Against Older Persons*. Cambridge, Mass: A Bradford Book.

Curtis, S., Gesler, W., Smith, G. and Washburn, S. (2000). Approaches to sampling and case selection in qualitative research: Examples in geography and health, *Social Science and Medicine*, 50 (7-8), 1001-1014.

Cushman, P. (2005). Let's hear it from the males: Issues facing male primary school teachers, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21 (3), 227-240.

Cushman, P. (2009). So, what exactly do you want? What principals mean when they say, 'male role model', *Gender and Education*, 20 (2), 123-136.

Cushman, P. (2010). Male primary school teachers: Helping or hindering a move to gender equity? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26 (5), 1211-1218.

Darling, J. and Glendinning, A. (1996). *Gender Matters in schools, pupils and teachers*. London: Cassell.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2006). *Powerful teacher education: Lessons from exemplary programs*. San Francisco: Josey-Bass.

Darwin, H. (2017). Doing gender beyond the binary: A virtual ethnography, *Symbolic Interaction*, 40 (3), 317-334.

Data Protection Act. (1998). Available at; https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents accessed on 18th January 2018.

Datnow, A. (2011). Collaboration and contrived collegiality: Revisiting Hargreaves in the age of accountability, *Journal of Educational Change*, 12 (2), 147-158.

Davies, B. (2006). Subjectification: The relevance of Butler's analysis for education, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 4, 425-438.

Davies, C. M. (2008). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. London: Routledge.

Davies, C. M. and Robinson, M. (2016). Bridging the gap: An exploration of the issue and impact of positive discrimination in the United Kingdom, *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law*, 16 (2-3), 83-101.

Davies, H. (2015). *Women on boards: Davies review annual report 2015*. London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

Day, C. (2008). Committed for life? Variations in teacher's work, lives and effectiveness, *Journal of Educational Change*, 9 (3), 243-260.

Day, C. and Gu, Q. (2010). *The new lives of teachers*. Oxon: Routledge.

De Laine, M. (2000). *Fieldwork, participation and practice: Ethics and dilemmas in qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Day, C., Stobart, G., Sammons, P., Kingston, A., Gu, Q., Smees, R. and Mujteba, T. (2006). *Variations in teacher's work, lives and effectiveness; Research report No. 743*, Department for Education and Skills, Crown Copyright.

Delyser, D. (2001). Do you really live here? Thoughts on insider research, *Geographical Review*, 91 (1), 441-453.

Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide for small scale social research p*rojects (3rd Ed). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2008a). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2008b). *The landscape of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Department for Education. (2010). *The importance of teaching: The schools white paper 2010.* London: Stationery Office.

Department for Education. (2012). *Teacher appraisal and capability: A model policy for schools*, available at, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teacher-appraisal-and-capability-model-policy accessed on 5th November 2017.

Department for Education. (2013). *Teacher's standards: Guidance for school leaders, school staff and governing bodies*, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/665520/Teachers__Standards.pdf accessed on 6th November 2017.

Department for Education. (2017). School *teachers' pay and conditions document 2017 and guidance on school teachers' pay and conditions*. London: H. M. S. O.

Department for Education. (2018a). *School leadership in England 2010-2016: Characteristics and trends*. London: H. M. S. O.

Department for Education. (2018b). School *teachers' pay and conditions document 2018 and guidance on school teachers' pay and conditions*. London: H. M. S. O.

Department for Education. (2019). School workforce in England: November 2018. England: Department of Education Press Office.

Dermott, E. (2011). Troops to teachers: Solving the problem of working-class masculinity in the classroom? *Critical Social Policy*, 32 (2), 223-241.

Desmarais, S. and Alksnis, C. (2005). Gender issues, in; Barling, J., Kelloway, K. and Frone, M. (eds). *Handbook of work stress*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Deutsch, F. (2007). Undoing gender, *Gender and Society*, 21 (1), 106-127.

Doppenberg, J. J., Bakx, A. W. E. A. and Brok, P. J. D. (2012). Collaborative teacher learning in different primary school settings, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 18 (5), 547-566.

Drew, N. (1999). A return to Husserl and researcher self-awareness; in, Flood, A. (ed). Understanding phenomenology, *Nurse Researcher*, 17 (2), 7-15.

Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus, *Sociology of Education*, 75 (1), 44-68.

Dvorsky, G. and Hughes, J. (2008). Post-genderism: Beyond the gender binary, *IEET Monograph Series*, 1-18.

Dwyer, D. (2000). *Interpersonal relationships*. Routledge, London.

Dwyer, S. C. and Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research, *International Institute for Qualitative Methodology*, 8 (1), 54-63.

Dyck, J. F., Oliffe, J., Phinney, A. and Garrett, B. (2009). Nursing instructors' and male nursing students' perceptions of undergraduate classroom nursing education, Nurse Education Today, 29 (6), 649-653.

Eagly, A. H., & Sczesny, S. (2009). Stereotypes about women, men, and leaders: Have times changed? in; Barreto, M., Ryan, M. K. and Schmitt, M. T. (Eds.), *Psychology of women book series. The glass ceiling in the 21st century: Understanding barriers to gender equality* (p. 21–47). American Psychological Association.

Easterling, W. (2011). Collegiality: A singular concept? Accessed from http://hdl.handle.net/1805/2539 on 16th May 2018.

Eatough, V. and Smith, J. A. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis; in, Noon, E. J. (ed). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An appropriate methodology for educational research? *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 6 (1), 75-83.

Eberle, T. (2012). Phenomenological life-world analysis and ethnomethodology's program, *Human Studies*, 35 (2), 279-304.

Education for England. (2012). *The Education (school teacher's appraisal) Regulation 2012*. London: The Stationary Office.

Edwards, R. and Holland, J. (2013). *What is qualitative interviewing*? London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Ely, R. J., Foldy, E. G., Scully, M. A. and the Centre for Gender in Organizations Simmons School of Management. (eds) (2003). *Reader in gender, work and organization.* Oxon: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ellemers, N. (2014). Women at work: How organizational features impact career development, *Policy Insight form the Behavioural and Brain Sciences*, 1 (1), 46-54.

Epstein, D. (1997). Boyz' Own Stories: Masculinities and sexualities in schools, *Gender and Education*, 9 (1), 105-116.

Epstein, D. (1998). Real boys don't work: Underachievement, masculinity and the harassment of sissies, in; Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey, V. and Maw, J. (eds). *Issues in gender and achievement.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Equality Act. (2010). http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents accessed on 22nd January 2017.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. (2010). Accessed from https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/equality-act/equality-act-2010 on 5th November 2018.

Espinoza, J. (2016). *Graduates to be fast-tracked into running schools*, accessed from, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2016/04/22/graduates-to-be-fast-tracked-into-running-schools/ on 31st October 2017.

Etherington, K. (2007). Ethical research in reflexive relationships, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13, 598-616.

Evans, J. (1997). Men in nursing: Issues of gender segregation and hidden advantage, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26 (2), 226-231.

Evans, J. and Frank, B. (2003). Contradictions and tensions: Exploring relations of masculinities in the numerically female-dominated nursing profession, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 11 (3), 277-292.

Evetts, J. (1994). *Becoming a secondary head teacher*. London: Cassell.

Feeley, T. H., Hwang, J. and Barnett, G. A. (2008). Predicting employee turnover from friendship networks, *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 36 (1), 56-73.

Fennell, S. and Arnot, M. (2008). *Gender education and equality in a global context: Conceptual frameworks and policy perspectives*. Oxon: Routledge.

Field, J. (2009). *Social Capital* (2nd Ed). Oxon: Routledge.

Finlay, L. (2008). A dance between the reduction and reflexivity: Explicating the 'phenomenological psychological attitude', *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology,* 39 (1), 1-32.

Finlay, L. (2009). Debating phenomenological research, *Phenomenology and Practice*, 3 (1), 6-25.

Fiske, S. T., Lin, M. and Neuberg, S. L. (1999). The continuum model ten years later, in. Nelson, T. D. (Ed). *Ageism : Stereotyping and Prejudice Against Older Persons*. Cambridge, Mass: A Bradford Book.

Flick, U. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Flood, A. (2010). Understanding phenomenology, *Nurse Researcher*, 17 (2), 7-15.

Fontana, A. and Frey, J. H. (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text, in; Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd Ed). London: Sage.

Forrester, G. (2005). All in a day's work: Primary teachers 'performing; and 'caring', *Gender and Education*, 17 (3), 271-287.

Forrester, G. (2011). Performance management in education: Milestone or millstone? *Management in Education*, 25 (1), 5-9.

Foster, D. (2018). Teacher recruitment and retention in England, *House of Commons Library Briefing Paper*, Number 7222, 1-48.

Foster, R. (2000). The graduate teacher programme: Just a job? *Journal of In-Service Education,* 26 (2), 297-309.

Foster, T and. Newman, E. (2005). Just a knock back? Identity bruising on the route to becoming a male primary school teacher, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 11 (4), 341-358.

Fox, A. R. C. and Wilson, E. G. (2015). Networking and the development of professional: Beginning teacher building social capita, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 47, 93-107.

Fox, M. J (2017). *PHD thesis: Essential tips and tactics.* Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace.

Francis, B. (2008). Teaching manfully? Exploring gendered subjectivities and power via analysis of men teachers' gender performance, *Gender and Education*, 20 (2), 109–22.

Francis, B. (2010a). Girls' achievement: Contesting the positioning of girls as the relational 'achievers' to 'boys' underachievement', in; Jackson, C., Paechter, C. and Renold, E. (Eds). *Girls and education 3-16: Continuing concerns, new agendas.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Francis, B. (2010b). Re-theorising gender: female masculinity and male femininity in the classroom? *Gender and Education*, 22, (5), 477-490.

Francis, B. and Skelton, C. (2005). *Reassessing gender and achievement*. London: Routledge.

Fraser, G., Osborne, D. and Sibley, C. G. (2015). We want you in the workplace, but only in a Skirt! Social dominance orientation, gender-based affirmative action and the moderating role of benevolent sexism, *Sex Roles*, 73, 231-244.

Fraser, H., Draper, J. and Taylor, W. (1998). The quality of teacher's lives: Teacher job satisfaction, *Evaluation and Research in Education*, 12 (2), 61-71.

Fredman, S. (1997). Reversing discrimination, *Law Quarterly Review*, 113, 575-600.

Fredman, S. (2011). The public sector equality duty, *Industrial Law Journal*, 40 (4), 405-427.

Freidson, E. (1994). *Professionalism reborn.* Cambridge: Policy Press.

Frey, J. H. and Fontana, A. (1993). The group interview in social research, in; Morgan, D. L. (ed). *Successful focus groups: Advancing the state of the art*. London: Sage.

Fulton, S. and Krainovich-Miller, B. (2010). Gathering and apprising the literature, in; Adom, D., Hussein, E. K. and Agyem, J. A. (Eds). Theoretical and conceptual framework: Mandatory ingredients of a quality research, *International Journal of Scientific Research*, 7 (1), 438-441.

Furrer, C. J., Skinner, E. A. and Pitzer, J. R. (2014). The influence of teacher and peer relationships on students' classroom engagement and everyday motivational resilience, *National Society for the Study of Education*, 113 (1), 101-123.

Gappa, J. M., Austin, A. E. and Trice, A. G. (2007). *Rethinking faculty work: Higher education's strategic imperative*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Garmston, R. J. and Wellman, B. M. (2003). *The importance of professional community*, ENC Focus, 11 (7), 7-9.

Garner, R. (2016). Troops to teachers shot down by critics as only 28 veterans qualify, *The Independent*, accessed from, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/troops-to-teachers-shot-down-by-critics-as-only-28-veterans-qualify-a6879641.html on 17th January 2019.

Gatrell, C. and Swan, E. (2008). *Gender and diversity in management: A concise introduction.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Gersick, C. T. G., Bartunek, J. M. and Dutton, J. E. (2000). Learning from academia: The importance of relationships in professional life, *The Academy of Management Journal*, 43 (6), 1026-1044.

Gerstenblatt, P., Faulkner, M., Lee, A., Doan, L. T. and Travis, D. (2014). Not babysitting: Work stress and well-being for family child care providers, *Early Childhood Education*, 42, 67-75.

Get into Teaching. (2017). *Accelerated courses*, accessed from https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/explore-my-options/teacher-training-routes/accelerated-courses on 31st October 2017.

Gilbert, R. and Gilbert, P. (1998). *Masculinity goes to school.* London: Routledge.

Giles, J. and Middleton, T. (2008). *Studying culture, a practical introduction*. (2nd Ed) Oxford: Blackwell.

Gill, J. and Arnold, P. (2015). Performing the principal: School leadership, masculinity and emotion, *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 18 (1), 19-33.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (3rd Ed.). New York, NY: Pearson.

Goodwin, A. L. (2013). Quality teachers, Singapore style, in; Darling-Hammond, L. and Lieberman, A. (Eds). *Teacher Education around the world: Changing policies and practice.* London: Routledge.

Goose, D., Parr. And Allison, J. (2008). Researching the halted paths of male primary school teacher candidates, *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 16 (1), 57-68.

Government Equalities Office. (2019a). *Get information about schools*, accessed from, https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/ on 15th March 2019.

Government Equalities Office. (2011). Employers quick start guide to positive action in recruitment and promotion, accessed from; https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/employers-quick-start-guide-to-positive-action-in-recruitment-and-promotion on 15th January 2017.

Government Equalities Office. (2019b). *Paternity pay and leave*, accessed from; https://www.gov.uk/paternity-pay-leave on 19th September 2019.

Government Equalities Office. (2019c). *Implementing your school's approach to pay*, accessed from; https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/786098/Implementing_your_school_s_approach_to_pay.pdf on 19th September 2019.

Grant, C. and Osanloo, A. (2014). Understanding, selecting and integrating a theoretical framework in Dissertation research: Creating the Blueprint for 'house', *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice and Research,* 4 (2), 12-26.

Green, E. and Cassell, C. (1996). Women managers, gendered cultural processes and organizational change, *Gender, Work, and Organization*, 3 (3), 168-178.

Greener, S. (2018). Research limitations: The need for honesty and common sense, *Interactive Learning Environments*, 26 (5), 567-568.

Greenwald, A. G. (2012). Scientists are human: Implicit cognition and researcher conflict of interest. In Proctor, R. W. and Capaldi, E. J. (Eds.). *Psychology of science: Implicit and explicit processes.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Gregory, I. (2003). *Ethics in research.* London: Continuum.

Griffin, G. (2017). A dictionary of gender studies (Online). Oxford: Oxford University Press, accessed from, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.lancs.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780 191834837.001.0001/acref-9780191834837 on 2nd August 2018.

Griffiths, M. (2006). *The feminisation of teaching and the practice of teaching: Threat or opportunity.* Educational theory, Vol. 56, No. 4, Pp. 387-405.

Griffiths, V. (2010).   Career changers and fast-track induction: Teacher perspectives on their early professional development, *Teacher Development: An International Journal of Teachers' Professional Development*, 15 (1), 19-35.

Grumet, M. (1988). *Bitter milk: Women and teaching.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In; Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage Publications Ltd.

Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein, J. A. (ed) (2002). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Guetterman, T. C. (2015). Descriptions of sampling practices within five approaches to qualitative research in Education and Health sciences, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 16 (2), 1-23.

Guillemin, M. and Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity and ethically important moments in research, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10, 261-280.

Guittar, S. G. and Guittar, N. A. (2015). Intersectionality, in; International encyclopaedia of the social and behavioural sciences (2nd Ed). Oxford: Elsevier.

Gurian, M., Henley, P. and Trueman, T. (2001). *Boys and girls learn differently! A guide for teachers and parents.* New York, NY: Jossey-Bass.

Haase, M. (2008). "I don't do the mothering role that lots of female teachers do": Male teachers, gender, power and social organisation, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29, 597–608.

Hahcr, A., Yilmaz, B. and Kasimoğlu, I. (2012). Employment predictions in secretarial occupation, *Journal of Management and Sustainability*, 2 (2), 187-210.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st Century: Preference theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall, M. (2018). Marginalised masculinities: Contexts, continuities and change, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 13 (1), 73-75.

Halpern, D. (2005). *Social Capital.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hammersley, M. (2008). Troubles with triangulation, in; Bergman, M. M. (ed). *Advances in mixed methods research*. London: Sage, pp. 22–36.

Hammersley, M. and Traianou, A. (2012*). Ethics in qualitative research: Controversies and contexts.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hancock, A. M. (2007). When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm, *Perspectives on Politics*, 5 (1), 63-79.

Hansen, P. and Mulholland, J. (2005). Caring and elementary teaching: The concerns of male beginning teachers, *Journal of Teacher Education*, 56 (2), 119-131.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Intensification. Teachers' work, better or worse? Changing teachers, changing times: Teachers' work and culture in the promotion age.* London: Cassell.

Hargreaves, A. and Fullan, M. (2012). *Professional capital: Transforming teaching in every school.* New York, NY: Teacher College Press.

Harris, J. and White, V. (2013). *A dictionary of social work and social care*. London: Oxford University Press.

Harris, K. and Barnes, S. (2009). Male teacher, female teacher: exploring children's perceptions of teacher's role in kindergartens. *Early Child Development and Care*, 179 (2), 167-181.

Harris, M. B. (1976). The effects of sex, sex-stereotyped descriptions, and institution on evaluations of teachers, *Sex Roles*, 2 (1), 15-21.

Hartley, B. L. and Sutton, R. M. (2013). A Stereotype Threat Account of Boys' Academic Underachievement, *Child Development*, 85 (5), 1716 – 1733.

Harwood, D. and Tukonic, S. (2016). Babysitter or professional? Perceptions of professionalism narrated by Ontario early childhood educators, *International Electronic Journal of Elementary Education*, 8 (4), 589-600.

Hatfield, R. (2006). Collegiality in higher education: Toward an understanding of the factors involved in collegiality, *Journal of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict*, 10 (1), 11-19.

Hattie, J. (2009). Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analysis relating to achievement, in; Looney, J. (Ed). Developing high-quality teachers: Teacher Education for improvement, *European Journal of Education*, 46 (4), 440-455.

Hayes, D. (2004). Recruitment and retention: Insights into the motivation of primary trainee teachers in England, Research *in Education*, 71, 37-49.

Hayes, J., Allinson, C. W. and Armstrong, S. J. (2004). Intuition, women managers and gendered stereotypes, *Personnel Review*, 33 (4), 403-417.

Haynes, K. (2006). A therapeutic journey? Reflections on the effects of research on researcher and participants, *Qualitative Research in Organization and Management: An International Journey*, 1, 204-221.

Haywood, C. and Mac an Ghail, M. (2013). *Education and masculinities: Social, cultural and global transformations*. Oxon: Routledge.

Hedlin, M. and Åberg, M. (2011). The call for more male preschool teachers: echoed and questioned by Swedish student teachers, *Early Childhood Development and Care*, 183 (1), 149-162.

Heery, E. and Noon, M. (2017). *A dictionary of human resource management* (4th Ed). London: Oxford University Press.

Heikes, E. J. (1991). When men are the minority: The case of men in nursing, *The Sociological Quarterly*, 32, 389-401.

Heikkilä, M. and Hellman, A. (2016). Male preschool teacher students negotiating masculinities: A qualitative study with men who are studying to become preschool teachers, *Early Child Development and Care*. 127 (1), 1-13.

Heilman, M. E. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias, *Research in Organizational Behaviour,* 32, 113-135.

Hellawell, D. (2006). Inside-out: Analysis of the insider-outsider concept as a heuristic device to develop reflexivity in students doing qualitative research, *Teaching in Higher Education*, 11 (4), 483-494.

Henshaw, P. (2017). DfE demands £3bn in savings as financial pressures mount, *SecEd*, 1, accessed from; http://www.sec-ed.co.uk/news/dfe-demands-3bn-in-savings-as-financial-pressures-mount/ on 18th September 2018.

Henslin, J. M. (2013). *Essentials of sociology: A down-to-earth approach*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Hepple, B. (2011). *Equality: The new legal framework*. Oxford: Hart.

Hertz, R. (1997). *Reflexivity and voice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hewitt-Taylor, J. (2002). Insider knowledge: Issues with insider research, *Nursing Standard*, 16 (46), 33-35.

Hill-Collins, P. and Bilge, S. (2016). Intersectionality. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hilpern, K. (2007). A Question of Positive Motives, *Employers' Law October*, 12–13.

Hinton, C. and Fischer, K. W. (2010). Learning from the development and biological perspective, in; Looney, J. (Ed). Developing high-quality teachers: Teacher Education for improvement, *European Journal of Education*, 46 (4), 440-455.

Hirsh, E. and Lyons, C. J. (2010). Perceiving discrimination on the job: Legal consciousness, workplace context, and the construction of race discrimination, *Law and Society Review*, 44 (2), 269-298.

Hjalmarrsson, M. and Löfdahl, A. (2014). *Being caring and disciplinary male primary school teachers on expectations from others.* Gender and education, Vol. 26, No. 3, Pp. 280-292.

Hodson, R. (2005). Management behaviour as social capital: A systematic analysis of organizational ethnographies, *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 43 (1), 41-65.

Hoeve, Y., Jansen, G. and Roodbol, P. (2014). The nursing profession: Public image, self-concept and professional identity. A discussion paper, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 70 (2), 295-309.

Hoff-Sommers, C. (2000). The war against boys, *The Atlantic Monthly*, 285 (5), 59-74.

Hofstede, G. (1998). *Masculinity and femininity, the taboo dimension of national cultures.* London: Sage publications Inc.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: comparing values, behaviours, institutions, and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hogan, R., Perrucci, C. C. and Behringer, A. (2005). Enduring inequality: gender and employment income in late career, *Sociological Spectrum*, 25, 53–77.

Hogan, V. (2012). *Locating My Teaching of Gender in Early Childhood Education Teacher Education within the Wider Discourse of Feminist Pedagogy and Poststructuralist Theory*. Paper presented at the Joint AARE/ APERA, Sydney. Available from: http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED542504.pdf (Accessed 17th June, 2019).

Hollander, J. A. (2013). "I demand more of people": Accountability, interaction, and gender change, *Gender and Society*, 27 (1), 5-29.

Holliday, A. (2002). *Doing and writing: Qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Houle, L., Chiocchio, F., Favreall, O. and Villeneuve, M. (2009). Role conflict and well-being among employed mothers: The mediating effects of self-efficiency, *Gender in Management: An International Journal,* 24 (4), 270-285.

Huberman, M. A. (1989). The professional life cycle of teachers, *Teachers College Record*, 91 (1), 31-57.

Huberman, M.A. (1993). *The Lives of Teachers*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Huffman, M. (2004). Gender inequality across wage hierarchies, *Work and Occupations*, 31 (3), 323-344.

Hughes, J. and Kwok, O. (2007). Influence of student-teacher and parent-teacher relationships on lower achieving readers' engagement and achievement in the primary grades, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99 (1), 39-51.

Hultin, M. (2003). Some take the glass escalator, some hit the glass ceiling? Career consequences of occupational sex segregation, *Work and Occupations*, 30 (1), 30-61.

Hussein, S. (2011). Men in the English care sector, *Social Care Workforce Periodical*, 14, 2-46.

Hutchings, M., Carrington, B., Skelton, C., Read, B and Hall, I (2007) *Nice and kind, smart and funny: what children like and want to emulate in their teachers.* Oxford review of education, 34 (2), 135-157.

Hymowitz, C. and Shellhardt, T. D. (1986). The glass ceiling: Why women can't seem to break the invisible barrier that blocks them from the top jobs, *Wall street Journal*, 24 (3), 1.

Ingersoll, R. and May, H. (2012). Recruitment, retention and the minority teacher shortage, *Consortium for Policy Research in Education*, CPRE Research Report, RR-69.

Ingram, P. and Zou, X. (2008). Business friendships, *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, 28, 167–184.

Ishida, H., Su, K. H. and Spilerman, S. (2002). Models of career advancement in organisations, *European Sociological Review*, 18 (2), 179-198.

Ison, N. L. (2008). Having their say: Email interviews for research data collection with people who have verbal communication impairment, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 12 (2), 161-172.

Ivinson, G. and Murphy, P. (2007). *Rethinking single sex teaching.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Jackson- Dwyer, D. (2013). *Interpersonal relationships.* Routledge, London.

Jacobs, J. A. (1989). *Revolving doors: Sex segregation and women's careers*.
California: Stanford University Press.

Jagose, A. (1996). *Queer theory an introduction* (Reprint ed). New York, NY:
New York University Press.

Jarzabkowski, L. M. (2002). The social dimensions of teacher collegiality,
Journal of Educational Enquiry, 3 (2), 1-20.

Jo, S. H. (2014). Teacher commitment: Exploring associations with
relationships and emotions, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 43, 120-130.

John, B. (2013). Patterns of ageism in different age groups, *Journal of
European Psychology Students*, 4, 16-36.

Johns, N., Powell, M., Green, A. and MacBride-Stewart, S. (2014). When is
positive action not positive action? Exploring the conceptual meaning and
implications of the tie-break criterion in the UK Equality Act 2010, *Equality,
Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 33 (1), 97-113.

Johnson, S. K., Murphy, E., Zewdie, S. and Reichard, R. J. (2008). The strong,
sensitive type: Effects of gender stereotypes and leadership prototypes on the
evaluation of male and female leaders, *Organizational Behaviour and Human
Decision Processes*, 106 (1), 39-60.

Johnson, S. P. (2010). Still so few male teachers: Now what? *Young Children*,
65 (3), 18-23.

Jones, D. (2003). In search of Mr Right, *TES First Appointments*, 8-9.

Jones, D. (2007). Millennium man: Constructing identifies of male teachers in
early years contexts, *Educational Review*, 59(2), 179–194.

Jones, J. (2010). Leadership lessons from the fast track programme for teachers in England, *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership,* 38 (2), 149-163.

Jones, P. (2006). Review and evaluation of the fast track teaching programme: Interim report, available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130323030754/https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/RR726.pdf accessed on 1st November 2018.

Jong, R., Mainhard, T., Tartwijk, J., Veldman, I., Verloop, N. and Wubbels, T. (2014). How pre-service teachers' personality traits self-efficiency, and discipline strategies contribute to the teacher-student relationship, *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 84, 294-310.

Josephidou, J. (2018). Perceptions of ECEC (Early Childhood Education and Care) practitioners on how their gender influences their approaches to play. PhD dissertation, Lancaster University.

Jourard, S. M. (1964). *The transparent self.* Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand.

Jussim, L., Eccles, J. and Madon, S. (1996). Social perception, social stereotypes, and teacher expectations: Accuracy and the quest for the powerful self-fulfilling prophecy, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 28, 281-388.

Kafle, N. P. (2013). Hermeneutic phenomenological research method simplified, *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 5 (1), 181-200.

Kane, M. N. (2006). Social work students' perception s about incompetence in elders, *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 47 (3-4), 153-171.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation.* New York: Basic Books.

Karlson, H. (2012). Gender and ethnic differences in occupational position and earnings among nurses and engineers in Norway: Identical educational choices: Unequal outcomes, *Work, Employment and Society*, 26, 278-295.

Kawakami, C., White, J. B. and Langer, E. J. (2002). Mindful and masculine: Freeing women leaders from the constraints of gender roles, *Journal of Social Issues*, 56 (1), 49-63.

Keedy, J. (1999). Examining teacher instructional leadership within the small group dynamics of collegial groups, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 15, 785-799.

Keener, E. (2015). The complexity of gender: It is all that and more….In sum, it is complicated, *Sex Roles*, 73, 481-489.

Kehler, M. and Greig, C. (2005). Reading masculinities: Exploring he socially literate practices of high school young men, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 9 (4), 351-370.

Kelchtermans, G. (2007). Teachers' self-understanding in times of performativity, *Teacher Education Yearbook*, 15, 13–30.

Kelchtermans, G. (2011). Professional responsibility: Persistent commitment, perpetual vulnerability? In, Sugrue, C. and Solbrekke, T. D. (Eds.). *Professional responsibility: New horizons of praxis.* London, UK: Routledge. (pp. 113–126).

Kelchtermans, G. (2017). Should I stay or should I go? Unpacking teacher attrition/ retention as an educational issue, Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 23 (8), 961-977.

Kelly, N. and Antonio, A. (2016). Teacher peer support in social network sites, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 56, 138-149.

Kenway, J (1995) *Masculinities in schools: under seize, on the defensive and under reconstruction?* Discourse, Vol. 16, No. 1, Pp. 59-79.

Kerfoot, D. (2001). The organization of intimacy: Managerialism, masculinity and the masculine subject. In; S. Whitehead & F. Barrett (Eds.), *The masculinities reader* (pp. 233-252). Cambridge, MA: Polity.

Kerfoot, D. and Knights, D. (1996). The best is yet to come? The quest for embodiment in managerial work, in; Collinson, D. and Hearn, J. (eds). *Men as managers, managers as men: Critical perspectives on men, masculinities and management.* London: Sage.

Kessler, S., Ashenden, D. J., Connell, R. W. and Dowsett, G. W. (1985). Gender relations in secondary schooling, *Sociology of Education*, 58, 34-48.

Kilduff, M. and Tsai, W. (2003). *Social networks and organizations.* London: Sage Publications.

Kite, M. E., Deaux, K. and Haines, E. L. (2008). Gender stereotypes, in; Kolimayer, M., Schober, B. and Spiel, C. (eds). Gender stereotypes in education: Development, consequences, and interventions, *European Journal of Developmental Psychology,* 15 (4), 361-377.

Kitzinger, C. (2005). Heteronormativity in action: Reproducing the heterosexual nuclear family in after-hours medical calls, *Social Problems*, 52 (4), 477-498.

Kitzinger, J. (2006). Focus group research: Using group dynamics to explore perceptions, experiences and understandings, in; Holloway, I. (Ed). Qualitative Research in Health Care. London: Open University Press.

Klassen, R, M. and Chill, M, M. (2010). Effects on teachers' self-efficiency and job satisfaction: teacher gender, years of experience and job stress, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102 (3), 741-756.

Kleinman, C. S. (2004). Understanding and capitalizing on men's advantages in nursing, *The Journal of Nursing Administration*, 34 (2), 78-82.

Knight, B, A. and Moore, T. (2012). *Supporting beginning male teachers as they transform to skilled professionals.* Improving schools, 15 (1), 61-72.

Knowles, J. G. and Cole, A. L. (2008). *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Knowles, M., Nieuwenhuis, J. and Smit, B. (2009). A narrative analysis of educators' lived experiences of motherhood and teaching, *South African Journal of Education*, 29, 333-343.

Koch, T. and Harrington, A. (1998). Reconceptualising rigour: The case for reflexivity, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 28 (4), 882-890.

Koenig, A. M. and Eagly, A. H. (2014). Evidence for the social role theory of stereotype content: Observations of groups' roles shape stereotypes, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 107(3), 371-392.

Kollmayer, M., Schober, B. and Spiel, C. (2018). Gender stereotypes in education: Development, consequences, and interventions, *European Journal of Developmental Psychology,* 15 (4), 361-377.

Krackhardt, D. (1992). The strength of strong ties; in, Wubbels, T., Brok, P. D., Tartwijk, J. V. and Levy, J. (eds). *Interpersonal relationships in education: An overview of contemporary research.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kruger, R. A. and Casey, M. A. (2009). *Focus group: A practical guide for applied research* (4th Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Kullberg, K. (2013). From glass escalator to glass travelator: On the proportion of men in managerial positions in social work in Sweden, *The British Journal of Social Work*, 43 (8), 1509.

Kunda, Z. and Spencer, S. J. (2003). When do stereotypes come in mind and when do they colour judgement? A global-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application, *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 522-544.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kyvik, S. (2013). The academic researcher role: Enhancing expectations and improved performance, *Higher Education*, 65 (4), 525-538.

Laberge, S. (1995). Toward the integration of gender into Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12, 132-146.

Lahelma, E. (2000). Lack of male teachers: a problem for students or teachers? *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 8 (2), 173-186.

Lancaster University. (2009). *Research Ethics and Research Governance at Lancaster: A code of practice*, accessed from; https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/media/lancaster-university/content-assets/documents/lums/research/Ethics-code-of-practice.pdf on 9th January 2017.

Lancaster University. (2013). *Research data policy.* Lancaster: Lancaster University Press.

Lease, S. H., Hampton, A. B., Flemin, K. M., Baggett, L. R., Montes, S. H. and Sawyer, R. J. (2010). Masculinity and interpersonal competencies: Contrasting white and African American men, *Psychology of Men and Masculinit*y, 11, 195-207.

Lee, D. (2000). Hegemonic masculinity and male feminisation: The sexual harassment of men at work, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 9 (2), 141-155.

Leonard, L. and Leonard, P. (2003). The continuing trouble with collaboration, *Current Issues in Education*, 6 (15), 1-9.

LeVasseur, J. J. (2003). The problem of bracketing in phenomenology; in, Flood, A. (ed). Understanding phenomenology, *Nurse Researcher*, 17 (2), 7-15.

Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (2012). Kanter revisited: Gender, power and (in) visibility, *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14, 141-158.

Lin, N., Cook, K. and Burt, R. S. (2001). *Social capital: Theory and research.* New York, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.

Lingard, B. (2003). Where to in gender theorising and policy after recuperative masculinity politics? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 7 (1), 33-56.

Lingard, B. and Douglas, P. (1999). *Men engaging feminism: pro-feminism, backlashes and schooling.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Lingard, B., Martino, W. and Mills, M. (2009). *Boys and schooling: Beyond structural reform.* London: Palgrave.

Lingard, B., Mills, M. and Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2011). Interrogating recuperative masculinity politics in schooling, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16 (4), 407-421.

Lips, H. M. (2006). *A new Psychology of women: Gender, culture, and ethnicity* (3rd Ed). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Little, J. W. (1990). The persistence of privacy: Autonomy and initiative in teachers' professional relations, *Teachers College Record,* 91 (4), 509-536.

Livingston, K. (2014). Teacher educators: Hidden professionals? *European Journal of Education*, 49 (2), 218-232.

Löfgren, H. and Karlsson, M. (2016). Emotional aspects of teacher collegiality: A narrative approach, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 60, 270-280.

Looney, J. (2011). Developing high-quality teachers: Teacher evaluation for improvement, *European Journal of Education*, 46 (4), 440-455.

Lupton, B. (2000). Maintaining masculinity: men who do 'women's work', *British Journal of Management,* 11, 33–48.

Lupton, B. (2006). Explaining men's entry into female concentrated occupations: Issues of masculinity and social class, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13 (2), 103-128.

Luse, A., Mennecke, B. and Townsend, A. (2012). Selecting a research topic: A framework for doctoral students, *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, 7, 143-152.

Lutz, H., Herrera Vivar, M. T. and Supik, L. (2011). *Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Lysbakken, A. (2010). Gender balance on boards: The Norway experience, we wanted more equality and we were not afraid of applying profound political will to make it happen, *Directors and Boards*, 34 (5), 20-22.

Maclean, R. (2017). *Teacher's career and promotion and patterns: A sociological analysis*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Malaby, M. and Ramsey, S. (2011), The dilemmas of male elementary preservice teachers, *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue*, 13 (1/2), 17-116.

Mallozzi, C. A. and Campbell-Galman, S. (2014). Guys and the rest of us: Tales of gendered aptitude and experience in educational care work, *Gender and Education*, 26 (3), 262-279.

Malterud, K. (2001). Qualitative research: Standards, challenges and guidelines, *The Lancet*, 358, 483-488.

Manuel, J. (2003). Such are the ambitions of youth: exploring issues of retention an attribution of early career teachers in New South Wales*, Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 31 (2), 139-157.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 551-558.

Marková, I., Linell, P., Grossen, M. and Orvig, A. S. (eds) (2007). *Dialogue in focus groups: Exploring socially shared knowledge*. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Marlow, C. T. (2019). "Oi! Dancing Boy!": How adolescent boys recuperate masculinity and (hetero) sexuality in dance schools and secondary schools. PhD dissertation, Lancaster University.

Marks, H. M. and Louis, K. S. (1997). Does teacher empowerment affect the classroom? The implications of teacher empowerment for instructional practice and student achievement, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 19 (3), 245-275.

Martinez, K. (2004). Mentoring new teachers: promise and problems in times of teacher shortage, *Australian Journal of Education,* 48 (1), 95-108.

Martino, W. J. (1999). Cool boys, party animals, squids and poofters; Interrogating the dynamics and politics of adolescent masculinities in school, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20 (2), 239-263.

Martino, W. J. (2008). Male teachers as role models: Addressing issues of masculinity, pedagogy and the re-masculization of schooling, *Curriculum Enquiry*, 38 (2), 189-223.

Martino, W. J. and Kehler, M. (2006). Male teachers and the 'boy problem': An issue of recuperative masculinity politics, *McGill Journal of Education*, 41 (2), 113-131.

Martino, W. J. and Meyenn, B. (2001). *What about the boys?* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Martino, W. J. and Pallotta-Chiarolli, M. (2003). *So, what's a boy? Addressing issues of masculinity and schooling.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Mason, J. (2018). *Qualitative researching* (3rd Ed). London: Sage Publishing Ltd.

Massy, W. F., Wilger, A. K. and Colbeck, C. (1994). Departmental cultures and teaching quality: Overcoming 'hollowed' collegiality, *Change*, 26 (4), 10-20.

Matthews, C. R. (2014). Biology, ideology and pastiche hegemony, *Men and Masculinities*, 17 (2), 99-119.

Maume, D. J. (2004). Is the class ceiling a unique form of inequality? Evidence from a random effects model of managerial attainment, *Work and Occupations*, 31 (2), 250-274.

Mausethagen, S. (2013). A research review of the impact of accountability politics on teacher's workplace relations, *Educational Research Review*, 9, 16-33.

Mauthner, N. S. and Doucet, A. (2003). Reflexive accounts and accounts of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis, *Sociology*, 37, 413-431.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd Ed). London: Sage Publications.

May, V. M. (2015). *Pursuing intersectionality, unsettling dominant imaginaries*. London: Routledge.

McCabe, J. L. and Holmes, D. (2009). Reflexivity, critical qualitative research and emancipation: A Foucauldian perspective, *Journal of Advance Nursing*, 65 (7), 1518-1526.

McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality, *Signs*, 30 (3), 1771-1800.

McCrudden, C. (2015). Affirmative action: Comparative policies and controversies, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* (2nd ed), 248-255.

McDonald, S. (2011). What's in the "old boys" network? Accessing social capital in gendered and racialized networks, *Social Networks*, 33, 317-330.

McIntosh, B., McQuaid, R., Munro, A. and Alai, P. D. (2012). Motherhood and its impact on career progression, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 27 (5), 346-354.

McLaughlin, K., Muldoon, O. T. and Moutray, M. (2010). Gender, gender roles and completion of nursing education: A longitudinal study, *Nurse Education Today*, 30, 303-307.

McLaughlin, M. W. and Talbert, J. E. (2001). *Professional communities and the work of high school teaching*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

McNeil, P. and Chapman, S. (2005). *Research methods* (3rd Ed). Oxon: Routledge.

McQuaid, R. and Lindsey, C. (2005). The concept of employability, *Urban Studies*, 42 (2), 197-219.

Meadus, R. J. (2000). Men in nursing: Barriers to recruitment, *Nursing Forum*, 35 (3), 5-12

Mehra, A., Kilduff, M. and Brass, D. J. (1998). At the margins: A distinctiveness approach to the social identity and social networks of under-represented groups, *Academy of Management Journal,* 41, 441-452.

Melkes, H. and Anker, R. (1997). Occupational segregation by sex in Nordic countries: an empirical investigation, *International Labour Review*, 136 (3), 341-363.

Menter, I., Hutchings, M. and Ross, A. (2002). *The crisis in teacher supply: Research and strategies for retention.* Staffordshire: Trentham Books Limited.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mertens, D. M. (2005). *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Merz, C. and Furman, G. (1997). *Community and schools: Promise and paradox.* New York, NY: College Teacher Press.

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2009). "Doing gender: The impact and future of a salient Sociological concept, *Gender & Society*, 23 (1), 85–88.

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2018). *Hegemonic Masculinity: Formulation, Reformulation, and Amplification.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Messner, M. A. (2000). White guy habitus in the classroom: Challenging the reproduction of privilege, *Men and Masculinities*, 2 (4), 457-469.

Middlewood, D. and Cardino, C. (eds) (2001). *Managing teacher appraisal and performance: A comparative approach.* London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book* (2nd Ed). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Miller, T. and Bell, L. (2012). Consenting to what? Issues of access, gate-keeping and 'informed' consent, in; Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. (eds). *Ethics in qualitative research* (2nd Ed). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M. and Jessop, J. (eds) (2012). *Ethics in qualitative research* (2nd Ed). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Milligan, L. (2016). Insider-outsider-inbetweener? Researcher positioning, participative methods and cross-cultural educational research, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46 (2), 235-250.

Mills, A. J. (2017). *Insights and research on the study of gender and intersectionality in international airline cultures*. Bingley, Emerald Publishing Limited.

Mills, M. (2004). Male teachers, homophobia, misogyny and teacher education, *Teaching and Education*, 15 (1), 27-39.

Mills, M., Haase, M. and Charlot, B. (2008). Being the 'right' kind of male teacher: The disciplining of John, *Pedagogy, Culture and Society,* 16 (1), 71-84.

Minckler, C. H. (2014). School leadership that builds teacher social capital, *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership,* 42 (5), 657-679.

Misra, J., Lundquist, J., Holmes, E. D. and Agiomavritis, S. (2010). Associate professors and gendered barriers to advancement, in; Ceci, S. J., Ginther, D. K., Kahn, S. and Williams, W. M. (Eds). Women in academic science: A

changing landscape, *Psychological Science in the public Interest*, 15 (3), 75-141.

Mistry, M. and Sood, K. (2013). Why are there still few men within early years in primary school: views from male trainee teachers and male leaders, *International Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years' Education 3-13*, 43 (2), 115-127.

Mitchell, A. (2004). Goodbye Mr Chips, in; Martino, W. and Kehler, M. (2006). Male teachers and the 'boy problem': An issue of recuperative masculinity politics, *McGill Journal of Education*, 41 (2), 113-131.

Monro, S. (2005). *Gender politics: Citizenship, activism and sexual diversity*. London: Pluto Books.

Moran, D. (2000). *Introduction to Phenomenology.* London: Routledge.

Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus groups, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22, 129-152.

Morrison, R. L. and Cooper-Thomas, H. D. (2013). *Relationships in organizations: A work psychology perspective*. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. (1973). *Teachers and teaching* (2nd Ed). Australia: Penguin Education.

Mullan, B. and Harrison, J. (2008). Male and female nursing applicants' attitudes and expectations towards their future careers in nursing, *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 13 (6), 527-539.

Murray, R. (2015). *Too much pressure? Men's interests and male intersectionality*, Paper from presentation at the European Conference on Politics and Gender, Uppsala, 11-13 June.

Nelson, T. D. (2002). *Ageism : Stereotyping and Prejudice Against Older Persons*. Cambridge, Mass: A Bradford Book.

Nelson, T. D. (2016). Promoting healthy aging by confronting Ageism, *American Psychologist*, 71 (4), 276-282.

Newby, P. (2010). *Research methods for Education*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Ng, E. S. and Wiesner, W. H. (2007). Are men always picked over women? The effects of employment equity directives on selection decision, *Journal of Business Ethics,* 76, 177-187.

Nias, J. (1989a). Meeting together: The symbolic and pedagogic importance of school assemblies within a collaborative culture, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, in; Little, J. W. (ed). The persistence of privacy: Autonomy and initiative in teachers' professional relations, *Teachers College Record,* 91 (4), 509-536.

Nias, J. (1989b). *Primary teachers talking: A study of teaching as work*. London: Routledge.

Noffke, S. (2009). Revisiting the professional and political dimensions of action research, in; Noffke, S. and Somekh, B. (eds). *The SAGE handbook of educational action research*. London: Sage.

Noon, M. (2010). The shackled runner: Time to rethink positive discrimination, *Work, Employment and Society*, 24 (4), 728-739.

Noon, M. (2012). Simply the best? The case for using threshold selection in hiring decisions, *Human Resource Management Journal*, 22 (1), 76-88.

Noon, E. J. (2017). An interpretative phenomenological analysis of the barriers to the use of humour in the teaching of childhood studies, *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 5 (3), 45-52.

Noon, E. J. (2018). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An appropriate methodology for Educational research? *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 6 (1), 75-83.

Noordegraaf, M. and Schinkel, W. (2011). Professional capital contested: A Bourdieusian analysis of conflicts between professionals and managers, *Comparative Sociology*, 10, 97-125.

Nord Anglia Education. (2010). *Accelerate to headship – Tomorrow's Heads programme*, accessed from, http://www.nordangliaeducation.com/article/2010/5/15/accelerate-to-headship--tomorrows-heads-programme on 31st August 2017.

North, M. S. and Fiske, S. T. (2013). Act your (old) age: Perspective, ageist biases over succession, consumption, and identity, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39 (6), 720-734.

Oakley, A (1985) *Sex, gender and society.* Hants: Gower Publishing Company Limited.

Oakley, J. G. (2000). Gender-based barriers to senior management positions: Understanding the scarcity of female CEOs, *Journal of Business Ethics*, 27, 321–334.

O'Cinneide, C. (2009). Positive action, in; Lee, Y. and Goldschmidt, J. (eds). *Taking employment discrimination seriously: Chinese and European perspectives*. Leiden: Brill.

O'Conor, L. (2015). Where are all the female head teachers? Accessed from, https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2015/feb/11/lack-of-female-headteachers-gender-diversity-education on 4th November 2017.

Odih, P. (2002). Mentors and role models: Masculinity and the educational 'underachievement' of young Afro-Caribbean males, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 5 (1), 91-105.

Offer, S. and Schneider, B. (2011). Revisiting the gender gap in time-use patterns: Multitasking and well-being among mothers and fathers in dual learner families, *American Sociological Review*, 76, 809-33.

Ofsted. (2019). *The education inspection framework*. Manchester: Crown Copyright.

Oldenhinkel, A. J. (2017). Let's talk about sex – The gender binary revisited, *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry,* 58 (8), 863-864.

Olesky, E. H. (2011). Intersectionality at the cross-roads, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 34 (4), 263-270.

Oliver, P. (2010). *The student's guide to research ethics (2nd Ed).* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Opie, C. (2007). *Doing educational research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

O'Pry, S. C. and Schumacher, G. (2012). New teacher's perceptions of a standards-based performance appraisal system, *Educational Assessment: Evaluation and Accountability,* 24 (4), 325-350.

Orser, B. and Leck, J. (2011). Gender influences on career success outcomes, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 25 (5), 386-407.

O'Reilly, M. and Parker, N. (2012). Unsatisfactory saturation: A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research, *Qualitative research*, 13 (2), 190-197.

Osgood, J. (2012). *Narratives from the nursery: Negotiating professional identities in early childhood*. Oxon: Routledge.

Ott, E. M. (1989). Effects of the male female ratio at work: Policewomen and male nurses, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 41-57.

Packer, M. (2011). *The science of qualitative research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Padilla-Diaz, M. (2015). Phenomenology in educational qualitative research: Philosophy as science of philosophical science? *International Journal of Educational Excellence*, 1 (2), 101-110.

Page, D. (2015). The visibility and invisibility of performance management in schools, *British Educational Research Journal*, 41 (6), 1031-1049.

Patti, C. J. and Ellis, C. (2007). Co-constructed interviews, *The International Encyclopaedia of Communication Research Methods*, accessed from; https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Carolyn_Ellis/publication/320926100_Co-Constructed_Interview/links/5a57a4b00f7e9bbacbdf0269/Co-Constructed-Interview.pdf on 15th October 2017.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (3rd Ed). London: Sage.

Paxton, P., Kunovich, S. and Hughes, M. M. (2007). Gender in politics, *Annual Review of Sociology,* 33, 263-284.

Peachter, C. (2006). Reconceptualizing the gendered body: Learning and constructing masculinities and femininities in school, *Gender & Education*, 18 (2), 121-135.

Pease, B. (2011). Men in social work: Challneging or reproducing an unequal gender regime? *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 26 (4), 406-418.

Peat, J., Mellis, C., Williams, K. and Xuan, W. (2002). *Health science research: A handbook of qualitative methods*. London: Sage.

Pells, R. (2017). Black and ethnic minority teachers face 'invisible glass ceiling' in schools, report warns, accessed from, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/black-asian-ethnic-minority-teachers-invisible-glass-ceiling-racism-schools-report-runnymeade-nut-a7682026.html on 4th November 2017.

Penuel, W., Riel, M., Krause, A. and Frank, K. (2009). Analysing teachers' professional interactions in a school as social capital: A social network approach, *Teachers College Press Record*, 111 (1), 124-163.

Perren, K., Roberts, S., Stafford, B. and Hirsch, D. (2012). *Evaluation of the implementation of the Equality Act 2010: Report 2 – Awareness and impact of the Equality Act.* London: Government Equalities Office.

Perryman, J. and Calvert, G. (2019). What motivates people to teacher, and why do they leave? Accountability, performativity and teacher retention, *British journal of Educational Studies*, 1-21.

Petre, M. and Rugg, G. (2010). *The Unwritten rules of PhD research open up study skills*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Petty, N. J., Thomson, O. P. and Stew, G. (2012). Ready for a paradigm? Part 1: Introducing the philosophy of qualitative research, *Manual Therapy*, 17, 267-274.

Phillips, E. M. and Pugh, D. S. (2010). *How to get a PhD: A handbook for students and their supervisors* (5th ed). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Phillips, D. A. (2005). Reproducing normative and marginalised masculinities: Adolescent male popularity and the outcast, *Nursing Inquiry*, 12 (3), 219-230.

Pierce, J. L. (1995). *Gender trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Pleck, J. (1989). Men's power with women, other men, and society, in; Kimmel, M. and Messner, M. (eds). *Men's lives*. New York: Macmillan.

Polit, D. F., Beck, C. T. and Hungler, B. P. (2001). *Essentials of nursing research: Methods, appraisals and utilization* (5th Ed). Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.

Pompper, D and Jung, T. (2013). 'Outnumbered yet still on top, but for how long?' Theorising about men working in the feminized field of public relations, *Public Relations Review*, 39, 497-506.

Powell, G. N. (2018). *Women and men in management*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Limited.

Powell, G. N. and Greenhaus, J. H. (2010). Sex, gender and decisions at the family – Work interface, *Journal of Management*, 36 (4), 1011-1039.

Prentice, D. A. and Carranza, E. (2004). Sustaining cultural beliefs in the face of their violation: The case of gender stereotypes, in; Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Price, J. H. and Murnan, J. (2004). Research Limitations and the Necessity of Reporting Them, *American Journal of Health Education*, 35 (2), 66-67.

Price-Glynn, K. and Rakowski, C. (2012). Who rides the glass escalator? Gender, race and nationality in the national nursing assistant study, *Work, Employment and Society*, 26, 699-715.

Purdie-Vaughns, V. and Richard, P. E. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: the distinctive advantages of multiple subordinate-group identities, *Sex Roles*, 59 (5-6), 377-391.

Qu, S. Q. and Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interview, *Qualitative Research in Accounting and Management*, 8 (3), 238-264.

Quest, D. A. (2014). Out of the way and out of place: An interpretative phenomenological analysis of the experiences of social interactions of bisexuality attracted young people; in, Noon, E. J. (ed). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An appropriate methodology for educational research? *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 6 (1), 75-83.

Race Relations Act. (1976). Accessed from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents on 30th January 2017.

Radinger, T. (2014). School leader appraisal – A tool to strengthen school leaders' pedagogical leadership and skills for teacher management? *European Journal of Education*, 49 (3), 378-394.

Ramaswami, A., Dreher, G. F., Bretz, R. and Wiethoff, C. (2010). Gender, mentoring and career success: The importance of organizational context, *Personnel Psychology*, 63, 385-405.

Rath, T. (2006). *Vital friends: The people you can't afford to live without*. New York, NY: Gallup Press.

Ravitch, S. M. and Mittenfelner Carl, N. (2016). *Qualitative research: Bridging the conceptual, theoretical and methodological*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Reed, R, L. (1999). Troubling boys and disturbing discourses on masculinity and schooling: a feminist exploration of current debates and interventions concerning boys in school, *Gender and Education*, 1 (1): 93-110.

Rehel, E. M. (2013). When dad stays home too: Paternity leave, gender, and parenting, *Gender & Society*, 28 (1), 110-132.

Renold, E., Holland, S., Ross, N. J. and Hillman, A. (2008). Becoming participant: Problemizing informed consent in participatory research with young people in care, in; Warin, J. (ed). Ethical mindfulness and reflexivity: managing a research relationship with children and young people in a 14- year qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) study, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17 (9), 805-814.

Reskin, B. F. (2011). Rethinking employment discrimination and its remedies, in; Grusky, D. B and Szelényi, S. (Eds). *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundational readings in race, class, and gender.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Rhodes, C. and Beneicke, S. (2002). Coaching, mentoring and peer-networking: Challenges for the management of teacher professional development in schools, *Journal of In-service Education*, 28 (2), 297-310.

Rice, J. (2003). *Teacher quality: Understanding the effectiveness of teacher attributes*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.

Richards, L. (2006). *Handling qualitative data: A practical guide.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Richardson, H. (2016). Troops to teachers sees 28 servicemen qualify, *BBC News*, accessed from; https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-35595424 on 17th January 2019.

Richardson, P. W. and Watt, H. M. G. (2005). I've decided to become a teacher: Influences on career change, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21 (5), 475-489.

Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Risman, B. J. (2009). From doing to undoing: Gender as we know it, *Gender and Society*, 23 (1), 81-84.

Robinson, K. H. and Diaz, C. J. (2006). *Diversity and difference in early childhood.* Open University Press.

Robertson, L. N., Brummel, B. J. and Salvaggio, A. N. (2011). Gender perceptions of managerial positions: Implications for work-related outcomes, *The Psychologist-Manager Journal*, 14, 1-28.

Robinson, B. E. and Canaday, H. (1978). Sex-role behaviours and personality traits of male day care teachers, *Sex Roles*, 4 (6), 853-865.

Rohrmann, T. and Brody, D. (2015). Questioning methodologies in research on men in ECEC, *European Early Childhood Research Journal*, 23 (3), 405–416.

Rolfe, H. (2006). Where are the men? Gender segregation in the childcare and early years sector, *National Institute Economic Review*, 195 (1), 103–117.

Rowley, J. (2012). Conducting research interviews, *Management Research Review*, 35 (3/4), 260-271.

Russell, V. (2005). Ofsted critical of fast-tracked teachers, *Public Finance*, 10.

Ryan, M. K., Haslam, S. A. and Postmes, T. (2007). Reactions to the glass cliff: Gender differences in the explanations for the precariousness of women's leadership positions, *Journal of Organizational Change*, 20 (2), 182-197.

Samaha, A. M. (2010). *On law's tiebreakers, working paper No. 302, Public Law and Legal Theory.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

Sargent, P. (2004). Between a rock and a hard place: Men caught in the gender bind of early childhood education, *The Journal of Men's Studies,* 12 (3), 173-192.

Scheurich, J. (1997). *Research method in the postmodern.* London: Falmer.

Schien, V. E. (2001). A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management, *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 674-688.

Schippers, M. (2006). Recovering the feminine other: masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony, *Theory and Society*, 36, 85-102.

Scholarios, D. and Taylor, P. (2011). Beneath the glass ceiling: Explaining gendered role segregation in call centres, Human Relations, 64 (10), 1291-1319.

Schütz, A. (1973). *The Phenomenology of the Social World* (2nd ed). Evanstown, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Schwartz-Shea, P. and Yanour, D. (2012). *Interpretive research design: Concepts and processes.* New York: Routledge.

Seale, C. (1999). *The quality of qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Seale, C. (2012). *Researching society and culture* (3rd Ed). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Seashore Louis, K., Leithwood, K., Wahlstrom, K. L. and Anderson, S. E. (2010). Investigating the links to improved student learning: Final report of research findings, in; Looney, J. (Ed). Developing high-quality teachers: Teacher Education for improvement, *European Journal of Education*, 46 (4), 440-455.

Seifert, K. (1988). The culture of early education and the preparation of male teachers, *Early Child Development and Care*, 38, 69–80.

Sengupta, S., Whitfield, K. and McNabb, B. (2007). Employee share ownership and performance: Golden path or golden handcuffs? *The international Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18 (8), 1507-1538.

Sex Discrimination Act. (1975). Accessed from http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65 on 30th January 2017.

Sex Discrimination Act. (2002). Accessed from https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/2/pdfs/ukpga_20020002_en.pdf on 30th January 2017.

Shah, M. (2012). The importance and benefits of teacher collegiality in schools – a literature review, *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 46, 1242-1246.

Shaw, R. (2001). Why use interpretative phenomenological analysis in health psychology? *Health Psychology Update*, 10 (4), 48-52.

Shen-Miller, D. and Smiler, A. (2015). Men in female dominated vocations: A rationale for academic study and introduction to the special issue, *Sex Roles*, 72 (7), 629-276.

Shepherd, S. (2017). Why are there so few female leaders in higher education: A case study of structure of agency? *Management in Education*, 31 (2), 82-87.

Shows, C. and Gerstel, N. (2009). Fathering, class, and gender: A comparison of physicians and emergency medical technicians, *Gender & Society*, 23, 161-87.

Sieber, J. E. (2008). Planning ethically responsible research, in; Bickman, L. and Rog, D. J. (eds). *Handbook of applied social research methods* (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sikes, P. (2001). Teacher's lives and teaching performance, in; Gleeson, D. and Husbands, C. (Eds). *The performing school: Managing, teaching and learning in a performance culture*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Simmons, A. L., Watkins, M. B. and Umphress, E. E. (2015). Are male tokens bad for females? The effect of social dominance orientation on high-status tokens' evaluations of low-status members, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45, 55-66.

Simon, C. J. and Warner, J. T. (1992). Matchmaker, matchmaker: The effect of old boy networks on job match quality, earnings, and tenure, *Journal of Labour Economics*, 10, 306–330

Sinclair, A. (2005). *Doing leadership differently. Gender, power, and sexuality in a changing business.* Melbourne: Culture Melbourne University Press.

Sinclair, M. (2007). Editorial: A guide to understanding theoretical and conceptual frameworks, in; Adom, D., Hussein, E. K. and Agyem, J. A. (Eds). Theoretical and conceptual framework: Mandatory ingredients of a quality research, *International Journal of Scientific Research*, 7 (1), 438-441.

Skelton, C. (1991). A study of the career perspectives of male teachers of young children, *Gender and Education*, 3 (3), 279–89.

Skelton, C. (2003). Male primary teachers and perceptions of masculinity, *Educational Review*, 55 (2), 195-210.

Skelton, C. (2009). Failing to get men into primary teaching: A feminist critique, *Journal of Education Policy*, 24 (1), 39-54.

Skjeie, H. and Langvasbråten, T. (2009). Intersectionality in practice? *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11 (4), 513-529.

Smith, E. (2010). Underachievement, failing youth and moral panics, *Evaluation and Research in Education*, 23 (1), 37-49.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. London: Sage.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2015). Interpretative phenomenological analysis; in, Smith, J. A. (ed). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage.

Smith, K. and McLay, M. (2007). Curates' eggs? Secondary trainee teachers' experience of the Graduate Teacher Programme and the Postgraduate Certificate in Education, *Journal of Education and Teaching*, 33 (1), 35-54.

Smith, K. and Webber, L. (2005). Promotion: Age matters, *International Congress Series*, 1280, 403-408.

Smith, P., Caputi, P. and Crittenden, N. (2012). A maze of metaphors around class ceilings, *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 27 (7), 436-448.

Smith, R. (2012). Money, benefits and power: A test of the glass ceiling and glass escalator hypothesis, *Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 639, 149-172.

Smithson, J. (2000).   Using and analysing focus groups: Limitations and possibilities, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 3 (2), 103-119.

Smyth, A. and Holian, R. (2008).   Credibility issues in research from within organizations, in; Sikes, P. and Potts, A. (eds).   *Researching education from the inside.* New York, NY: Taylor and Francis.

Snyder, K. A. and Green, A. I. (2009). Revisiting the glass escalator: The case of gender segregation in a female dominated occupation, *Social Problems*, 55 (2), 271-299.

Sobal, J. (2001).   Same extensiveness in qualitative nutrition education research, *Journal of Nutrition Education*, 33 (4), 184-192.

Stake, R. E. (2010).   *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*.   New York: The Guilford Press.

Starks, H. and Trinidad, S. B. (2007). 'Choose your method: A comparison of phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory'*, Qualitative Health Research*, 17 (10), 1372–1380.

Steele, C. M. (2010). *Whistling Vivaldi: How stereotypes affect is and what we can do.* New York; W.W. Norton.

Stichman, A. J., Hassell, K. D. and Archbold, C. A. (2010).   Strength in numbers? A test of Kanter's theory of tokenism, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, 633-639.

Suri, H. (2011). Purposeful sampling in qualitative research synthesis, *Qualitative Research Journal*, 11 (2), 63-75.

Sumsion, J. (2000).   Rewards, risks and tensions: Perceptions of males enrolled in an early childhood teacher education programme, *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 28 (1), 87-100.

Sutherland, C. (2012).   Reframing the regulation of equal employment opportunity: The workplace Gender Equality Act 2012, *Australian Journal of Labour Law*, 26 (1), 102-111.

Sutton Trust. (2009).   *Teach primary: Improving the status and quality of primary school teaching.* National Education Trust.

Targum, S. D. (2011). The distinction between clinical and research interviews in psychiatry, *Innovations in Clinical Neuroscience*, 8, 40-44.

Taylor, J. (2011). The intimate insider: Negotiating the ethics of friendship when doing insider research, *Qualitative Research*, 11 (1), 3-22.

Taylor, Y., Hines, S. and Casey, M. E. (2011). *Theorizing intersectionality and sexuality.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Teijlingen, E. R. V. and Hundley, V. (2001). The importance of pilot studies, *Social Research Update,* 35, 1-4.

Tetreault, M. (2012). Positionality and knowledge construction, in; Banks, J. (ed). *Encyclopaedia of diversity in education.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tickell, C. (2011). *The Early Years: Foundations for Life, Health and Learning: An Independent Review on the Early Years Foundation Stage for HM Government*,   accessed   from, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/180919/DFE-00177-2011.pdf, on 22nd October, 2019.

Tiemeyer, P. J. (2007). *Manhood in the air: Gender, sexuality, corporate culture and the law in Twentieth Century America*, accessed from;

file:///C:/Users/Thomas%20Cousins/Downloads/tiemeyerp65904.pdf   on18th February 2019.

Tipping, A. (2013). Troops to teaching: Implications for the coalition government's approach to education policy and pedagogical beliefs and practice, *Educational Studies*, 39 (4), 468-478.

Titus, J. (2004). Boy trouble: Rhetorical framing of boys' underachievement, *Discourse*, 25 (2), 145-169.

The Education (School Teacher's Appraisal) (England) Regulations. (2012). Available   at; http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2012/115/pdfs/uksi_20120115_en.pdf accessed on 6th November 2018.

Thomas, G. (2012). *How to do your case study: A guide for students and researchers* (2nd Ed). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Thomas, G. (2013). *How to do your research project.* London: Sage.

Tomkins, L. (2017). Using interpretative phenomenological psychology in organisational research with working carers; in, Noon, E. J. (ed). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: An appropriate methodology for educational research? *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practice*, 6 (1), 75-83.

Thomson, P. and Kamler, B. (2016). *Detox your writing: Strategies for doctoral researchers.* London: Taylor and Francis Group.

Torraco, R. J. (2005). Writing integrative literature reviews: Guidelines and examples, *Human Resource Development Review*, 4, 356-367.

Thornton, M. and Bricheno, P. (2006). *Missing men in education.* Staffordshire: Trentham Books Ltd.

Thurer, S. L. (2005). *The end of gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "Big-Tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 16* (10), 837-851.

Travers, M. (2001). *Qualitative research through case studies.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Treviño, A. J. (2017). The sociology of law: Classical and contemporary perspectives. London: Routledge.

Tripp, D. (1994). Teacher's lives, critical incidents, and professional practice, *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 7 (1), 65-76.

Trowler, P. (2016). *Doctoral research into Higher Education*. California: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Tuckett, A. (2004). Qualitative research sampling: The very real complexities, *Nurse Researcher*, 12, 47-61.

Tufford, L. and Newman, P. (2010). Bracketing in qualitative research, Qualitative Social Work, 11 (1), 80-96.

Turner III, D. W. (2010). Qualitative interview design: A practical guide for novice investigators, *The Qualitative Report*, 15 (3), 754-760.

Vaitkus, S. (2005). The "Naturality" of Alfred Schutz's natural attitude of the life-world, in: Endress, M., Psathas, G. and Nasu, H. (eds). *Explorations of the Life-World. Contributions to Phenomenology* (In Cooperation with the Centre for Advanced Research in Phenomenology), 53. Springer, Dordrecht.

Van Droogenbroeck, F., Spruyt, B. and Vanroelen, C. (2014). Burnout among senior teachers: Investigating the role of workload and interpersonal relationships at work, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 43, 99-109.

Van Manen, M. (1994). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. London: Althouse Press.

Van Manen, M. (2014). *Phenomenology of practice.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press Inc.

Van Manen, M. and Adams, C. A. (2010). Qualitative research: phenomenology; in, Baker, E. Peterson, P. and McCaw, B. (eds) *International Encyclopaedia of Education*, Volume 6. Oxford: Elsevier.

Vandenbroeck, M. and Peeters, J. (2008). Gender and professionalism: A critical analysis of overt and covert curricula, *Early Development and Care*, 178 (7-8), 703-715.

Verbeek, S. and Groeneveld, S. (2012). Do hard diversity policies increase ethnic minority representation: An assessment of their (in)effectiveness using administrative data, *Personnel Review*, 41 (5), 647-664.

Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple inequalities: Intersectionality and the European Union, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (3), 211-228.

Waldfogel, J. (2007). Parental work arrangements and child development, *Canadian Public Policy*, 33 (2), 251-272.

Wallace, J. E. (2014). Gender and supportive co-worker relations in the medical profession, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 21 (1), 1-17.

Wanat, C. L. (2008). Getting past the gatekeepers: Differences between access and cooperation in public school research, *Field Methods*, 20 (2), 191-208.

Warren, C. A. B. (2002). Qualitative interviewing, in; Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein, J. A. (ed). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Warin, J. (2011). Ethical mindfulness and reflexivity: managing a research relationship with children and young people in a 14- year qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) study, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17 (9), 805-814.

Warin, J. (2014). The status of care: Linking gender and 'educare', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23 (1), 93-106.

Warin, J. (2015). Pioneers, professionals, playmates, protectors, 'poofs' and 'paedos': Swedish male pre-school teachers' construction of their identities, in: S. Brownhill., J. Warin. and I. Wenersson (eds) *Men, masculinities and teaching in early childhood education: International perspectives on gender and care*. London: Routledge.

Warin, J. (2018). Men in early childhood and care: Gender balance and flexibility. US: Palgrave Macmillan.

Warin, J. (2019). Conceptualising the value of male practitioners in early childhood education and care: gender balance or gender flexibility, *Gender and Education*, 31 (3), 293-308.

Warin, J. and Adriany, V. (2015). Gender flexible pedagogy in Early Childhood Education, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 20 (10), 1-30.

Warin, J. and Adriany, V. (2017). Gender flexible pedagogy in early childhood education, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 26 (4), 375–386.

Warwick, J. (2012). Primary teacher trainee perspectives on a male only support group: Moving males beyond the freak show, *Teacher Development*, 16 (5), 55-76.

Watson, E. (2010). Surrey seeks to boost number of male childcare workers, in: S. Brownhill (eds) *The brave men in early years (0-8): the ambiguities of the*

role model. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Conference. University of Warwick, 1-4 September.

Weare, K. (2007). Delivering every child matters: The central role of social and emotional learning in schools, *Education 3-13*, 25 (3), 239-248.

Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2003). The 'boy turn' in research on gender and education, *Review of Educational Research*, 73 (4), 471-498.

Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (1995). *That's funny, you don't look like a teacher: Interrogating images and identity in popular culture.* London: The Falmer Press.

Welham, H. (2014). The glass ceiling in education: Why are so few women becoming head teachers? Accessed from, https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/teacher-blog/2014/feb/12/women-headteachers-education-glass-ceiling-careers on 4th November 2017.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). *Doing gender*, Gender and Society, 1 (2), 125-151.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (2009). Accounting for doing gender, *Gender and Society*, 23 (1), 112-122.

White, M. J. and White, G. B. (2006). Implicit and explicit occupational gender stereotypes, *Sex Roles*, 55, 259-266.

Wiles, R., Crow, G., Heath, S. and Charles, V. (2008). The management of confidentiality and anonymity in social research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11 (5), 417-428.

Wilkinson, H. (2000). Family business, in; Bhattacharyya, G. (ed). *Sexuality and society: An introduction.* London: Routledge.

Wilkinson, S. (1999). How useful are focus groups in feminist research? in; Barbour, R. S. and Kitzinger, J. (eds). *Developing focus group research: Politics, theory and practice.* London: Sage.

Wilks, D. C. and Neto, F. (2013). Workplace Well-being, gender and age: Examining the 'Double Jeopardy' Effect, *Social Indicators Research*, 114, 875-890.

Williams, C. L. (1992). The glass escalator: Hidden advantages for men in the 'female' professions, *Social Problems*, 39, 253-267.

Williams, C. L. (1995). *Still a man's world: Men who do 'women's work'.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Williams, C. L. (2013). The glass escalator revisited, *Gender and Society*, 27 (5), 609-629.

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Wilson, V. (2014). Research methods: Triangulation, *Evidence Based Library and Information Practice*, 9 (1), 74-75.

Wingfield, A. H. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator: Reconsidering men's experiences with women's work, *Gender and Society*, 23 (1), 5-26.

Wood, P. and Brownhill, S. (2018). 'Absent fathers', and children's social and emotional learning: an exploration of the perceptions of 'positive male role models' in the primary school sector, *Gender and Education,* 30 (2), 172-186.

Woodhams, C., Lupton, B. and Cowling, M. (2015). The presence of ethnic minority and disabled men in feminised work: Intersectionality, vertical segregation and the glass escalator, *Sex Roles*, 72, 277-293.

Woodside, A. G. (2010). *Case study research: Theory, methods and practice*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Wout, D. A., Shih, M. J., Jackson, J. S. and Sellers, R. M. (2009). Targets as perceivers; How people determine when they will be negatively stereotyped, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96, 349-362.

Yanos, P. T. and Hopper, K. (2006). On 'False, collusive objectification': Becoming attuned to self-censorship, performance and interviewer biases in qualitative interviewing, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11 (3), 229-237.

Yap, M. and Konrad, A. M. (2009). Gender and racial differentials in promotions: Is there a sticky floor, a mid-level bottleneck, or a glass-ceiling? *Relations Industrielles*, 64 (4), 593-619.

Yeoman, L. (2019). *Public relations as emotional labour*. Oxon: Routledge.

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th Ed). London: SAGE Ltd.

Ysabet, K. N. (2005). Gender theory, in, Monro, S. (eds). *Gender politics: Citizenship, activism and sexual diversity.* London: Pluto Books.

Yuan, Y. (2014). Turning friends into research participants: Rationale, possibilities and challenges, *CORERJ: Cambridge Open-Review Educational Research e-Journal*, 1 (1), 88-104.

Yulindrasari, H. (2006). *Gendered parenting in Indonesian magazine: A discourse analysis of Ayrah Bunda* (Master thesis). Melbourne, University of Melbourne.

Yuwei, X., Warin, J. and Robb, M. (2020). Beyond gender binaries: Pedagogies and practices in early childhood education and care (ECEC), *Early Years: An International Journal*, 40 (1), 1-4.

Zhang, G. and Zeller, N. (2016). A longitudinal investigation of the relationship between teacher preparation and teacher retention, *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 43 (2), 73-92.

Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and women in the work place: The limits of gender-neutral theory, *Social Problems*, 35, 64-77.

Appendices

1 Teaching pay scales

NASUWT — The Teachers' Union

Section 1

Classroom Teachers ales (excluding London and the Fringe)		
Spine point	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Main Pay Range		
Min M1	£22,467	£22,917
M2	£24,243	£24,728
M3	£26,192	£26,716
M4	£28,207	£28,772
M5	£30,430	£31,039
Max M6	£33,160	£33,824
Upper Pay Range		
Min U1	£35,571	£35,927
U2	£36,889	£37,258
Max U3	£38,250	£38,633

Section 2

Teaching and Learning Responsibilities (TLRs)		
Payment 1 (TLR1)	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Min	£7,622	£7,699
Max	£12,898	£13,027
Payment 2 (TLR2)	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Min	£2,640	£2,667
Max	£6,450	£6,515
Payment 3 (TLR) (Fixed Term)	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Min	£523	£529
Max	£2,603	£2,630

The NASUWT recommends that if the relevant body awards TLRs of different annual values to two or more teachers, the minimum difference in the annual value between each award of a TLR1 is £1,500 and between each award of a TLR 2 is £1,500.

Please also see the pay ranges for headteachers if you are at the top of a headteacher pay range.

Section 3

Leadership Group Pay Range Wales (excluding London and the Fringe)		
Spine point	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
L1	£38,984	£39,374
L2	£39,960	£40,360
L3	£40,958	£41,368
L4	£41,978	£42,398
L5	£43,023	£43,454
L6	£44,102	£44,544
L7	£45,290	£45,743
L8	£46,335	£46,799
L9	£47,491	£47,967
L10	£48,710	£49,199
L11	£49,976	£50,476
L12	£51,127	£51,639
L13	£52,405	£52,930
L14	£53,712	£54,250
L15	£55,048	£55,600
L16	£56,511	£57,077
L17	£57,810	£58,389
L18	£59,264	£59,857
L19	£60,733	£61,341
L20	£62,240	£62,863
L21	£63,779	£64,417
L22	£65,363	£66,017
L23	£66,982	£67,652
L24	£68,643	£69,330
L25	£70,349	£71,053
L26	£72,089	£72,810
L27	£73,876	£74,615
L28	£75,708	£76,466
L29	£77,582	£78,359
L30	£79,514	£80,310
L31	£81,478	£82,293
L32	£83,503	£84,339
L33	£85,579	£86,435
L34	£87,693	£88,571
L35	£89,874	£90,773
L36	£92,099	£93,020
L37	£94,389	£95,333
L38	£96,724	£97,692
L39	£99,081	£100,072
L40	£101,553	£102,570
L41	£104,091	£105,132
L42	£106,699	£107,766
L43	£108,283	£109,366

Section 4

Ranges for Headteachers England and Wales (excluding London and the Fringe)			
Group	Range of spine points	Salary range (1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017)	Salary range (1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018)
1	L6 – L18	£44,102 – £58,677	£44,544 – £59,264
2	L8 – L21	£46,335 – £63,147	£46,799 – £63,779
3	L11 – L24	£49,976 – £67,963	£50,476 – £68,643
4	L14 – L27	£53,712 – £73,144	£54,250 – £73,876
5	L18 – L31	£59,264 – £80,671	£59,857 – £81,478
6	L21 – L35	£63,779 – £88,984	£64,417 – £89,874
7	L24 – L39	£68,643 – £98,100	£69,330 – £99,081
8	L28 – L43	£75,708 – £108,283	£76,466 – £109,366

The School Teachers' Review Body (STRB) recommended that no pay uplift be applied to the maximum values on the Leadership Group Pay Range (LGPR) or to maximum values on any of the eight headteacher group pay ranges in 2015.

This restriction was applied to the maximum of each the eight headteacher group pay ranges only. It does not apply where a head/deputy/assistant headteacher is not earning the maximum on a headteacher group pay range, but is placed on one of the corresponding points on the LGPR – L18, L21, L24, L27, L31, L35 or L39, which have all increased by 1% in each year since 2014.

Unqualified Teachers Pay Range England and Wales (excluding London and the Fringe)		
Scale point	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Min 1	£16,461	£16,626
2	£18,376	£18,560
3	£20,289	£20,492
4	£22,204	£22,427
5	£24,120	£24,362
Max 6	£26,034	£26,295

Special Educational Needs Allowances		
	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
SEN (Min)	£2,085	£2,106
SEN (Max)	£4,116	£4,158

Members should contact the Member Support Advice Team on the contact details below if the pay scales operated in their school do not match those on the NASUWT Salary Card.

Lead Practitioners Pay Range England and Wales (excluding London and the Fringe)		
Spine Point	1 Sept 2016 to 31 Aug 2017	1 Sept 2017 to 31 Aug 2018
Min 1	£38,984	£39,374
2	£39,960	£40,360
3	£40,958	£41,368
4	£41,978	£42,398
5	£43,023	£43,454
6	£44,102	£44,544
7	£45,290	£45,743
8	£46,335	£46,799
9	£47,492	£47,967
10	£48,711	£49,199
11	£49,976	£50,476
12	£51,127	£51,639
13	£52,405	£52,930
14	£53,712	£54,250
15	£55,049	£55,600
16	£56,511	£57,077
17	£57,810	£58,389
Max 18	£59,264	£59,857

Salary cards for Inner and Outer London and the Fringe are available on the NASUWT website.

2 Individual interview schedule

<u>Individual Interview</u>

<u>Interviews - Opening - Before turning on the recording device</u>

(Establish Rapport) [Shake hands] Thank you for joining in and taking part in this interview.

[Ice breaker question] How has your day been?   Have you ever been involved with any research before?

I am going to ask you some questions, if you are unsure or do not know how to answer a question do not worry. If you would like the question rephrased in a different manner, please ask. There are no right or wrong answers so do not worry, during the interview I will be writing down some notes do not worry about these they are no way a reflection of you, just notes to help me when listening back to the recording.

The interview should last no longer than an hour.

[Indicate to the participant that the voice recorder is now going to be switched on]

<u>Starter question.</u>

1) who would most likely be on the receiving end of a promotion and why?

<u>Section 1 – Gender and the 'promotion' of teachers.</u>

1) In your experience, how important is the gender of a primary school teacher?

2) Can you think of any examples (own experience personal or second hand) where the gender of a teacher has helped them in some way? {promotion, selection}

   a. If so, in what form did it happen?

   b. How did that make you feel?

3) Do schools with no, or a small number of male teachers, using gender as a criterion to recruit/ employ more males? {Importance of the label of a male primary school teacher in schools]

<u>Section 2 – Male teachers and preferential treatment through forms of positive discrimination.</u>

1) In your experience, do male primary school teachers receive any preferential treatment?

    a. If so, give examples and how did that make you feel?

    b. If so, how is this preferential treatment achieved?

    c. What form does it take? {How often?}

    d. At what point does/did it happen (recruitment, employment, promotion?)

2) Do female teachers receive any preferential treatment?

    a. If so, give examples and how did that make you feel?

    b. If so, how is this preferential treatment achieved?

    c. What form does it take?

    d. At what point does/did it happen (recruitment, employment, promotion?)

3) Have you ever witnessed or feel you have been a part of any preferential treatment at any stage in a primary school due to your gender?

    a. Give detail, at which point did it happen (recruitment, employment, promotion?)

    b. How did it make you feel?

4) 'The gender of a teacher plays a role in their employability'. How far do you agree with this statement?

<u>Section 3 – Expectations and pressures from male teacher token status.</u>

1) What expectations do you think exist for male and female primary school teachers? (Write on chart split down the middle, Venn diagram)

    a. To male teachers – How do these expectations make you feel?

    b. To female teachers – How do you think males feel about these expectations and pressures?

2) In your experience, do you think male and female teachers are positioned differently, in terms of expectations within primary schools?

   a. If so, how are they?

   b. Where do these expectations and pressures come from?

   c. What kind of affect do they have on the teacher?

Section 4 – Experiences and or further comments

1) Are there any other experiences you would like to share or talk about?

2) Any other comments or areas you would like to add to with further thoughts?

Closing - Before turning off the recording device

Thank you for your insight and taking out your time to answer these questions for me.

I should have everything I need; would it be alright if the need arises to have another follow up interview? Thank you again.

[Turn recorder off]

3 Focus group schedule

<u>Focus Group</u>

<u>Focus Group - Opening - Before turning on the recording device</u>

(Establish Rapport) [Shake hands] Thank you for joining in and taking part in this Focus group.

[Ice breaker question] How has your day been?

This session will run as an open conversation, if you have something to say or want to add on to anything said please feel free to do so. Throughout the session, I will also be sharing and contributing to anecdotes and part of the discussion. One reminder, what is said in here should be treated as confidential and should not be discussed or repeated outside the group.

The session should last no longer than an hour.

[Indicate to the participant that the voice recorder is now going to be switched on]

(Question space free to add follow up points from individual interviews)

<u>Section 1 – Gender and the 'promotion' of teachers.</u>

1) Does the gender of a teacher matter?

    a. Should it matter and why?

2) Discuss thoughts on men being a minority in primary schools, what do they think?

    a. Should more men be encouraged in primary schools?

<u>Section 2 – Male teachers and preferential treatment through forms of positive discrimination.</u>

1) Are male teachers treated differently to female teachers?

      a. What ways might they be treated differently?

2) Do you think male teaches have more chance of being promoted in primary

    schools?

      a. How?

      b. Why?

3) Are male teachers fast-tracked in primary schools leading to quicker promotion?

Section 3 – Expectations and pressures from male teacher token status.

1) Where do expectations and pressures for teachers come from?

      a. Specific to each gender?

2) Share experiences of what it's like to be a teacher.

Section 4 – Experiences and or further comments

1. Are there any other experiences you would like to share or talk about?

2. Any other comments or areas you would like to add to with further thoughts?

Closing - Before turning off the recording device

Thank you for your insight and taking out your time to answer these questions

for me.

I should have everything I need; would it be alright if the need arises to follow

up with you? Thank you again.

[Turn recorder off]

4 Participant data sheet

Please complete the following sections, if you do not feel comfortable and or willing to disclose a certain aspect please leave blank.

This data is being collected anonymously so please do not indicate your name and/ or schools name. Data provided here will be used only within my thesis and again as a means to show scope of the study, you nor your school will be identifiable from information given here.

Gender: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Age: _____

Sexual orientation: _____

Years in teaching: _____

Current position held in school: _____

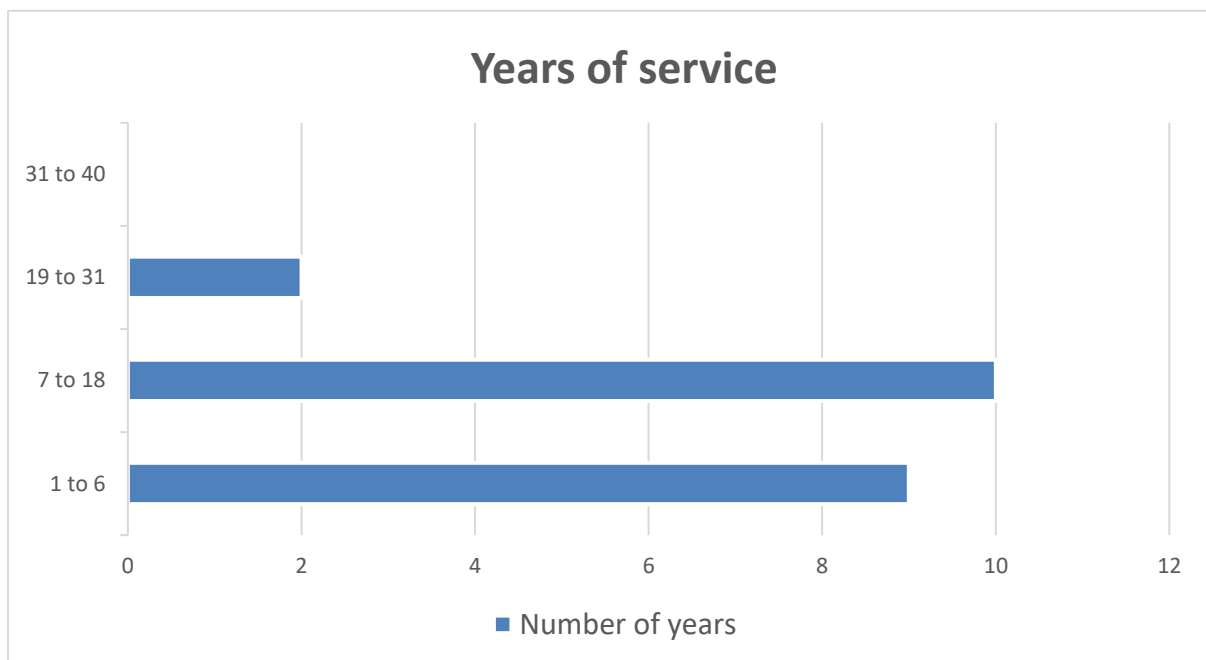Please highlight whether you would be willing to participate in a short follow up interview?
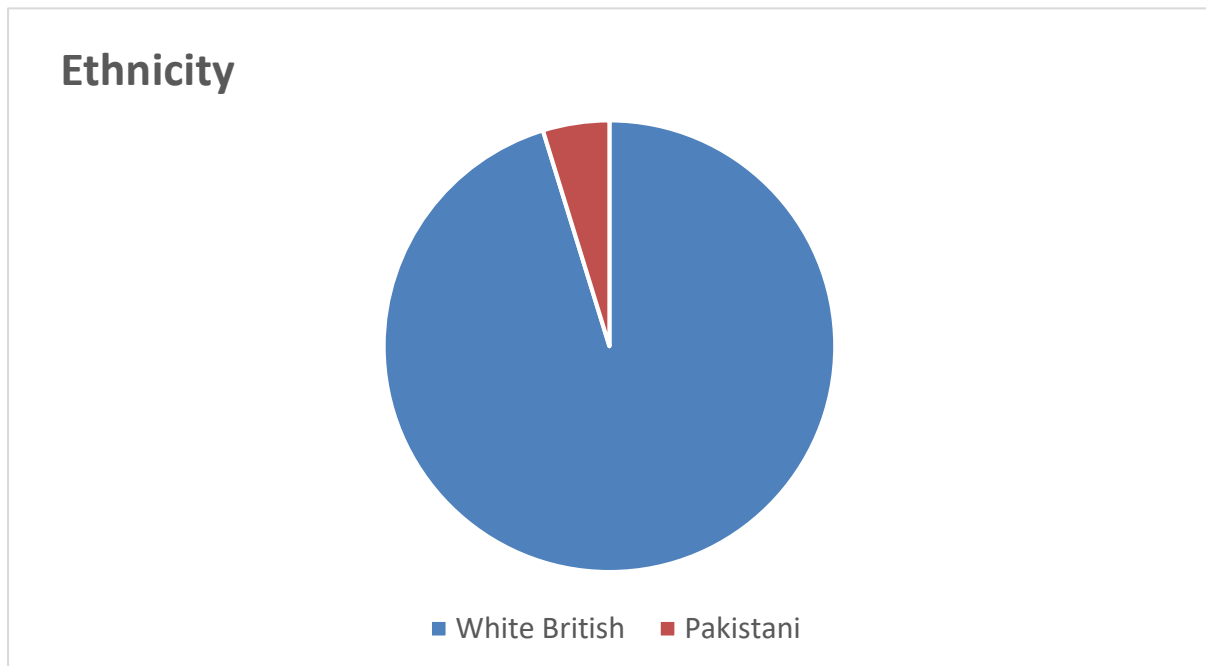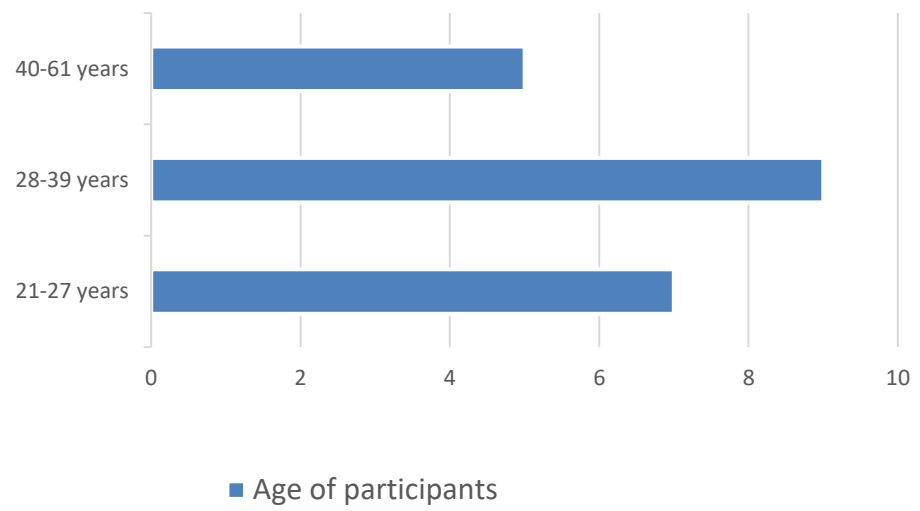
Yes

No

Please fill in and return send to:

t.a.cousins@lancaster.ac.uk

Thank you.

5 Sampling range of particiapnts

Ethnicity

■ White British   ■ Pakistani

Years of service

■ Number of years

Age of paticipants

(Bar chart showing "Age of participants")

- 40-61 years: 5
- 28-39 years: 9
- 21-27 years: 7

Horizontal axis: 0, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10

Legend: ■ Age of participants

Sexuality

(Pie chart)

Legend: ■ Homosexual ■ Heterosexual ■ Left blank
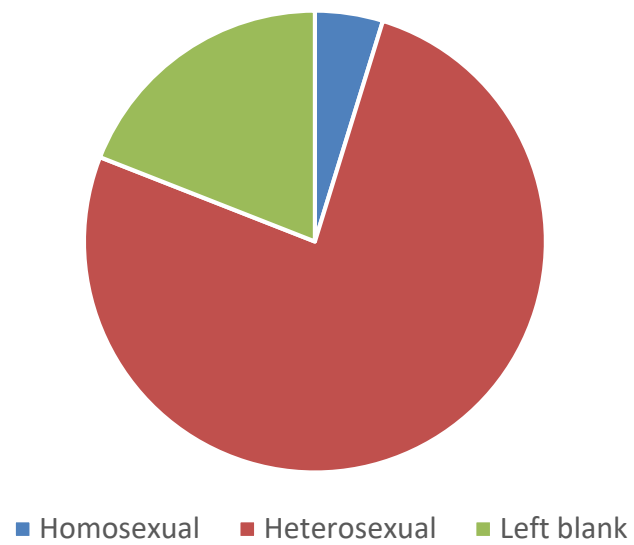
6 Follow up interview questions

1) Talk about you career in teaching?

   A) What route you took.

   B) What positions you have held.

   C) Any promotions you have had.

2) If any promotions have been gained, how did they come about?

3) How do you go about gaining a promotion in a primary school?

4) What opportunities exist to aid in the promotion to a managerial position?

5) How achievable is progression into a managerial position?

6) What type of skills do you need to have in order to be in a managerial position?

7) What type of person do you need to be to get into management?

8) What influences an individual's desire to move into a managerial position?

9) Are there any potential barriers into getting a promotion or advancement into managerial positions?

Specific for head teachers:

10) How are promotions and advancements dealt with from a managerial stand point? Criteria, providing opportunities etc.

11) Are certain teachers head hunted for managerial positions, or opportunities to pursue managerial courses?

7 Participant information sheet

Lancaster University

Participant information sheet

I am a PhD student at Lancaster University in the department of educational research. My main focus of study is surrounding gender and education, in particular I am interested in why, so few males choose to teach in primary schools. Therefore, I would like to invite you to take part in a research study looking at how male teachers are positioned within primary schools.

Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the study about?

This study aims to see how males are perceived within primary schools by colleagues and managerial staff. It also seeks to find out if male teachers are treated differently because of their gender, resulting in extra opportunities being offered or chances of promotion compared to their female colleagues. A final aim of the study will look at whether or not the way males are positioned in school has any kind of implications for the individual.

Why have I been invited?

I have approached you because of your position as a primary school teacher.

I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in this study.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?

If you decided to take part, this would involve the following: individual interviews and a focus group.
The individual interviews will consist of a 60-minute session with yourself and I.
The focus group will be a 30-40-minute session with others who have also agreed to take part and be a formal discussion.

 What are the possible benefits from taking part?

Taking part in this study will allow you to share your experiences of being a teacher in regard to how you are positioned depending on your gender. If you take part in this study, your insights will contribute to our understanding of how gender of a teacher might affect employment and recruiting policies for schools.

Do I have to take part?

No. It's completely up to you to decide whether or not you take part. Your participation is voluntary.

If you decide not to take part in this study, this will not affect your position in the company and your relations with your employer.

What if I change my mind?

If you change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time during your participation in this study. If you want to withdraw, please let me know, and I will extract any data you contributed to the study and destroy it. Data means the information, views, ideas, etc. that you and other participants will have shared with me. However, it is difficult and often impossible to take out data from one specific participant when this has already been anonymised or pooled together with other people's data. Therefore, you can only withdraw up to 2 weeks after taking part in the study. With regards to the focus group, if you have taken part then the data collected cannot be taken out as it will all be anonymised and locating what you said specifically will be impossible.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

By taking part in this study you will be investing up to 60 minutes of your time for the interview and then about 30-40 minutes for the focus group.

Will my data be identifiable?

After the interview/focus group only I, the researcher conducting this study will have access to the data you share with me . I will keep all personal information about you (e.g. your name and other information about you that can identify you) confidential, that is I will not share it with others. I will anonymise any audio recordings and hard copies of any data. This means that I remove any personal information.

Participants in the focus group will be asked not to disclose information outside of the focus group and with anyone not involved in the focus group without the relevant person's express permission.

Both the school and your name will remain anonymous and will not be mentioned within the writing up of the research.

How will my data be stored?

Your data will be stored in encrypted files (that is no-one other than me, the researcher will be able to access them) and on password-protected computers.

I will store hard copies of any data securely in locked cabinets in my office.

In accordance with University guidelines, I will keep the data securely for a minimum of ten years.

How will we use the information you have shared with us and what will happen to the results of the research study?

I will use the data you have shared with only in the following ways:
I will use it for academic purposes only. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications. I may also present the results of my study at academic conferences.

When writing up the findings from this study, I would like to reproduce some of the views and ideas you shared with me. When doing so, I will only use anonymised quotes (e.g. from our interview with you), so that although I will use your exact words, you cannot be identified in our publications.

If anything, you tell me in the interview suggests that you or somebody else might be at risk of harm, I will be obliged to share this information with my supervisor. If possible, I will inform you of this breach of confidentiality.

Who has reviewed the project?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School's Research Ethics Committee.

What if I have a question or concern?
If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself:

Thomas Cousins – t.a.cousins@lancaster.ac.uk

Or you can contact my supervisor:

Dr Jo Warin – j.warin@lancaster.ac.uk
Department of Educational Research, County South, Lancaster University, Bailrigg, LA1 4YX

+44 (0)1524 594266

If you have any concerns or complaints that you wish to discuss with a person who is not directly involved in the research, you can also contact:

Professor Paul Ashwin – paul.ashwin@lancaster.ac.uk
Department of Educational Research, County South, Lancaster University, Bailrigg, LA1 4YX

+44 (0)1524 594443

Thank you for considering your participation in this project.

8 Consent form

<div align="center">

CONSENT FORM

Lancaster University

</div>

Project Title: Placing 'Superman' on a pedestal: Male primary school teacher privilege in their careers.
Name of Researchers: Thomas Cousins
Email: t.a.cousins@lancaster.ac.uk

Please tick each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during my participation in this study and within **2 weeks** after I took part in the study, without giving any reason. If I withdraw within **2 weeks** of taking part in the study my data will be removed. I understand that as part the focus group I will take part in, my data is part of the ongoing conversation and cannot be destroyed. I understand that the researcher will try to disregard my views when analysing the focus group data, but I am aware that this will not always be possible. ☐

3. If I am participating in the focus group, I understand that any information disclosed within the focus group
remains confidential to the group, and I will not discuss the focus group with or in front of anyone who was
not involved unless I have the relevant person's express permission. ☐

4. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, academic articles, publications
or presentations by the researcher/s, but my personal information will not be included, and I will not be identifiable. ☐

5. I understand that my name/my organisation's name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentation
without my consent. ☐

6. I understand that any interviews or focus groups will be audio-recorded and transcribed and that data will
be protected on encrypted devices and kept secure. ☐

7. I understand that data will be kept according to University guidelines for a minimum of 10 years after the end of the study. ☐

8. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all

the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm

366

that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent_____ **Date** _____ Day/month/year

One copy of this form will be given to the participant and the original kept in the files of the researcher at Lancaster University.

9 Certificate of participation

CERTIFICATE *of* PARTICIPATION

THIS ACKNOWLEDGES THAT

HAS PARTAKEN IN RESEARCH AS PART OF A PHD PROGRAMME

JULY
2017

SIGNED, LEAD RESEARCHER

Educational Research | Lancaster University

10 Participant identifier

Participant and school identifier	Pseudonym	Position in school
School A – Male 1	Alex	SLT and class teacher (KS2)
School A – Male 2	Cameron	TA
School A – Male 3	Chris	TA
School A – Male 4	Dakota	SLT and class teacher (KS2)
School A – Female 1	Dana	HLTA
School A – Female 2	Frankie	Class teacher (KS2)
School A – Female 3	Harper	SLT and class teacher (KS2)
School A – Female 4	Jamie	Class teacher (KS2)
School B – Male 1	Jayden	Class teacher (KS1)
School C – Male 1	Jordan	Class teacher (KS2)
School C – Male 2	Kaden	HTLA
School C – Female 1	Kelly	Class teacher (KS1)
School C – Female 2	Lou	Class teacher (KS2)
School C – Female 3	Pat	EYFS teacher
School C – Female 4	Quinn	EYFS teacher
School D – Male 1	Shane	Class teacher (KS1)
School D – Male 2	Shawn	Class teacher (KS2)
School D – Female 1	Taylor	Class teacher (KS1)
School D – Female 2	Val	Class teacher (KS2)
Head teacher 1	Reese	Head teacher
Head teacher 2	Morgan	Head teacher
Total participants	*21*	

11 Network coding example – Atlas.ti
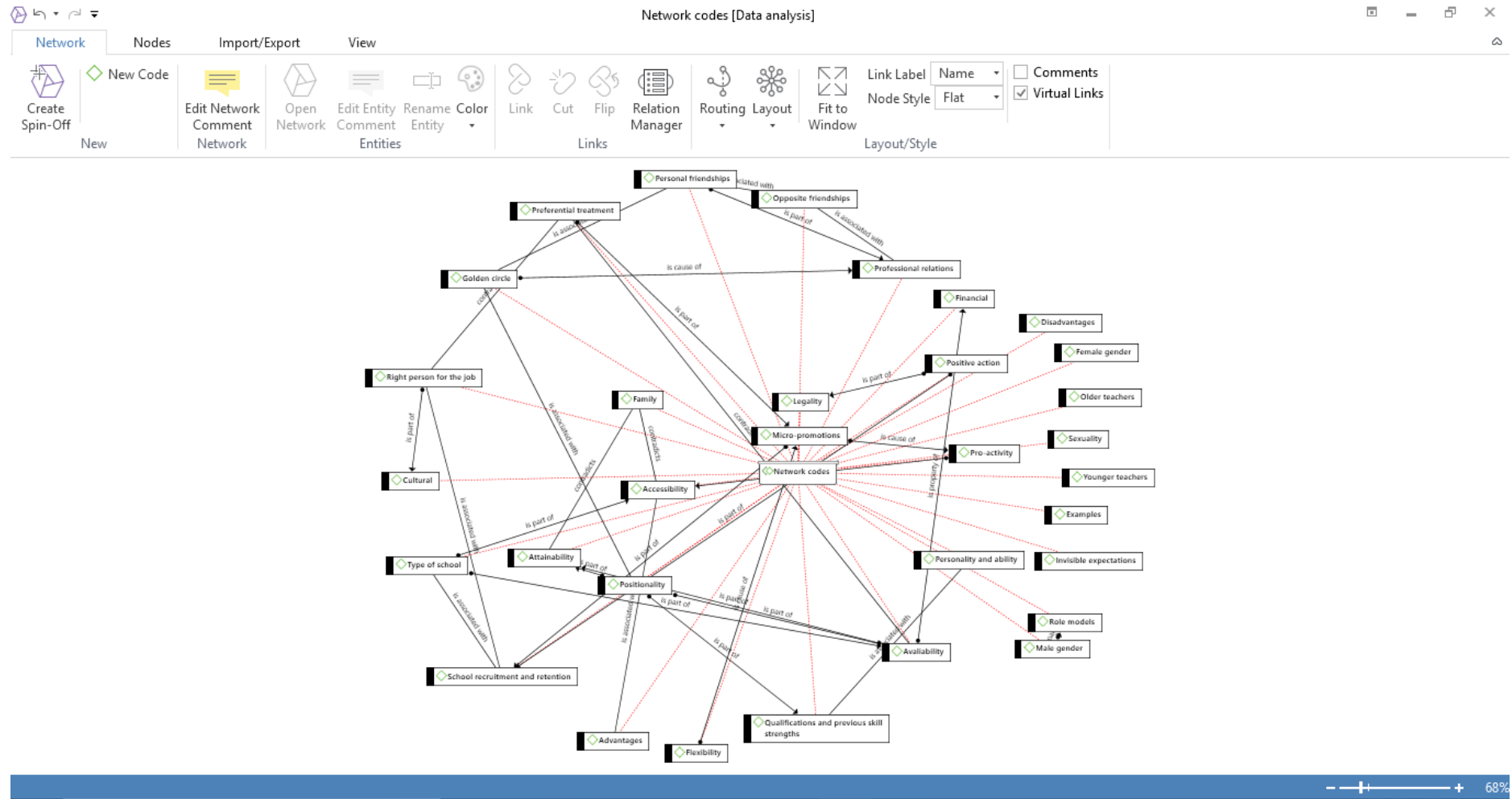
12 Example of coding analysis in Atlas.ti

Document Manager | D 2: School A - Male focus group ▼ ✕

P1. Like with PSHE, may be stereotypical but males tend to be more reserved than females.

P2. Well I'm thinking of a female teacher I've worked with, one is far more resonant to give any personal information than I would, yet on the other hand one who will tell the children their entire life story ad back story, their feelings. I don't know if you could generally say that women on average are more likely. — 2:5 Wel... ◇ I - Gender

Q. Those stereotypes do exist and come from or seated in some fact or experience?

P1. Even if you sit there and try and ignore stereotypes they enter people's heads and often unavoidable.

P2. Interestingly some of the children already have these stereotypes in their heads, you can see from their faces if you say something and they don't expect them to come from you, like what are they allowed to say that! — 2:6... ◇ I - Geographical location

P1. When I brought my little girl in when she was 4 months old, I took her to change her nappy and saw 2 girls on the way, they asked what I was doing and I replied changing my daughter's nappy, they were confused saying that's the mum's job. — 2:7... ◇ EP - Male

Q. That feeds into school with jobs expected to be done by males and females?

P1. Less so, that's more a leadership structure that necessarily relies on utilising stereotypes that way. That said there are times when it is advantageous to make use of gender, I'm looking at having a male role model reading leader, I want t show boys that bokes read. — 2:8 Les... ◇ GE - Positive discrimination / ◇ GE - Promotion, fast-tracking / ◇ I - Gender

P3. Is there not an issue with doing that can you specify within schools to do that? Is it not the person who is best equipped? — 2:9 there not an is... ◇ GE - Positive discrimination / ◇ GE - Promotion, fast-tracking / ◇ I - Gender

P1. Yes, but then there is an argument who is best to inspire the boys, is a male role model. It would be wrong if we were to put out a job advert for a reading leader who is a bloke that would be a big no no.

P2. But we want these boys to be inspired to read, boys look up to men therefore a man is going to lead this.

P3. Aren't you reinforcing that stereotype by doing that?

P2. I wouldn't say reinforcing, you're right in saying if you are equipped and able, then it shouldn't matter, but, if you have something, anatomy, that gives you an advantage on top of the you happen to be male, or improves someone's changes in some situation, because of their perception, then there is no point ignoring that advantage. You might as well play to it. — 2:10 I woul... ◇ GE - Positive discrimination / ◇ I - Gender

P1. I hope and would feel from this school's perspective we have a very strong staff base across race and gender, actually there are different people equipped for different roles in their own way. It's trying to capitalize on the strengths you have in the school. I always found it a weird one, from the equal rights and diversity, we are allowed to advertise, for example, — 2:11 h... ◇ GE - School structure / ◇ I - Skill set / 2:1 ◇ GE - Positive discrimination