A CASE STUDY OF CAREER SUCCESS:
Male Employees in two Public Sector, Female-Dominated Occupations

K.E. Solowiej

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2014

University of Worcester

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to many people who have been instrumental along my long and personal quest of learning and discovery that has resulted in the completion of this thesis.

I would like to thank my Director of Studies, Dr Catharine Ross, who has provided me with invaluable guidance, support and encouragement during the development of this thesis. Her approachability, patience and time have greatly helped me throughout this process. I would also like to express gratitude to my supervisory team, Professor Jan Francis-Smythe and Dr Catherine Steele for their continued support, feedback and time.

I am also grateful for the support of my colleagues in Psychology and Worcester Business School at the University of Worcester. All of whom have provided friendship, positivity, encouragement and understanding.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of my interviewees who took considerable time to provide me with such valuable and interesting information, in spite of their personal and professional responsibilities, hectic schedules and other commitments. I would also like to extend my thanks to the organisations who allowed me to approach their employees to take part in my research.

Finally, a very special thank you goes to my family and friends for living and breathing this research process with me. In particular, to Daniel, Marek, Mom and Dad for their unconditional love and support. They believed in me from the beginning and gave me the encouragement and space to complete this important piece of work, for which I am so grateful.

I hope this thesis is reflective of the generosity that I have received from each of you.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Abstract

Patterns have been identified in the careers literature that suggest there has been a change from traditional to contemporary careers over time (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). More recent research has seen definitions of career success being shaped to acknowledge the variety of career paths that now exist. Recent definitions therefore, often refer to the achievement of desirable work-related outcomes at any point in an individual's work experiences over time (Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005), as opposed to achievements that are associated with the end of an individual's career. However, it is argued that occupational context continues to play an important role in defining careers and subsequent career success.

Despite this, literature on gender and careers continues to advocate key differences in the success of males and females, regardless of occupational context. Predictors of male career success include objective indicators such as salary, promotions and hierarchical position; whereas subjective criteria, such as helping others and maintaining a work-life balance are thought to be more important to females (McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005; Ng et al, 2005). In contrast, many studies have focused on gender-segregated occupations and indicate that women experience discrimination and disadvantage in relation to success in male-dominated environments (Dann, 1995; Demaiter & Adams, 2009). However, despite a small body of research that documents mixed experiences of males in female-dominated occupations, career success of males in this context is yet to be explored.

This thesis therefore aimed to address the gap in the current knowledge by conducting an in-depth exploration of male definitions of career success in one professional and one non-professional female-dominated occupation. A qualitative methodology was adopted in response to calls from the career success literature to utilise this approach to uncover personal meanings of success.

First, a series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of male primary school teachers (n=15) and university administrators (n=19) to explore personal definitions of success, motivations for entry and experience of working in a female-

dominated environment. Findings suggest that male definitions of success related to complex themes of personal, professional, social and life success, in contrast to objective and subjective categories in the existing literature. It was apparent that success was considered to be a fluid concept that could be achieved on a continuous basis in line with occupational and organisational influence.

The second phase of the case study evaluated career interventions available to males in primary schools and universities in relation to personal definitions of success. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with an opportunity sample of representatives from male's employing organisations, including n=4 members of Senior Leadership Teams from primary schools and n=9 managers and personnel staff from universities. Themes that emerged suggested individual and organisational definitions of career success were conflicting at times. Specifically, career interventions did not always complement the achievement of success. Rather, males referred to the benefits of informal organisational mechanisms to support their achievement of success, such as communication, socialising and information sharing, which organisations did not appear to be aware of.

Overall, the case study provides a critique of the literature on generic predictors of male success by reconceptualising definitions to include themes of personal, professional, social and life success. Implications of the key findings are discussed and avenues for future research and applications to practice are considered.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This case study proposes that an evaluation of definitions of career success from individual and organisational perspectives is important to enable in-depth understanding of different meanings of success and how success is achieved by individuals within specific occupational contexts.

The careers literature suggests that the way in which individuals select and pursue careers has changed over time (Cappelli, 2000; Hennequin, 2007). It is widely assumed that there has been a documented shift from traditional career paths, in which organisational values are central to linear progression within a single organisation, to protean and boundaryless career paths that are associated with increased career mobility in relation to individual aspirations (Hall & Mirvis, 1995; Reitman & Schneer, 2003). However, it has been argued that this assumption is problematic, as the structure of some occupational contexts continue to support a traditional trajectory in line with professional or non-professional content (Segers, Inceoglu, Vloeberghs, Bartram, & Henderick, 2008; Smith-Ruig, 2008). For example, Liebig and Sansonetti (2004) define professional occupations as those that require a specified level of educational attainment and are governed by a professional body in which recognised qualifications and practice are required to fulfil responsibilities. Similarly, Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz, and Wiethoff (2010) suggest that professional occupations often have a clear set of necessary qualifications/competencies in order to progress. In the UK, professions are defined as occupations where access or practice of a profession is restricted by national law to individuals holding specific qualifications (UK National Contact Point, 2014), such as teaching, accountancy, and nursing. Conversely, occupations that are described as non-professional may not specify such requirements, therefore educational attainment and prior experience may vary considerably between occupational and organisational contexts, for example administration, manufacturing, and customer service. Non-professional occupations have often been considered to require little or no formal qualifications as on-the-job training is emphasised (Miller, Scaggs & Wells, 2006). However Chauvin, Miller and Eaton (2011) more recently define non-professional

occupations as ones that do not specify a degree level qualification. Definitions of non-professional occupations can therefore vary considerably, which often makes the distinction between professional and non-professional ambiguous (Miller & Bass, 2003). As a result of this, it has been suggested that professional occupations offer more structured career paths in line with traditional perspectives (Smith-Ruig, 2008), whereas the characteristics of non-professional occupations make this less clear. Therefore, it could be possible that whilst career paths may be ambiguous from an organisational level, individual motivations may contribute to definitions of career paths in such contexts.

A key theme of the careers literature also identifies gender differences as a key contributor to occupational context. A wealth of research has been conducted in areas such as career preferences and choice (Betz, Harmon & Borgen, 1996; Holland, 1997), career success (Ng et al, 2005), and segregation of men and women in gender traditional occupational contexts (Acker, 1990; Baunach, 2002). It has been suggested therefore that understanding the impact of occupational context on male and female career choices and the opportunities that confront them is relevant to modern career research (Lawrence & Tolbert, 2007) as literature suggests that males and females may start out with similar career preferences, but these change over time due to experience (Hull & Nelson, 2000). Occupational context is therefore thought to play a role in this experience in relation to the variety of career paths that are evident in contemporary careers research (e.g. Ackah & Heaton, 2004; Arthur, 1994; Arthur & Rousseau, 2001; Briscoe & Hall, 2006a; Segers et al, 2008; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), which can extend to influence how individuals define success (Smith-Ruig, 2008).

Some studies have acknowledged occupational context by exploring gender-segregated occupations, which have often focused on the disadvantages and discrimination experienced by women in male-dominated work-places (e.g. Dann, 1995; Demaiter & Adams, 2009). By comparison, research on males in female-dominated occupations has previously focused on reasons for entry and experiences in this specific environment (e.g.

Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; Dodson & Borders, 2006; Lupton, 2006), from which some interesting themes have emerged. Findings indicate that males have contrasting positive and negative experiences in female-dominated occupations, including advantages associated with the glass escalator effect, in which career advancement is experienced at a faster rate than female employees (Williams, 1992). However, this was perceived negatively by some males due to pressure from organisations to accept promotional opportunities, despite their career intentions. Furthermore, Lupton (2006) demonstrated that some males in female-dominated occupations reported experience of discrimination, stereotypes, and issues surrounding masculinity. It could be argued therefore that the body of research that explores males' experiences in female-dominated could be developed further to enhance understanding of how motivations to enter relate to subsequent experiences, and whether or not this has an impact on the achievement of success. In particular, less seems to be known about male career success in this context and the associated opportunities available to males in female-dominated occupations.

This is an important area of study as occupations that are female-dominated are often undervalued and less associated with the objective factors the literature suggests are important to males, such as salary and hierarchical advancement (Ng et al, 2005). Little is known therefore about whether males in this context do in fact aspire to these definitions of career success and whether they are able to achieve it.

Many recent studies have called for a qualitative approach to explore personal definitions of success to contribute to existing literature. It is argued that qualitative research will enable in-depth exploration of the meanings of career success for individuals to build upon this body of literature that to date is largely based on quantitative research and assumptions. As such, the following case study adopts a qualitative design to explore this new area of research within the specific context of primary school teaching and university administration as key examples of female-dominated occupations, in professional and non-professional contexts. The case study specifically seeks to explore the key aims and specific research questions outlined in section 1.2 below.

1.2   Study Aims and Research Questions

1: To explore how males in one professional and one non-professional, female-dominated occupation define and achieve career success.

2: To establish whether the existing career paths and interventions in males' organisations help or hinder males to achieve career success as they define it.

Research Questions;

The research outlined in this thesis seeks to address the following research questions;

1. How do male primary school teachers and university administrators define career success? (chapter 7)

2. What motivations lead males to enter primary school teaching and university administration? (chapter 8)

3. What are the experiences of male primary school teachers and university administrators in their achievement of success? (chapter 9)

4. Are career interventions available in males' employing organisations and do they help or hinder males to achieve success as they define it? (chapter 10)

1.3 Thesis Structure

Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis encompass a critical literature review that provides the rationale for this research. The second chapter of this thesis includes a review of the careers literature with a key focus on career theory, career paths and organisational context. Based upon this critique, the third chapter outlines theory and research

surrounding the area of career success specifically, introducing models of success, differences between intrinsic and extrinsic criteria for success, and existing measures of success. The fourth chapter narrows in focus to explore key themes from chapter 2 and 3 in relation to gender differences in careers and career success. In this chapter, gender segregation is explained and empirical studies of male and female-dominated occupations are reviewed. Chapter 5 goes on to explore career interventions from an individual, organisation and multi-level perspective.

Chapter 6 provides details of the methodological approach including the design of the research study, participant sample, and the specific methods of data collection and analysis techniques that have been utilised. Aims of the research and specific research questions are highlighted within this chapter.

Interpretation of findings, including diagrammatical representation of personal definitions of career success from male primary school teachers and university administrators are presented in chapter 7. Further exploration of career histories and personal experiences of working in a female-dominated occupation, including challenges and benefits of the occupational context, are documented in chapters 8 and 9 respectively. An evaluation of career interventions available in participants' organisations in comparison with personal definitions of success is then outlined in chapter 10.

Chapter 11 discusses the findings of the case study in relation to existing scholarship, to highlight how the specific research questions have been addressed and how overall study aims have been met. It acknowledges limitations and directions for future research based on the study findings. The chapter also summarises the key original contributions of the case study in relation to academic literature and practice.

Chapter 2

Career Theory, Career Paths and Organisations

"The evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time."

(Arthur, Hall & Lawrence, 1989)

2.1 Introduction

Many definitions exist that provide explanations of the term 'career'. Such definitions are largely dependent on the discipline in which career is being referred to. For example, career has been described as a construct that has been used for different purposes in different contexts, as definitions can vary in content and focus (Collin, 2006). This chapter aims to introduce the concept of career, traditional and contemporary career theories, the career paths individuals follow as well as those in place in different occupations, and the potential influence of professional and non-professional occupational contexts. The following sections aim to identify the existing definitions of careers that are appropriate for setting the context of this study.

2.2 Defining 'career'

Etymologically speaking, the term 'career' originates from the Latin word *carrus*, meaning horse-driven vehicle or chariot, such as those that were used for races in ancient Rome (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004). With reference to the physical strength and power individuals needed to have to drive the chariots, the modern connotation of the term career implies a great amount of additional resources, which are needed to enable individuals to take part in 'the race' (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004).

Careers have been defined in a variety of different ways in the current psychological and sociological literature. Most often they are referred to as sequences of positions, which individuals pass through during their professional or political biography, the process of successively holding various offices, duties and functions over a certain period of time (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004). Past definitions have referred to careers as a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered sequence (Wilensky, 1961). Similarly, Super (1980) defined careers as the combination and sequence of roles played by a person during the course of a lifetime. Many definitions refer to careers as a series of steps to be covered over a period of time (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004), with career steps measured by the occupational prestige of positions during an individual's professional and political life. These definitions are

associated with traditional career theories that have defined careers as being oriented externally to the person, emphasising vertical progression through positions carrying increasing responsibility, status and rewards defined by the organisation (Hall & Mirvis, 1995). On the other hand, in more recent definitions careers have been referred to as 'experiences' rather than a succession of jobs. For example Arthur, Hall and Lawrence (1989) defined careers as the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time, which is now a well-established definition of careers relevant to the present day.

Recent research has described careers to be more internally-oriented, flexible and mobile, with goals defined by individual workers (Hall & Mirvis, 1995; Sullivan, 1999; McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005). It has also been highlighted that psychological success rather than material or objective success is more important to individuals' own personal meaning of work and achievement (Sargent & Domberger, 2007). Such descriptions are associated with protean and boundaryless theories of careers in which the individual is central to their own career development and progression.

The following sections will outline the traditional, protean and boundaryless career theories and consider the research that has been undertaken in these areas.

2.3 The Traditional Career

Traditional career theories describe careers in terms of the structures in place within occupations and organisations. Traditional career arrangements emphasise vertical progression in one or two firms and the amount of success is defined by the organisation in terms of increased responsibility and salary (Hall & Mirvis, 1995). Definitions focus on the upward advancement of employees through organisational hierarchies, with little or no acknowledgement of employees' personal goals or aspirations. Ackah and Heaton (2004) describe the traditional perspective of careers in terms of a steady series of upward moves in a single organisation that is associated with increasing income, power, status and security. Similarly, Edwards, Robinson, Welchman and Woodall (1999) describe career progression in traditional terms, as frequent upward geographical mobility. In addition, ability, hard work and loyalty rewarded with increased seniority

provide the basis for achieving success following a career path within an organisation (Reitman & Schneer, 2003). Individuals with a more traditional career attitude tend to take a more passive role in managing their career and are more likely to seek direction and guidance from the organisation (De Vos & Soens, 2008). Metaphors for career progression in traditional terms often include 'climbing the ladder', 'working your way up the ranks' and 'moving up the hierarchy'.

Within an organisation, upward mobility can be governed in two different ways. Firstly employees can progress on the basis of formal qualifications, level of income, professional position, hierarchical level and social prestige or status (Ackah & Heaton, 2004). Secondly, individuals can pursue hierarchical advancement within an organisation from the point of view of the professional content of their job (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004), for example individuals may gain the necessary skills and experience defined by the characteristics of the day-to-day tasks within their role in order to progress to a higher level in the hierarchy.

From a psychological perspective, the mutual, informal psychological contract underpinning the relationship between employees and employers in traditional career theory is based on commitment, loyalty and trust. Therefore, employees who demonstrate their ability to work hard and remain loyal to a single organisation would often be rewarded during their career with training, promotion and long-term job security (Clarke, 2009).

The traditional career model is also characterised by continuous, full-time, long-term employment in which salary, hierarchical position and promotions are seen as objective measures of career success (Cabrera, 2009). Traditional or more bureaucratic perspectives suggest that a career is something that takes place over a long period of time, in which employees' progress vertically through an organisation to achieve hierarchical advancement, gain monetary reward and accumulate expertise and responsibility. This view of careers focuses on a period of time in which career management was largely governed by the organisations themselves and employees would often work and remain loyal to one single organisation during their working lives.

Furthermore, perspectives of the traditional career have been linked to the stages of development in an individual's lifespan. For example, Super's (1980) lifespan development theory describes career progression in relation to age and maturity across the lifespan. Prestige, increased responsibility and advancement up the organisational hierarchy were seen as a number of different development stages based on the age of the employee. In this respect, an employee's career development and progression could be assessed in relation to what would be expected of their age.

However, in light of more modern approaches to defining careers, it is important to consider how we should judge whether individuals place a positive value on their careers when the criteria of increasing salaries and hierarchical progression may no longer be of such a high importance (Hennequin, 2007). For example, Cappelli (2000) argued that upward mobility and predictability associated with the traditional career is no longer the norm.

2.3.1 Changes in "tradition"

Changes in working practices in organisations have resulted in a change to the tradition of life-long commitment and upward progression within a single organisation. Organisations have changed considerably in response to economic, environmental and technological factors (Sullivan, 1999). Environmental changes, such as increased globalisation, rapid technological advancements, increased workforce diversity, and the expanding use of outsourcing and part-time and temporary employees have altered traditional organisational structures, employer-employee relationships, and the work context, creating changes in how individuals pursue and play out their careers (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009).

In recent years, the financial downturn has forced a large number of employees to reconsider their career paths (Schultz & Wang, 2011). For example, older workers have

been made redundant or moved around within their organisations in response to changes in organisational strategies and finances (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), and others have been forced to postpone their retirement plans or return to work after a period of retirement due to financial difficulties (Wang, Henkens & van Solinge, 2011). These organisational changes led to what Kidd (1996) described as 'new career realities'. Processes such as organisational downsizing, internal restructuring and changes in organisational strategies have often resulted in increased redundancies, fragmentation of the workforce and changes to job roles and career paths. As a result, promotions and upward advancement is now more difficult to obtain and job security has declined (Valcour & Tolbert, 2003). Overall, this has led to a change in the orientation of careers, as organisations have changed their structures and strategies. From a sociological perspective this trend has been portrayed to have had a significant impact on wider society, resulting in a transition from a linear career system to a multidirectional career system (Baruch, 2004b). As such, it has been suggested that the traditional linear pathways for career progression have been removed (Smith-Ruig, 2008).

In addition to environmental and contextual changes, individuals are also changing their career attitudes and behaviours on the basis of more personal factors. For example, increasing life spans and working lives; changing family structures, including the increasing number of dual-career couples, single working parents, and employees with eldercare responsibilities; and the growing number of individuals seeking to fulfil needs for personal learning, development and growth (Hall, 2004). Therefore, in contrast to the traditional perspective of long-term career paths in organisations, the concept of stable employment within one organisation no longer exists for the majority of UK employees. Transformation of careers from the predominant traditional career path in organisations has been influenced by individuals' motivation for personal development and accomplishment. Such factors have had an important impact in the transition from traditional career paths to other orientations including protean and boundaryless careers. For example, Hall (1996) suggested that careers would continuously develop over time as individuals' skills and knowledge are constantly developing in accordance with their own personal goals and to compete in the job market. As a result of the change in the

traditional view of a secure job for life within a single organisation, a shift in careers has seen employees shaping their work to fulfil personal needs and individual aspirations. Such changes have led to the development of the protean and boundaryless careers.

2.4 The Protean Career

The term "protean career" is derived from a metaphor of the Greek God Proteus, who was able to change his shape at will (Briscoe & Hall, 2006b). In contrast to the traditional career, it is characterised by relationships which are driven by the individual rather than the organisation and is subject to reinvention by the person from time to time as the person and the environment change (McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005). It is conceptualised as an individualised, self-directed career guided by personal values and subjective measures of success (Cabrera, 2009). The protean career is therefore based upon individually defined goals, encompassing the whole life space, as well as being driven by psychological success rather than objective success such as pay, rank, or power (Briscoe & Hall, 2006a). More recent research has demonstrated a shift from the traditional orientation of careers to the subjective and individually defined world of work (Dries, Pepermans & Carlier, 2008). For example, Arthur (1994) suggests that contemporary careers reflect a ''new deal", in which the psychological contract between employer and employee does not automatically include a promise of lifetime employment and steady career advancement.

Hall (2002) argues that the protean career is defined by psychological success which is unique to the individual. Career success (including psychological success) will be discussed in more depth in chapter 3 of this thesis, however in this context psychological success can mean personal accomplishment, feelings of pride, achievement, enjoyment, satisfaction and happiness. It has been suggested that the personal qualities required for a successful protean career often include continuous learning, self-awareness, personal responsibility and autonomy (Hall, 2002). As noted above, traditionally individuals relied on the organisation to take responsibility for their careers, in terms of goal setting,

security and upward advancement. By contrast, from a protean career perspective, individuals are self-directed and take a proactive role in managing their own career progression (Cabrera, 2009). It is thought that the traditional loyalty and commitment to a single organisation is a lot less important in a protean career, as changes in working practices have resulted in organisations pursuing more transactional relationships with their employees and often employees are now encouraged to pursue more self-interested careers (Maguire, 2002). Briscoe and Hall (2006b) describe the protean career as the need to define the shape of an individual's career through identifying and expressing values and self-directing career behaviour, as an adaptive response to certain work environments.

The protean career is thought to be constructed of different components. Specifically, it is made up of a cognitive component (a set of beliefs about the career), an evaluative component (a sense of what would be a "good career" or a "bad career" for oneself), and a behavioural component (an action tendency or a predisposition to behave in certain ways) (Briscoe & Hall, 2006a). Thus, a protean career does not imply particular behaviour, such as job mobility, but rather it is a mindset or attitude about the career. More specifically, it is an attitude toward the career that reflects freedom, self-direction, and making choices based on an individual's personal values (Briscoe & Hall, 2006a). A protean career attitude reflects the extent to which individuals manage their careers in a proactive and self-directed way, driven by personal values and evaluating career success based on subjective criteria (Hall, 2002).

Given the importance of personal values in the protean career, Sargent and Domberger (2007) identified that being engaged in work that makes a contribution to society and achieving work-life balance are important indicators of success in the protean career. Furthermore, Vigoda-Gadot and Grimland (2008) found a positive relationship between a protean career and good citizenship values or altruistic behaviour, defined as doing good things for others. Work that allows individuals to help make the world a better place, like a calling, has also been associated with protean careers (Hall, 1996; Heslin, 2005). For example, helping others and making a contribution to society are often considered as important criteria for success in the protean career.

14

The protean career is also defined in part by its emphasis on the value of continuous learning. Individuals following a protean career are often engaged in a lifelong series of developmental experiences. For example, as well as career development in the way of training and developing skills and knowledge, development of learning about oneself, acquiring career insight and taking practical initiatives is also important in managing a protean career (De Vos & Soens, 2008). In addition to this, challenging work, such as job assignments is also vital for individuals to build the employability necessary for pursuing a protean career (Hall, 1996).

In contrast to traditional career theories, individuals with a protean career attitude experience greater responsibility for their career choices and are proactive in seeking opportunities. Several models of the protean career have been developed to illustrate the individual's self-directed role. For example, Briscoe and Hall (2006a) have defined two aspects of the protean career, the first being values-drives in which an individual is driven by their own personal values for guidance and to achieve success. The other aspect of the protean career is self-directedness, which involves personal career management in terms of performance and continuous learning. According to Briscoe and Hall (2006a) individuals can be divided into four categories relating to a protean career orientation. The first category is labelled 'dependent' which describes individuals who are neither values-driven nor self-directed; therefore they are unable to manage their career on their own. Individuals who are self-directed but not values-driven are categorised as 'reactive' as they would not be able to guide their career effectively. 'Rigid' individuals are described as being values-driven but not self-directed, which suggests they would be unable to adapt to the performance and learning requirements of their career. The final category is labelled 'protean' as this describes individuals who are both values-driven and self-directed in defining their career priorities and identity.

Alternatively, Baruch (2006) suggests that the protean career encompasses 6 key factors;
- Know what (opportunities, threats, requirements)
- Know where (entering, training, advancing)
- Know when (timing of choices/decisions)

- Know why (personal values, attitudes, internal needs, identity, lifestyle)
- Know how (draw on career competencies, skills, expertise, knowledge)
- Know whom (networking, building relationships with the right people)

This shows a variety of personal actions to consider if an individual is driven by internal factors and self-directed achievement. The model also highlights non-career-related factors that can contribute to the protean career concept, by acknowledging lifestyle and balance.

Overall, the protean career is centred on individuals taking a self-directed approach to managing their own career, in line with their own personal goals and aspirations. In contrast to the traditional career perspective, individuals who adopt a protean career orientation are more focused on achieving employability based on their own values, as a result of a change in the view of a secure job for life within a single organisation.

In support of the current literature, Clarke (2009) provided evidence for the shift from traditional career paths to orientations like the protean career path that are linked to more personal goals and aspirations, in which individuals demonstrate a preference for behaviours supportive of future employability. Themes emerged from the study that were found to relate to the extent to which individuals had adopted behaviours associated with self-managing their own careers and promoting employability. For example, the extent to which individuals had set clear career goals and plans, were willing to be flexible and move to other jobs and organisations, and were focused on a future career external to a single organisation. Similarly, a study by Cabrera (2009) extrapolated the career trajectories and values of professional women, with a specific focus on the career orientation they adopt (traditional or protean) when returning to work after a period of absence. It was found that the majority of the women (n=17 of 25) had returned to work adopting a protean career orientation, including part-time or reduced hours in roles that enabled more flexibility. These women had demonstrated a protean strategy of self-directedness by changing careers when they returned, actively searching for roles that enabled different ways of working to suit their needs, with their decision-making guided by personal values and goals. These findings also demonstrate the shift

from traditional to protean career paths, and provide implications for organisations to support their employees. For example, it is suggested that organisations that support employees to adopt a protean orientation will achieve a competitive advantage by attracting and retaining valuable employees. This study supports the protean theory of careers, which suggest that career values are unique to individuals based upon their personal life circumstances, and this can influence career decision-making. Specifically, the professional women in this study show a preference for a protean career orientation in order to balance work and non-work responsibilities, which was perceived as an important career value.

Building upon this research, Sargent and Domberger (2007) focused specifically on exploring protean career paths amongst university graduates. Two themes emerged from the interview data, the first related to self-directed career management and the second theme focused on personal values (including work-life balance and making a contribution to society). A model was developed from the interview data that demonstrated three processes related to observational learning, experiential learning and image violation. In stage one of the model, graduates compared their developing career values with colleagues, friends and family members career orientations and related them to previous work experience. Stage two followed with graduates evaluating career values and goals that matched their own. This led to two types of career decision-making in stage three, including adoption of new career goals or progress towards setting new goals. Two years later, all graduates reported to be working in the public sector, which reflects the career value highlighted in the initial interview stage regarding the importance of making a social contribution and maintaining a successful work-life balance. The majority of graduates also emphasised the importance of being self-directed in relation to job change and mobility, highlighting a protean career orientation. It was also found that the career orientations of friends and family members had influenced some graduates career-decision making, for example two graduates had followed a similar career path to their partners and one had adopted the same orientation as their parent. Overall these findings lend support to the literature demonstrating a shift from a traditional to a protean career orientation amongst university graduates. The findings of this study also indicate that work experience and career paths of friends and family members can

influence career-decision making, resulting in the adoption or rejection of career goals in relation to personal values. This provides an important basis for future research to explore the dynamics of the protean career.

De Vos and Soens (2008) suggested that having a protean career attitude is important for employees in the current career landscape. Findings of a survey conducted with a large sample of Belgian employees indicated that individuals with a protean career attitude actively defined and managed their own career path, which was associated with organisations simulating more self-directed career management for employees. These findings also suggest that career paths can be context specific, as organisations were found to be providing a valuable environment for employees to pursue a protean career path.

Overall, the protean career concept has lead organisations to have a new, significant role to play. Namely, acting as a developer of its human assets, and providing support to employees to enable them to facilitate growth in their pursuit of a self-directed career (Baruch, 2006).

2.5 The Boundaryless Career

In the shift from the traditional view of careers to more contemporary theories, the boundaryless career construct has emerged in recent years. Arthur (1994) argued that careers in the twenty-first century would no longer be orientated around traditional vertical advancement, but that instead they would be boundaryless. The boundaryless career is closely associated with the protean career, however it is regarded as a separate construct described as career support through extra-organisational networks, personal-family boundaries that impact the career, and the subjective interpretation of the career by the individual (Arthur & Rousseau, 2001). It refers to physical moves that individuals make as they move across organisational boundaries, including departments within an organisation, entry and exit from organisations, and movement across industries and sectors (Crowley-Henry, 2007). In addition to this, boundaries can be more psychological in nature and do not necessarily require physical mobility. For example, individuals' social

expectations about vertical career advancement or work/life balance, creating marketability outside present employers and working in networks across one organisation (Segers, Inceoglu, Vloeberghs, Bartram, & Henderick, 2008). However, research supportive of the boundaryless career theory appears to focus heavily on the concept of physical and geographical mobility, which arguably creates some ambiguity in relation to the distinctiveness of this explanation of careers in comparison with protean and traditional perspectives.

Moreover, there is some overlap between the protean and boundaryless career theories, which may contribute to this ambiguity. Many researchers view protean and boundaryless career attitudes as independent yet related constructs (Segers et al, 2008). For example, it is suggested that a person could display protean attitudes and make independent, self-directed choices, yet prefer not to cross organisational or psychological boundaries. However, a person could adopt a boundaryless mindset, yet rely on one organisation to develop and foster their career (Briscoe, Hall & Frautschy DeMuth, 2006).

The concept of a boundaryless career has been associated with multiple meanings. Arthur and Rousseau (2001) describe the boundaryless career in a variety of ways. For example, the most common understanding of the boundaryless career is associated with the physical movement of individuals over the boundaries of different employers. However, when defining the boundaryless career it is also relevant to refer to careers that draw validation and marketability from outside the present employer, such as academics and carpenters. Similarly, a career that is maintained by external networks is also regarded as boundaryless, for example an estate agent. Other definitions of the boundaryless career have included scenarios in which individuals may accept or reject career opportunities due to personal or family reasons, and when individuals may perceive a boundaryless career path regardless of structural constraints within organisations (Arthur & Rousseau, 2001). Briscoe, Hall and Frautschy DeMuth (2006) describe the boundaryless career as the willingness to initiate and pursue work-related relationships across organisational boundaries.

Arthur and Rousseau (2001) have also given some examples of other boundaries individuals can cross. Such boundaries include social expectations about upward career advancement or work/life balance, creating marketability outside present employers and building networks across one organisation. These boundaries are more psychological in nature, and do not require physical mobility. The boundaryless career is therefore associated with psychological mobility as well as physical mobility. Overall, it is defined as a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses and transcends various boundaries including physical and psychological, objective and subjective (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). A common factor that is prevalent in the variety of definitions of the boundaryless career is one of independence from traditional organisational career arrangements (Arthur & Rousseau, 2001).

The boundaryless career concept can be seen as having particular relevance in recent times due to the insecure job climate where the traditional trust in an organisation to look after an individual's career can no longer be taken for granted (Crowley-Henry, 2007). Similar to the protean career, individuals who adopt a boundaryless career orientation are more focused on their own personal values and goals. Due to the change in traditional stable employment within organisations, research has focused on exploring the boundaryless career which acknowledges the unpredictable, market-sensitive world in which careers are now being played out.

Sullivan and Arthur (2006) categorised boundaryless careers into four broad types. Firstly, type 1 boundaryless careers are considered to be low in both physical and psychological mobility. This type of boundaryless career is thought to appeal to both employee and employer as employees tend to remain in the same organisation with limited mobility. For example, employees who are categorised as having type 1 boundaryless careers may have a high level of education which is low in transferability. Such specialised knowledge and skills may only be relevant to a certain employer (e.g. Apple) as this may be the only organisation requiring such knowledge. Furthermore, the job security and challenges associated with such a role may result in an employee having little desire to move to a different organisation, and as a result physical and psychological mobility would be low. On the other hand, individuals who are lacking basic skills and training and individuals

who have been unemployed for a long period of time may also have a type 1 boundaryless career. Individuals who are categorised as having a type 2 career are considered to exhibit high physical but low psychological mobility. An example of a type 2 boundaryless career might include individuals who may work in a series of temporary jobs to provide the opportunity to travel around the world, such as a waiter/waitress or shop assistant. Similarly, individuals may move to a different geographical location to follow their family or partner's job move. In both scenarios individuals may not necessarily gain any psychological benefit from moving across physical boundaries, therefore in type 2 boundaryless careers psychological boundaries tend to remain the same. Type 3 boundaryless careers are described as having strong psychological but not physical mobility. Therefore individuals who are categorised as type 3 tend to recognise and act on opportunities to cross psychological boundaries. This kind of mobility can occur when individuals pursue personal development outside their workplace, such as volunteer work or evening classes. Individuals may build a good reputation for themselves and have confidence in their own ability within a particular profession without the desire to change employers, such as academia, nursing, or management. Psychological mobility can be very effective in pursuing a career, however if individuals are unable to develop or improve their interpersonal skills, this could make them undesirable to other employers. Finally, type 4 boundaryless careers are thought to exhibit both physical and psychological mobility. Individuals who pursue this type of career often change their jobs in terms of physical mobility and also utilise their psychological mobility to do this. For example, a hair stylist may work in a number of different salons where each new job enables them to develop their skills and self-confidence, leading to the opening of their own salon. Alternatively, individuals may adopt this type of career to complement their partners work commitments or to take care of children. Although different types have been identified in the boundaryless career model, the career attitude of an individual is reflected by the degree of physical and psychological mobility which they engage in and how they interact, rather than applying an ''either or'' reasoning (Segers et al, 2008).

Although the boundaryless and protean careers are regarded as separate constructs, their characteristics are also closely related. Briscoe and Hall (2006a) identified a number

of career profiles that come about when boundaryless and protean career orientations overlap (see table 2.1). Each of the profiles represents a career type that is high or low in terms of being values-driven and self-directed, associated with the protean career, and psychological and physical mobility, associated with the boundaryless career.

Table 2.1 Overlapping protean and boundaryless career profiles (adapted from Briscoe and hall, 2006a)

Career Profile	Characteristics	Values-driven	Self-directed	Psychological mobility	Physical mobility
Trapped/Lost	Adopt reactive rather than proactive behaviour and are unable to see possibilities across boundaries	Low	Low	Low	Low
Fortressed	Very clear on personal values, however less flexible in the ability to direct their own career and recognise opportunities across boundaries	High	Low	Low	Low
Wanderer	Willing to pursue opportunities that arise without seeing organisational boundaries as a barrier. However, low psychological mobility, self-directedness and personal values mean that wanderers are controlled by opportunities rather than directing them	Low	Low	Low	High
Idealist	Driven by personal values and psychologically boundaryless, but not necessarily effective in career management or crossing physical boundaries	High	Low	High	Low
Organisation man/woman	Strong ability to self-manage careers and work well across psychological boundaries. However personal values are unclear and less willing to work across physical boundaries	Low	High	High	Low
Solid Citizen	Clear protean orientation having strong personal values and self-directedness. Also psychologically boundaryless but not physically, which may	High	High	High	Low

	be due to circumstance or preference				
Hired hand	Able to be psychologically and physically mobile in self-managing their career, but not very good at defining and responding to their own values	Low	High	High	High
Protean Career Architect	Psychologically and physically boundaryless, and driven to direct their career by personal values to achieve meaning and success	High	High	High	High

An important theme that emerges from the literature that explores the boundaryless career path is related to personal motivation. For example, Crowley-Henry (2007) found career-related motivations of a sample of expatriates living in the south of France and Germany included the decision to move internationally as a means of furthering their personal development or overall career. Specifically, this study found that individuals had moved internationally following a range of traditional and boundaryless motivations. For example, the majority of individuals had embarked on their international career move following a boundaryless career path, in that the organisation in the host country had provided a better job opportunity in comparison with what was available in their home country at the present time. Overall, this study demonstrates the influence of motivation in the pursuit of a career path and provides support for a shift from traditional to boundaryless career paths by focusing on individuals' motivations for pursuing careers internationally. This would also suggest that an understanding of career paths, employee motivations and career management with support for employees is essential for international organisations that wish to retain their international workforce. These findings also have implications for UK organisations, for example organisations could adopt similar career support and development strategies that organisations offer in other countries in order to support employees' career motivations, and aspirations for work-life balance, personal development and continuous learning, to support individuals to pursue a boundaryless career pathway.

Building upon this, Segers et al (2008) surveyed a large sample of employees working across Europe (n=13,655) to explore the career attitudes of self-directedness and personal values associated with the protean career, and psychological and physical mobility associated with the boundaryless career. Results indicated that employees scored high on having values-driven and self-directed attitudes. Overall, participants who were managers and had a higher level of education were found to be more motivated by physical mobility and self-directedness. Also, psychological mobility was a significant motivator for managers and participants with a higher level of education which was an unexpected finding. These findings lend support to qualitative research on career motivators (Sargent & Domberger, 2007; Cabrera, 2009) which also highlights the level of importance individuals attribute to specific career attitudes associated with a protean and boundaryless career path. Findings also suggest that protean career-related attitudes can change over time, suggesting that individuals may become less motivated to actively manage their careers as they may begin to shift the level of importance to different personal values. Similarly, it has been suggested that physical mobility may become less important with age because of changing expectations about employment contracts and that younger workers may adapt more easily to changing work environments (Sullivan, Carden & Martin, 1998). Despite this study demonstrating the relationship between specific motivators and the protean and boundaryless career concepts, the cross-sectional nature of the research limits the ability to infer a causal relationship between career motivators, level of work experience, level of education, industry sector, gender and protean and boundaryless career attitudes.

Protean and boundaryless career theories thus recognise that many individuals customise their careers in response to their personal values (Cabrera, 2009). In light of this, Sullivan and Mainiero (2006) developed the kaleidoscope career model, which provides an explanation for careers based on a developmental perspective, to acknowledge how values may change in line with personal circumstances and life stages. The following section outlines the kaleidoscope model, to build upon the more contemporary theories of careers.

2.6 The Kaleidoscope Career

The kaleidoscope career model refers to a metaphor of a kaleidoscope producing changing patterns when the tube is rotated and the coloured pieces fall into new arrangements, reflects a shift in the pattern of individuals' careers as they rotate to suit different aspects of their lives to organise roles and relationships in new ways (Sullivan & Mainiero, 2006). The kaleidoscope career model describes how career patterns shift over time as individual's needs and interests change (Sullivan & Mainiero, 2006). The model proposes that three parameters including authenticity, balance, and challenge, influence career decisions over time (Cabrera, 2009). Authenticity is defined as being true to oneself and it leads individuals to look for work that is compatible with their values. Balance refers to the desire to successfully integrate an individual's work and non-work lives, in order to maintain a successful work-life balance. Finally, the challenge parameter includes the desire for autonomy and responsibility, as well as an interest in learning and growing. According to Sullivan & Maineiro, 2008) these three career parameters or motives can be likened to the mirrors in a kaleidoscope. It is suggested that changing life situations can cause different parameters to be the primary focus at different points in time. For example, similar to the mechanism of turning a kaleidoscope to see new patterns of coloured pieces, career patterns also evolve and change in response to changing life priorities. Therefore, as an individual searches for a career that best fits or matches the context of their life, their career parameters shift around in response to this. The kaleidoscope model acknowledges that although different career parameters may be in the foreground over different periods of time resulting in the individual giving less priority to the other parameters, they are still present and active in the background. For example, an individual may make a career decision to take a position that offers more responsibility at the cost of reduced flexibility with the job. As a result of this, challenge becomes the main parameter for a period of time, whilst balance and authenticity become secondary priorities during this period. However, if an individual's circumstances were to change (e.g. to provide childcare), balance may then become the key priority in an individual's career, with challenge and authenticity becoming less of a priority. Thus the kaleidoscope model suggests that all career parameters are necessary to create the pattern of an individual's career.

2.7 Critique of Career Theory

Having considered the different perspectives of careers in this chapter, it is important to note that the careers literature is not free of criticism. In particular, emerging theories surrounding new career concepts and realities (including, protean, boundaryless and kaleidoscope careers) are quite limited in terms of actual empirical studies that test their theoretical claims (Pringle & Mallon, 2003). The boundaryless career for example, has been criticised for not accounting for differences in career patterns across occupational contexts (Goffee & Jones, 2000), making it difficult for practitioners to develop a clear understanding of new 'flexible' careers. Moreover, the identity of the boundaryless career also contributes to contemporary debate. For example, the traditional and protean career concepts emphasise organisational loyalty and self-fulfilment as their identifying themes respectively, whereas definitions of the boundaryless career can be interpreted as ambiguous. Specifically, some research suggests the boundaryless career is defined by physical or geographical movement (e.g. Crowley-Henry, 2007), whereas other research discusses a sense of place, similar to that of a sense of self (Brocklehurst, 2003), which can make boundaryless career paths difficult to define. Therefore, there may be a vast number of people whose careers could be described as 'boundaryless' (King, Burke & Pemberton, 2005), but characteristics of each could vary considerably.

It is also important to acknowledge occupational context in relation to this critique, as Gunz, Evans and Jalland (2000) point out that many organisations associated with a traditional career path have not necessarily transformed completely in line with new flexible careers, but rather they have adapted over time. Therefore, although individuals are considered to be less likely to spend their whole career at one organisation, upward opportunities are still available, albeit fewer in number. It has been argued that careers have therefore become more complex in response to supply and demand (King, Burke & Pemberton, 2005), and the term 'boundaryless' may not accurately reflect this change. Past research has portrayed organisations to have shifted from one extreme scenario to another, with a view that organisations once operated within a stable environment with a rigid hierarchical structure, which changed to a new fluid, vulnerable and multidirectional system (Baruch, 2006). However, several researchers have since reported that the

contemporary shift in career paths does not necessarily mean that organisations do not have a say in career management (Baruch, 2006; King, Burke & Pemberton, 2005). It could therefore be argued that neither perspective offers a true reflection of today's career realities.

2.8 Occupational Context and Career Paths

In contrast to the literature that suggests there has been a shift from traditional to protean and boundaryless career pathways, some research has shown that career paths may be context specific. A theme that emerges from some career path research shows a relationship between career paths and career development. In particular, it has been suggested that career paths might be shaped by the structures of different occupations. In particular, there is an ongoing debate in the careers literature surrounding the distinction between professional and non-professional occupations. For example, professional occupations have been defined as those that require a level of recognised qualification in order for individuals to access or practice (Liebig & Sansonetti, 2004; Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz & Wiethoff, 2010). In the UK specifically, professions are restricted by national law to individuals holding specific qualifications and are regulated by a professional body (UK National Contact Point, 2014), such as teaching, accountancy, and nursing. In contrast, occupations that are non-professional may not specify such requirements, therefore educational attainment and prior experience may vary considerably between occupational and organisational contexts, for example in administration, manufacturing, and customer service. Chauvin, Miller and Eaton (2011) have recently defined non-professional occupations as ones that do not specify a degree level qualification. However, definitions of non-professional occupations can therefore vary considerably in relation to skill requirements and on-the-job training, which often makes the distinction between professional and non-professional ambiguous (Miller & Bass, 2003). As a result of this, it has been suggested that professional occupations offer more structured career paths in line with traditional perspectives (Smith-Ruig, 2008), whereas the characteristics of non-professional occupations make this less clear.

McDonald, Brown and Bradley (2005) found contrasting results to the current literature that suggests all careers have been altered from a traditional orientation to protean and boundaryless pathways. This study of male and female senior managers working in a large public sector agency in Australia revealed that a traditional career model was still dominant in some organisations. Dries and Pepermans (2007) also found that employees that had been identified early in their careers as potential leaders within organisations, still had traditional career paths defined by upward mobility and low inter-organisational mobility. Similarly, Smith-Ruig (2008) found that employees in the accounting profession in Australia of participants (n=29) had long, stable periods of employment with one particular organisation for 5 years or longer. Furthermore, 12 participants had remained with the same organisation for the full duration of their career to date. Overall, in line with a more traditional career path, the study showed that the professional structure of accounting careers resulted in participants adopting a more traditional career orientation, therefore these findings suggest that the industry in which individuals choose to pursue their career can have an impact on the career path. For example, in the accounting profession there is a distinct sequential path in which employees can progress up an organisational hierarchy from a graduate/trainee position to senior accountant, associate, director and partner of the firm. As such, Smith-Ruig (2008) also found that participants working in accounting in the corporate or educational sector had adopted a traditional approach to career development, including several participants in the educational sector who had remained at the same academic institution for a long period of time to progress through the hierarchical positions of lecturer, senior lecturer, and professor. Other findings of the study however, suggested that some participants showed a preference for a boundaryless career orientation, as they described their desire to actively seek out their own career path in order to satisfy their own personal motivations and circumstances. It was apparent that maintaining a successful work-life balance was more important to some participants as opposed to achieving a higher status and increased responsibility within their organisation. In addition to the themes of traditional and boundaryless career paths, several participants felt that they had progressed to senior or higher positions within their organisations, therefore had reached a plateau or stage in their career in which they were content to continue. As a result of this, these participants appeared to have re-evaluated their career paths to follow a boundaryless

career to gain flexibility and to engage in more fulfilling work. Overall, the findings of this study lend to the literature that suggests occupational context may dictate traditional career paths for some individuals, however even within such occupations individual differences are apparent dependent on motivation, gender and career stage. For those who were motivated to become a partner, a traditional career path was necessary in this particular profession, however other employees in this sample also described the importance of maintaining a successful work-life balance and therefore benefited from pursuing a boundaryless career path. This suggests that particular professions can influence or determine an employee's choice of career path. If individuals have a preference to achieve a higher position in accounting for example, then it would seem they must follow traditional career path despite their other potential intentions. However, in this study some individuals were shown to change their career trajectory once they had reached senior positions. The boundaryless career became more apparent at this stage as individuals had then decided to seek work that was more flexible, enabling them to maintain a better work-life balance. As a result of this, future research would benefit from exploring a broader occupational base in order to determine whether a traditional career is preferred by individuals in other professions/industries. This would enable researchers to determine whether the findings of this study of the accounting profession are unique, or if other professions also challenge the boundaryless career concept. For example, the legal profession enables individuals to progress through the organisation to become partner, therefore the structured nature of these types of organisations could be explored further. Furthermore, as a result of the findings of this study, it is suggested that the boundaryless career is not necessarily isolated to non-professional careers; therefore the influence and implications of different professions and industries on career paths will be discussed further below.

In support of Smith-Ruig (2008) and McDonald, Brown and Bradley (2005), Cheramie, Sturman and Walsh (2007) found that factors contributing to executive employees' career decisions to move jobs were associated with traditional factors, including financial and status advancement. However, organisational factors and boundaryless career attitudes were also found to contribute to this. The organisational factors that had motivated executives to move to other jobs included the decline and downsizing of

organisations, which are associated with the change in traditional career paths. These employees had therefore pursued physical mobility driven by the opportunity for financial gain and hierarchical status advancement at other organisations, indicating that individuals were also motivated by boundaryless career attitudes. These findings suggest that career pathways may be specific to different occupations and industrial contexts, and provide support for the literature that suggests that not all career pathways have shifted from traditional to protean and boundaryless ones. Furthermore, two thirds of employees were reported to be following a traditional career pathway in a survey identifying the prevalence of different types of career orientations in Switzerland (Gerber et al, 2009). This also supports the idea that employees' choice of career path does not necessarily reflect a complete shift from traditional to protean and boundaryless career orientations. Specifically it was suggested that different occupations and sectors could be influencing these findings.

In a large survey of employees working in Europe it was found that people motivated by both protean and boundaryless motivators were more likely to be found in industries such as: marketing, government and public sector, health and social work, consulting and science, and research (Segers et al, 2008). Specifically it would seem that certain industries attract and retain more protean orientated employees, as they can be found predominantly in health and social work, consulting, science and research, marketing, and the government sector (Segers et al, 2008). These industries are characterised by a lot of physical and psychological mobility and the pursuit of personal career values. Several studies have, also indicated that public sector employees are more motivated by job content, self-development, recognition, autonomy, interesting work, and the chance to learn new things (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Houston, 2000), which are characteristics of protean and boundaryless career attitudes. However, findings of research that focuses on motivation and job security in the public sector remains conflicting as differences in work motivation is thought to be confounded by factors such as age, gender, job content and hierarchical level (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007).

The literature exploring career paths thus far has contributed a number of themes that support and refute the theories of careers. Personal factors including choice of career,

career decision making, career motivators, and career development have emerged from studies that support the prevalence of the protean and boundaryless careers in the current climate. However, other studies provide in-depth accounts of individuals' traditional, protean and boundaryless career journeys, suggesting that the traditional career path is not entirely obsolete and that occupational context may lead some individuals to continue pursuing traditional career paths. However, such research explores the possibility that individuals pursuing careers in occupations associated with traditional career paths may develop and progress in their careers via lateral moves within an organisation (Joseph, Boh, Ang & Slaughter, 2012). In these instances, moving to a new role within an organisation or occupation provides new opportunities for career development not necessarily associated with traditional vertical advancement.

More recent research has focused heavily on investigating the protean and boundaryless career paths, demonstrating that these have become more prevalent in recent years. However, the literature demonstrating that career pathways can be context specific has shown that traditional career pathways still exist, refuting research that suggests careers have been altered completely from this orientation.

A theme that emerges from research on careers has provided evidence of career paths being specific to different occupational contexts. In light of this, it is clear that different occupations and industry sectors can influence career paths, as the nature of career progression in certain occupations naturally follows a traditional pathway, whereas other industries are more supportive of protean and boundaryless career concepts.

2.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by defining the traditional, protean and boundaryless career concepts. In light of this the literature demonstrating the shift from traditional to protean and boundaryless career pathways was presented along with new emerging theories of careers, including the kaleidoscope career model. On the basis of these theories, qualitative and quantitative career path research was explored and themes emerging from the literature were identified. Firstly, research that focuses on career path choice

has shown that whilst protean and boundaryless career orientations are common amongst employees in recent times, the traditional career pathway is not entirely obsolete in some organisations and occupations. Building upon this, a second theme that was identified from the literature demonstrates how employees are motivated by protean and boundaryless career attitudes and values, as well as more traditional motivators, such as hierarchical progression. Although some research would suggest that the protean and boundaryless career pathways are more advantageous in the current economic climate, another theme emerging from some studies shows that certain industries and occupations are defined by traditional, protean or boundaryless career characteristics, demonstrating that career paths and motivators are associated with specific occupational contexts. Furthermore, expectations across the public and private sectors may produce different career attitudes; however this area of research is quite limited. As a result of this, it has been suggested that factors such as job content, hierarchical level, age and gender may confound the differences found in career path choice and career motivators amongst employees in different occupations and sectors, and this will be explored in chapter 4 of this thesis.

In summary, this chapter has explored the different definitions and theories of careers and has identified that the shift to protean and boundaryless careers has not completely removed the traditional career pathway in some occupations and industry sectors. Therefore, it is suggested that career pathways are influenced by personal characteristics and occupational context. On the basis of the literature outlined this chapter, the next chapter of this thesis will address the literature surrounding career success and how success is defined in relation to the traditional, protean and boundaryless career theories.

Chapter 3

Career Success

"The accumulated positive work and psychological outcome

resulting from an individual's work experiences"

(Seibert & Kraimer, 2001)

3.1 Defining Career Success

In the careers literature, career success has been defined in a multitude of different ways. Most frequently, success is associated with achievement and positive outcomes associated with an individual's career. For example, Boudreau, Boswell and Judge (2001) define career success as the accumulated interaction between a variety of individual, organisational and societal norms, behaviours, and work practices. Similarly, Hennequin (2007) refers to career success as the individual evaluation of achievements in an individual's work experiences. A key theme of recent definitions appear to encompass the perspective of Seibert and Kraimer (2001), who describe career success as the accumulated positive work and psychological outcomes resulting from an individual's work experiences. In this respect it is emphasised that exploration of career success should include achievements irrespective of length of service or experience, with a view that accomplishment of desirable work-related outcomes are not solely achieved at the end of an individual's career.

Following the review of the literature surrounding careers in chapter 2, it is apparent that career success has been defined differently in line with traditional, protean and boundaryless perspectives. In the same way that careers are described to have an external and internal dimension, literature suggests that career success consists of an objective and subjective component (Hennequin, 2007), and each will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2 Objective Career Success

From a traditional perspective, career success is viewed as an individual's progression up a company hierarchy on the basis of a long-term relationship with an organisation (Hennequin, 2007). This is based on the traditional career concept and general theories of human capital in which tenure enables skills to develop over time, which results in improved job performance (Benson, Levenson & Boudreau, 2006). In line with this, the traditional view of careers suggests that observable, measurable indicators such as job position, salary and rewards are central to success. This view is well supported in

literature, with many studies reporting observable, material indicators as important criteria for success (Heslin, 2005; Ng et al, 2005; Ng & Feldman, 2010). Judge, Cable, Boudreau and Bretz (1995) argue that the strongest predictors of objective career success are human capital measures including educational attainment and work experience. Moreover, Ng et al (2005) found that work experience defined by organisational tenure, job tenure, number of hours worked and years of work experience were also key predictors of objective career success. Most recently, Hogan, Chamorro-Premuzic and Kaiser (2013) emphasise the definition of objective career success today, specifically in terms of occupational prestige and financial attainment.

Objective indicators of career success are publicly accessible to others and are defined by the organisation and wider society rather than the individual (Hennequin, 2007). Objective indicators of success are therefore easy to measure, as achievements can be observed and recorded throughout an individual's career. Therefore, with such historical and theoretical interest in this dimension, traditionally employees who gain higher wages and achieve promotions more quickly, are generally regarded as having succeeded to a greater extent in their career. This view also enables organisations to make comparisons between the success of its employees, and identifying those with higher or lower levels of career success. However, placing emphasis on objective criteria for success also presents some drawbacks, as it places a limit on the number of employees who can actually achieve a higher level of career success. For example, some organisations may be limited in the number of promotions or higher level positions they can offer, especially in recent times with the economic downturn resulting in many organisations removing or altering management levels from their structure (Heslin, 2005). Such organisational changes have also been linked to the reduced scope and desirability for individuals to pursue hierarchical advancement through promotion (Hall, 2002; Reitman & Schneer, 2003).

3.3 Subjective Career Success

On the other hand, career success associated with a protean and boundaryless perspective is described as subjective and is ultimately judged by the individual themselves. It is consequently defined as the feeling of self-fulfilment, achievement and

satisfaction that an individual can have with his or her job or career (Judge, Cable, Boudreau & Bretz, 1994). According to this definition, employees in all occupations can be regarded as having careers that can be viewed as successful in one way or another (Dries, 2011). In line with the careers literature, subjective career success is thought to be regarded with more importance in recent times. For example, Heslin (2005) points out that modern lifestyle issues such as work-life balance, helping others and contribution to worthwhile causes are popular criteria for career success today. In addition to this, career enjoyment, career satisfaction and career fulfilment are also deemed important criteria for subjective success (McDonald & Hite, 2008). For example, Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) derived five dimensions of career success from a survey of business professionals including status, time for self, challenge, security, and social. With the exception of status, these findings largely emphasise criteria for subjective career success. Work-life balance is a key dimension of subjective career success in recent times, however research suggests that not enough is known about how individuals adapt to changing demands in their careers and personal lives in order to create sustainable and psychologically successful lives over time (Hall, Lee, Kossek & Heras, 2012). Research by McDonald and Hite (2008) suggests that young professionals define career success subjectively, specifically with a perception that success is defined on a personal basis, that is likely to change with age. Moreover, achieving work-life balance was thought to be a key factor in achieving job satisfaction.

Subjective perceptions of career success are therefore conceptualised by personal values, as opposed to organisational standards (Hennequin, 2007). Many studies exploring this area have focused on job satisfaction as a proxy for subjective career success (e.g. Boudreau, Boswell & Judge, 2001; Judge et al, 1995). However, Heslin (2005) points out several limitations of adopting this approach. Firstly, individuals who consider their careers to be successful, may not necessarily consider a new job to be unsuccessful if it is initially dissatisfying. Secondly, it is possible that individuals could be highly satisfied with their current job, but dissatisfied with the career attainments that preceded it. It is also possible that individuals could be satisfied in their job even if it has with limited prospects for future career opportunities. Conversely, individuals may dislike elements of their current job but are happy with their career overall because of the opportunities or

benefits it may present. As a result of this it is important to consider that job satisfaction does not necessarily encompass all criteria for subjective career success, and the implications of measuring this will be discussed in section 3.6 below. Aside from measurement however, studies that focus solely on this aspect of subjective career success may demonstrate that individuals have high satisfaction, but are limited in their ability to determine the impact this may have on other aspects of success or areas of life. For example, job satisfaction may not necessarily lead to subjective career success, as working in a job with low satisfaction in the hope of future rewards could impact upon well-being, work-life balance, relationships with others or other personal values.

Despite the emerging body of research emphasising the importance of subjective career success in modern day careers, Hogan, Chamorro-Premuzic and Kaiser (2013) continue the debate surrounding the distinction between objective and subjective success by suggesting that subjective career success should be excluded as a criterion for employability, claiming that some individuals are predisposed to evaluating their careers more favourably than others. In contrast to this, Olson and Shultz (2013) argue that workers in early, mid, and late career are likely to define career success differently, as objective factors are not always regarded as the most important criteria for success across different occupational contexts, over the career span. Despite the literature pointing to a clear distinction between types of career success, it has also been suggested that objective and subjective career success should not be looked at as an either-or option, but rather success should be viewed as two-sided (Gunz & Heslin, 2005).

Many studies have focused on comparisons between objective and subjective career success (e.g. Heslin, 2005; Judge & Hurst, 2007; Ng et al, 2005), whereas there is limited research that aims to explore the potential relationship between the two components. In a longitudinal study of employees from a variety of occupations, Abele and Spurk (2009) found that objective and subjective career success interrelated over time. Objective career success was found to have an influence on the subjective experience of an individual's career and subjective experience of success directly influenced how objective success would develop. Interestingly however, the significant influence objective career success had on the subjective evaluation of an individual's career, was only apparent if

the assessment of subjective success was based on social comparisons with others. Therefore, whilst it might be logical to hypothesise that objective and subjective career success are related, these findings suggest that neither relationship should be underestimated. Specifically, subjective success should not be regarded as a by-product of objective achievements, but rather it has a strong influence on objective success over time. Such conclusions draw upon findings of research in social and positive psychology, in which studies have demonstrated that subjective success contributes to self-confidence and positive experiences, which in turn lends to the development of a individual's resources and can predict an individual's future salary (Boehm & Lyubomirsky, 2008; Salmela-Aro & Nurmi, 2007). Similarly, findings of a study by Stumpf and Tymon (2012) demonstrated an interaction between objective and subjective career success over time, which provides support for the relationship between the two components of success.

Another area of interest is the self-referent and other-referent nature of subjective career success. Self-referent criteria refers to the individual evaluation of success based on personal goals and values, whereas other-referent criteria indicates an evaluation based on social comparisons with others' careers (McDonald & Hite, 2008). Dries, Pepermans and Carlier (2008) have previously described career success as a social construction rather than an objective reality, as it can hold a multitude of meanings depending on the individual or group constructing the meaning. For example, Sturges (1999) reported that employees who grew up in some blue-collar environments felt that their parents did not have careers or career-related success if they were not in a supervisory role, as blue-collar work was not associated with increased objective achievements. Whereas, Hennequin (2007) found that blue-collar workers create their own definition of career success, in which social comparisons with others including seniority, technical competence or the amount of danger experienced at work played an important role. On this basis, career theory also suggests a broader range of interpretations, based not only on success within an organisation but also on success within other occupational or cultural contexts (Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005). For example, career success is also be assessed by peer groups either within or outside the employee's organisation, or may be idiosyncratic to the person, not only in terms of

personal preferences but also in terms of accommodating work and family or other issues of work-life balance (Clark, 2001; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999).

3.4 Social Capital and Success

Social capital theory is a multi-disciplinary paradigm that shares the idea that social networks have value for individuals and groups (Seibert, Kramer & Liden, 2001). Research in business, sociology and psychology has focused on social capital as a predictor of many different factors including health and well-being; economic benefits; employment status; education and career success (e.g. Kaasa & Parts, 2008; Marmot, 1998; Oksanen et al, 2011; Oksanen et al, 2013). Specifically, social capital has been linked to career success with many studies focusing on networking as a factor for 'getting ahead' in relation to a more objective perspective of success, with emphasis on job mobility and occupational status as key outcomes (e.g. Wolff & Moser, 2009). For example, Seibert, Kramer and Liden (2001) found that different components of social capital were related to objective career success. In particular, the structure of social networks (weak or strong ties with others in an organisation) was found to be related to the level of social resources available to an individual, which in turn was related to objective criteria for success including, level of salary, number of promotions achieved and career satisfaction. This study provides support for social capital theory, demonstrating that social networks have multiple benefits for individuals, namely access to information, access to resources and career sponsorship, which was strengthened by network size. Similarly, findings of other studies support the social capital theory of career success by demonstrating that social networks are related to organisational performance and career advancement (Baum, Calabrese & Silverman, 2000; Bizzi 2009; Sparrowe, Liden, Wayne & Kraimer, 2001). However, more in-depth research is needed in order to better understand the role of informal interpersonal behaviours and relationships at work from a subjective perspective, as research by Hennequin (2007) suggests that social aspects are a key theme of subjective success as well. Research by Bozionelos (2006) found that relationships with colleagues provided a safe outlet for the expression of emotions, and as a source of advice and support. Moreover, these informal expressive network resources were found to be related to subjective career success. In support of this, De

Janasz and Forret (2008) suggested that developing and maintaining relationships with others is a critical skill to possess in order to enhance career success from a boundaryless perspective. Networking with others for mutual benefit was found to help individuals to achieve both objective and subjective criteria for success including, searching for and securing employment opportunities, gaining access to information or resources and obtaining guidance, sponsorship, and social support.

Implications of these findings indicate that networks of relationships with colleagues is a key factor in the achievement of both objective and subjective career success. However, little is known about the development of relationships and networks in relation to career success from an employee perspective. For example, the personal development literature suggests that work is a valuable resource for social interaction with others and provides a basis for the development of personal relationships/friendships in addition to professional relationships outlined by the organisation (Baruch, 2004a). Therefore, if work plays a key role in the fulfilment of psychosocial needs, it is possible that such factors may be considered criteria for success by some individuals. As a result of this, future studies that explore social criteria for career success in organisations in more detail are needed to extend this important area of research. Ultimately, career success should be operationalised using objective, subjective and social criteria for success, as standalone definitions are too simplistic.

For the purpose of this piece of research, emphasis is placed on individuals having definitions of career success that are personal to their individual circumstances, taking account of individual differences including factors such as, the different occupations they work in, their gender, age, and lifestyle.

3.5 Models of Career Success

Extensive definitions of career success in the literature have led to many empirical studies that have contributed to the development of numerous models of career success. Many early models focused specifically on predictors of objective success, such as human capital attributes, career choices made by the employee, career opportunities open to

the employee, as well as interpersonal and family determinants (e.g. Judge et al, 1995; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Melamed, 1996). However, acknowledgement of subjective career success in such models was limited until Hall (2002) proposed a model outlining career success as a learning cycle initiated by goal setting. It is suggested that individuals undertake a cycle of goal setting, determined by the amount of effort put in, which leads to achievement objective success, subjective success and finally identity change as the individual gains experience and achieves a high level of performance (see figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Psychological Success Model, adapted from Hall (2002).

However, despite the inclusion of subjective career success in the model, a key criticism is the implied cyclic nature of career success as a learning process, which suggests that subjective success can only be achieved once objective criteria are fulfilled. Whilst this may be correct for some individuals, the model fails to account for individual differences and occupational contexts in which subjective criteria are valued as most important. Moreover, the model suggests that the achievement of career success is subject to continuous change. Hall (2002) proposed that once a cycle of career success is achieved, individuals experience identity change having gained experience and demonstrated a

higher level of performance. The model suggests this identity change arises following development of new goals that are led by changes in technology, products, markets, economic factors, personal values, needs or life situation. Whilst this does highlight that the achievement of career success can be an ongoing process of goal setting, effort and achievement, identity change may not be the most appropriate way to describe the achievement of success or a change in circumstances. For example, increased salary as objective criteria for success may become difficult to achieve in a challenging economic environment, but this does not ultimately result in the abandonment of such a goal and a change of identity. In contrast, a large body of careers research suggests that individuals conceptualise and evaluate their career success relative to self-referent criteria, such as their career aspirations (Heslin, 2005), and goal setting in relation to this does not necessarily result in a change of identity. Therefore, whilst the model does suggest personal values and needs contribute to goal setting to achieve future success, qualitative research may be beneficial to explore the identity change stage of the career success learning cycle, to better understand how individuals respond to personal or environmental changes.

In contrast to Hall (2002), Dries, Pepermans & Carlier (2008) was one of the first to develop a model of career success based on a qualitative study of 22 managerial level employees in Belgium. The model comprised a multidimensional configuration based upon a laddering interview technique in which participants selected a number of Q sort cards that best reflected their personal definitions of success. In light of this, definitions of success formed polar opposites within which participants placed themselves between the preferred and opposite poles on 9 identified regions of success including, performance, advancement, self-development, creativity, security, satisfaction, recognition, cooperation and contribution. The overall model suggests therefore that individuals' definitions of career success feature on a continuum between affect-achievement vs intrapersonal-interpersonal. This model therefore gives the individual flexibility to express preferences as a result of the polar configuration. It has been suggested that this format enables the subjective nature of career success to be recognised in comparison with earlier models (e.g. Gattiker & Larwood, 1986; Hennequin, 2007; Parker & Chusmir, 1991).

3.6 Measuring Career Success

Historically, the careers literature indicates a strong focus on the measurement of objective criteria for success, based on publicly accessible data reflecting level of salary, job position and number of promotions received. Moreover, in previous research both objective and subjective components of career success have most frequently been assessed using questionnaire surveys, including items that require employees to rate the importance of different criteria for success (e.g. Judge et al, 1994; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Ng et al, 2005). However, whilst questionnaire surveys have served as a common method for assessing the career success of employees, existing measures are not free of criticism. First and foremost, it is important to highlight the issues surrounding the limited coverage of success criteria within the items. For example, it can be argued that established measures of subjective career success focus heavily on satisfaction with jobs and careers, rather than encompassing the broader spectrum of subjective success criteria (e.g. Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Wormley, 1990). Yet, the achievement of work-life balance is emphasised at an increasing rate amongst individuals today (Lewis, Smithson & Kugelberg, 2002), which would suggest that it is important for organisations to assess and understand the value it holds, in order to motivate and retain employees (Sturges & Guest, 2004). However, despite a vast amount of literature defining work-life balance as criteria for subjective success, many existing measures do not include items that refer to this component at all. Therefore, current measures are disadvantaged in their ability to determine this information.

Other criticisms of career success measures, refer to the drawbacks of questionnaire surveys themselves. Although this approach enables definitions of career success to be quantified and organised in order of importance, to a certain extent the closed-ended items included in such questionnaire surveys can limit individual definitions of career success from emerging (Hennequin, 2007). As a result of this, the validity of subjective career success measurements has been criticised for the limited extent to which they capture the phenomenological meaning of career success to those surveyed (Heslin, 2005). Arthur, Khapova and Wilderom (2005) argue that subjective careers success cannot be adequately researched when the subjective interpretations of employees

themselves are unable to be expressed as part of non-verbal responses to a limited set of questionnaire items. Therefore, a key weakness of career theory in general is the lack of adequate and holistic accounts of career success from the perspective of individuals themselves (Sturges, 1999).

In light of recent studies suggesting that careers and career success can be context specific to different occupations and industries, generic questionnaire surveys designed to measure career success may not necessarily be applicable to all industries and occupations. For example, there may be definitions or criteria for career success that relate to the context and structures of different occupations that may not be included in generic questionnaire surveys. Furthermore, research that highlights gender differences in career success (which will be discussed in chapter 4) indicates that male employees often value objective or material indicators of success in contrast to female employees who place greater importance on subjective definitions of career success (Ng et al, 2005). Taking this into consideration, existing measures of career success may not provide the flexibility for employees to indicate or expand on criteria for success that they consider to be important. As a result of this, many researchers support the need for more qualitative research in the career success literature (e.g. Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005; Heslin, 2005; Sturges, 1999). A qualitative method for exploring career success would also be beneficial to gain valuable insight into individual definitions of success across different occupational contexts.

3.7 Career Success in Occupational Contexts

Acknowledgement of the role of occupational context in the careers literature also extends to the understanding of career success. Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz and Wiethoff (2010) highlight the importance of accounting for contextual variables when investigating career success and career achievements. For example, Hennequin (2007) suggests that standards of success in professional careers are status, reputation and opportunities for upward mobility. With reference to the example of the accounting profession presented in chapter 2, Smith-Ruig (2008) suggested that the distinct sequence in which employees' progress is a career path dictated by this specific occupational context. Therefore,

assumptions have been made about career success associated with career paths in professional occupations, as Sammarra, Profili and Innocenti (2013) found that inter-organisational mobility only had a positive impact on objective success for workers engaged in professional careers, as opposed to non-professions where career paths are less clear.

However, assumptions about career success criteria associated with specific career paths has been criticised for its exclusive nature. For example, the majority of past career success research has largely been exclusive to participants in high level, managerial and executive positions (Hennequin, 2007; Ng et al, 2005), which provides little information about the definitions of career success in other occupational contexts. In particular, Heslin (2005) considers that not all managers evaluate their success on objective indicators such as salary and job position. Therefore, measuring success of managers or employees in high level jobs based on observable indicators alone, in line with the assumptions of traditional career paths, may indicate that they have achieved career success, but this does not necessarily mean they are content or satisfied in their role. For example, career success in the managerial IT profession has been generally defined by promotions and salary (Kirschenbaum & Weisberg, 2002), however Joseph, Boh, Ang and Slaughter (2012) found that career success was more often defined by technical competence, expertise and reputation, despite the traditional career path associated with this profession. Drawing together findings from other professions also indicates that traditional criteria such as salary and promotions are not the only criteria important to individuals, as both school teachers (Parsons, 2002) and academic mentors (McGrath, 2003) were found to value statistics that demonstrate achievement of student learning targets as opposed to financial gain and hierarchical advancement. Moreover, doctors are thought to define success by the number of patients' lives saved and bus drivers are said to consider number of years without an accident as success, as opposed to common traditional objective criteria (Heslin, 2005).

Whilst there are a limited number of studies that focus on career success in non-professions or employees who do not work in higher level management roles, Hennequin (2007) sought to explore career success amongst blue-collar workers, in response to

common stereotypes that suggest blue-collar work does not qualify as a career. Contrary to these assumptions, blue-collar workers described success in relation to enjoyment of complex work, requiring specific knowledge and initiative to take responsibility for individual projects. Furthermore, some blue-collar workers derived great meaning and purpose from their work, in contrast to outside perceptions of heavy, monotonous factory work (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Overall, it was found that blue-collar workers defined success in relation to psychological criteria, as careers in this occupational context were not associated with upward advancement. Rather, task enrichment, continuous learning/professional development, and status recognition were regarded as important criteria for success in this context. This study highlights the need for future research to explore contextual differences in career success, as this will help to develop existing measures of career success to acknowledge variations between occupations. Furthermore, more in-depth research in this area will enable organisations to better understand and support employees in the achievement of their career expectations.

It can be concluded that organisations have much to gain from a better comprehension of the way in which employees define career success, to develop an understanding of careers in environments where vertical development is limited (Hennequin, 2007). A key theme of the careers literature is the establishment of collective norms prescribing what a "successful" career is. However, not all careers conform to these norms given the present-day climate of workplace diversity. Therefore, career theory in general has been criticised for overemphasising individual agency and neglecting contextual issues (Dries, 2011). In addition to this, more conceptual development is necessary in relation to the understanding of career success.

3.8 Life success

Some studies in the careers literature, although limited in number, have adopted a scope of inquiry broader than that of simply career success (e.g. Gattiker & Larwood, 1986; Krishnan & Kamalanabhan, 2013; O'Donovan-Polten, 2002; Parker & Chusmir, 1991; Thomson, Kopelman & Schriesheim, 1992). In some cases, exploration of career success

has uncovered important criteria for success related to other areas of life. This limited area of research is closely related to the body of literature surrounding work-life balance, with a specific focus on achievements outside work. For example, early studies in this area began to emphasise a shift, in line with changes to traditional career paths, in the focus of careers that enhance personal lifestyles that are separate from work roles (Scase & Goffee, 1989). Balancing work and home life has been found to have become an increasing priority, with many individuals highlighting the importance of working to live, as opposed to living to work (Sturges & Guest, 2004).

On the other hand, Parker and Chusmir (1991) suggest there are six key areas of life success that include status/wealth, contribution to society, professional fulfilment, family relationships, personal fulfilment and security. These areas encompass criteria for success that are associated with both objective and subjective definitions, but with reference to life as opposed to a sole focus on career. For example, wealth/status is associated with objective criteria for success but refers to wealth/status in broader terms (i.e. salary, inheritance, possessions, status in society and so on). On the basis of this research, Parker and Chusmir (1992) developed a life-success scale utilising criteria of objective and subjective success in broader terms.

Ballout (2008) suggests that employers have a key role in supporting the achievement of life success as well as employees managing their own time and success. Employees and employers should both identify appropriate strategies for balancing work and commitments in other areas of life in such a way that enables employees to perform work and other roles successfully, whilst employers should ensure that employees have the necessary supportive interventions to encourage them to achieve success in their home lives and success in their careers.

Key studies in this area appear to focus on life satisfaction, using assessment tools such as the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985). For example Thomson, Kopelman and Schriesheim (1992) found that job satisfaction amongst a sample of entrepreneurs was strongly related to life satisfaction, self satisfaction and family satisfaction, as a result of a strong sense of responsibility for their own

achievements. Similarly, Krishnan and Kamalanabhan (2013) found that entrepreneurial success was a strong predictor of life satisfaction with criteria including, good physical and emotional health, strong family values, and relationships associated with marriage, children and friends. In support of Thomson, Kopelman and Schriescheim (1992), this study also demonstrated the role of responsibility in the achievement of life satisfaction amongst entrepreneurs, which emphasised a sense of ownership over their own success.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by considering existing definitions of career success and exploring research that outlines the distinction between objective and subjective criteria for success. The review of the studies in this area of research revealed strengths and weaknesses of these categories of career success, as well as scope for research beyond these distinct definitions. Firstly, research shows that objective indicators of success were a particularly common measure of success in line with the traditional perspective of careers. However, it is apparent that the majority of research that explores career success is limited to participants in higher level, managerial and executive roles. Therefore, whilst it may be concluded that managers who have achieved promotions associated with increased responsibility and salary have achieved success, it is suggested that this may not be the case, as data does not account for subjective career success indicators, such as job satisfaction and work-life balance.

On the other hand, subjective success, defined by personal values as opposed to organisational expectations, is a view supported by protean and boundaryless career perspectives. Research in this area however predominantly bases subjective definitions of career success on career satisfaction alone, and scales that measure this specific construct have often been used to assess personal views of subjective career achievements. However, limitations of these areas of research include the lack of acknowledgement of individual differences amongst employees to account for personal career expectations.

As a result if this, studies have begun to explore the relationship between objective and subjective career success, demonstrating that objective achievements can predict subjective success and vice versa. However, studies such as these are limited in number, therefore future research would benefit from exploring this relationship in more detail, over time.

Up and coming career success research has been shown to focus on assessing both objective and subjective career achievements, however the assumption that all individuals define career success in the same way ignores the complex nature of personal career expectations. It is clear from reviewing the literature that little attention is paid to personal definitions of career success that go beyond the objective and subjective categories. For example, there is an emerging body of research that focuses on social indicators of success, with reference to the importance of networking and building relationships with others as key achievements. Furthermore, research has also begun to acknowledge types of criteria individuals emphasise when evaluating their whole lives. As such, careers may be considered one small part of this bigger picture, with achievements in other areas of life holding greater importance to some individuals such as family achievements, well-being, personal interests and friendships. In order to explore this further, the current literature calls for future research that adopts a qualitative methodology to enable an in-depth investigation of career success from a personal perspective.

A final theme that emerged from the career success literature outlined the influence of occupational context on definitions of career success, in line with research that suggests the structure of some occupations can define career paths for some individuals. However, many studies focus on individuals in professional occupations, with less known about how individuals working in non-professional occupations define career success.

In summary, this chapter has evaluated objective and subjective definitions of career success in line with traditional, protean and boundaryless career perspectives. However, studies have shown that not all individuals define career success in the same way, and some definitions have been shown to go beyond the categories of objective and

subjective success. Differences between occupational contexts has been suggested to influence individuals career choices and definitions of success, however the careers literature also suggests that gender has an influential role over these factors as well. Therefore, the next chapter of this thesis will address the role of gender differences in careers and career success, and will explore gender segregation in occupations with regard to differences between occupational contexts.

Chapter 4

Gender and Careers

"Individuals want to know how their personal attributes, perhaps their intelligence,

gender or experience, propel them along the pathways they desire."

(Lawrence & Tolbert, 2007)

4.1 Defining Gender

Definitions of gender are considerably diverse, but most have a common theme that refers to psychological and social categories of male and female, masculine and feminine, in contrast to biological distinctions between chromosomes, genes and hormones that make up an individual's sex (Connell, 2009). The term gender often considers psychological, societal and cultural influences on biologically-based categories, in which males and females adopt what is known as a gender role (Helgeson, 2012). Dichotomy and difference are the substance of gender roles (Connell, 2009), which refer to specific behavioural norms or expectations associated with males and females, for example competitiveness, assertiveness and independence associated with men and polite, helpful and caring behaviours attributed to women (Emslie & Hunt, 2009). Gender role theory therefore suggests that gender differences are a product of socialisation. Most importantly, this theory suggests that gender roles can change over time in response to changes in social structures and psychological influences (Connell, 2005), which forms an important focus of this thesis.

Gender role theory is one perspective of a large body of literature that focuses on the concept of 'doing' gender. With its roots in social constructionism, research that supports this notion suggests that gender is a social practice that is not the property of the individual, but in fact a process that men and women enact in everyday situations (Kelan, 2010). In line with this understanding, Emslie and Hunt (2009) describe gender as a dynamic set of socially constructed relationships, rather than a fixed and binary category, with particular emphasis on West and Zimmerman (1987, p.130) who describe gender as an 'ongoing activity embedded in everyday interaction'. This conceptualisation is therefore important for considering how males and females may experience work, if career choices, work-life balance, motivation, communication and support, but also discrimination, segregation and scepticism (Alvesson & Billing, 2009) are examples of social construction, as this would suggest it is possible to deconstruct gender in social settings.

On this basis, many researchers have explored the process of 'doing gender' in organisations (e.g. Alvesson & Billing, 2009; Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Korvajärvi, 1998), which has been defined in a variety of ways in relation to the terms 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. For example, essentialist definitions suggest that masculinity is associated with features or characteristics, such as risk-taking, responsibility and aggression, which are used to define male behaviour (Kimmel, 1987), whereas values and experiences that are interpreted as feeling natural to females are considered to be feminine. The masculinities literature is made up of a variety of perspectives that raise ambiguity and contradictory issues. Psychoanalytical approaches focus on dominant masculine discourse and rejection of the feminine (Kimmel, 1994). Whereas, Connell (2005) emphasises the social relations approach, which focuses on the structure of power and emotional relations in specific contexts, with masculinity as a key configuration of social practice. Further work by Connell (2011) explores how masculinity is experienced at a subjective level which contributes to the notion that masculinity can be multidimensional with varying levels of dominance.

Whilst these approaches have gained prominence, it can be argued that a large body of literature remains that focuses on gender differences and refers to 'men' and 'women' in organisational contexts, rather than exploring how they 'do gender' (e.g. Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Ng et al, 2005; Loscocco, 1997; Lundberg, Mardberg, & Frankenhaeuser, 1994; Melamed, 1996; Wiggins & Bowman, 2000). Considering men and women present in organisations should therefore not be discredited as a useful starting point for gender research. For example, exploration of phenomena related to gender in occupational contexts that have not yet been researched could benefit from utilising available information (e.g. labour force surveys documenting statistical information relating to the number of males and females within occupations) prior to investigating the social construction of gender. In order to explore gender in the context of segregated work environments, it was necessary to focus on the number of male and female employees as an initial point of reference for this research.

4.2 Gender Differences in Careers and Career Success

Historically, the term 'career' has been referred to as a male construct, with careers settled on an ideology of gender difference and hierachy that defines professional and public leadership as the priority of men (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Over time, empirical evidence suggests a gendered order that provides opportunities for men over and above women, reinforcing male dominance and inequality in what has been described as a patriarchal society (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). In particular, social processes have been emphasised significantly when describing definitions of careers for males and females. For example, it is thought that certain cultures limit the desirability and possibility of women pursuing careers in 'masculine' sectors by emphasising their responsibility as 'wife and mother' (Stead, 2004), whereas men are often thought of as 'breadwinners' or 'providers' (Dries, Pepermans & Carlier, 2008). Texts on gender at work specifically, often refer to common knowledge or statistics showing an inferior position of women in relation to men (Alvesson & Billing, 2009).

Career research has often explored gender differences in career choices and patterns (Gottfredson, 2006). Specifically, the literature suggests that males show a preference for traditional career paths in comparison with females (Sargent & Domberger, 2007). On the other hand, it has been suggested that inflexible work schedules, long hours and travel demands in some occupations make it impossible for many women to balance work and family responsibilities (Cabrera, 2009), therefore a protean career path is often the only option available in order to create careers that allow them to manage these responsibilities. As such, male and female employees may start out with similar career preferences, but these are theorised to change over time due to differences in experience (Hull & Nelson, 2000).

Preferences theory developed by Hakim (2006) describes gender differences in careers as a social construction as opposed to innate in nature. Evidence suggests that men and women continue to differ, on average, in their work orientations and labour market behaviour, and these differences are linked to broader differences in overall life goals and the importance of family life and careers (Hakim, 2000). As a result of this, it is suggested

that gender differences in career preferences are ultimately linked to gender differences in career success. For example, as discussed in chapter 2, individuals who pursue traditional career paths will often be driven by objective criteria for success such as pay, position and responsibility, whereas protean and boundaryless career paths are based on personal accomplishment of individually defined goals and continuous learning (Segers et al, 2008). Reviews of the literature point to key differences between male and female definitions of career success (e.g. Ng et al, 2005), with males valuing objective indicators and females showing a preference for more subjective criteria (e.g. enjoyment of work, satisfaction, work-life balance).

A wealth of research has thus labelled the traditional career as a typical male pattern of working full-time for the same employer for an entire career, with emphasis on male career success as seeking continuous vertical advancement and external rewards (MacDermid, Lee, Buck & Williams, 2001). Similarly, Segers et al (2008) found that men are more driven by money, status and promotion, and less by job security than women. Significant differences were found between men and women with regard to both objective and subjective measures of career success, with women appearing to be less successful than men on measures of objective success but reporting equal levels of subjective success to men (Dann, 1995; Kirchmeyer, 1998). Interestingly however, in a study of women in public sector occupations, it was found that women tended to compare themselves with other women in relation to success and career progression rather than with men (Bradley, Brown & Dower, 2009). In doing so, women perceived a benchmark for success as the accepted standard of career progression and exceeding this benchmark resulted in other women feeling less successful. Moreover, men achieving higher levels of career progression in the same setting therefore did not impact on women's feelings of success (Dann, 1995).

The lack of social comparison between women and men appears to support the literature that suggests women are less driven by objective, traditional criteria. If these factors are said to be less important to women, comparisons of measures of career success such as money, status and promotion with men would not necessarily be a key focus; rather women have been shown to enjoy working according to their own principles, having

variety and contact with other people in their work (Segers et al, 2008). Placing greater emphasis on such criteria for success is also assumed to be an important way for women to create work-related relationships, within and between department and organisational boundaries (Bradley, Brown & Dower, 2009). However, much of the work on a variety of important topics on gender in the workplace seems limited by a lack of concern for organisational and occupational context (Ramaswami et al, 2010), which continues to be a key limitation of the literature on gender differences in careers and career success.

In line with literature reviewed in chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis, it has been suggested that occupational context can influence how career success is defined. As such, it is important to consider contextual factors when making assumptions about gender differences in career success. The majority of the research on gender differences in career success has focused heavily on participants in managerial, executive or higher level roles with little emphasis on males and females who choose to work in occupations that are gender segregated. Preference theory for example suggests that females aspiring to similar successful professional and managerial careers as men are expected to conform to a male pattern of working, which has important implications for the way in which career success is defined. Similarly, research suggests that men who choose to enter female-dominated occupations have less to gain in terms of pay, status and masculine image (Williams, 1993), which is not necessarily accounted for in the gender and career success literature.

As a result, it is important to consider whether assumptions about male and female career success are applicable in occupational contexts that are not necessarily associated with factors that are thought to be important to men and women. Therefore the following sections of this chapter will introduce gender segregation in male and female-dominated occupations and critically discuss the literature exploring the experiences of males and females in these occupational contexts thus far.

4.3 Gender Segregation in the Workplace

Gender segregation refers to the uneven distribution of males and females working in different occupations and organisations (Meulders, Plasman, Rigo & O'Dorchai, 2010). Some literature also refers to gendered organisations or occupations, focusing on the extent to which gender is an organising principle of organisational or occupational structure, and how far this entails the separation of males from females in the labour market (Blackburn & Jarman, 2005). Despite efforts to promote equal opportunities in the past, differences in preferences link to gender segregation in occupations, such as the limited number of women in management, the military and professional occupations (Hakim, 2006). In line with Weber's (1968) theory of occupational closure, Witz (1990) emphasises that power exercised in the context of professional occupations leads to gendered strategies of inclusion and exclusion, usually with males as the dominant social group. This dominant social group seeks to expand opportunities and rewards for themselves by limiting social and economic prospects for others (Andrews & Wæreness, 2011). However, further development of this theory suggests that this power can be a two-way process, coined by Parkin (1979) as dual closure. Witz (1990) suggests that whilst males have been a dominant social group historically, females have successfully adopted exclusionary strategies over time. Theories such as these contribute an alternative view to ambiguous definitions of professional and non-professional occupations, as discussed in chapter 2 (see section 2.8), whereby professions are defined by masculine values that repress or deny characteristics that are associated with femininity.

Gendered organisations have therefore been defined in a number of different ways over time, which makes attempts to change inequalities problematic. Acker (1990) was one of the first to argue that organisations should be seen as environments in which gender identities are presumed and reproduced. In line with social constructionist perspectives, Britton (2000) argues that gender is a largely influential constitutive element of social structure, and it is now quite commonplace to speak of all manner of social institutions and practices as gendered (Britton, 2000). In other words, organisations themselves can be seen as masculine or feminine, which can have significant consequences for the way

that gendered characteristics are valued. Ultimately, this can result in unequal experiences for males and females, if organisations are biased towards supporting careers that are associated with masculine or feminine characteristics (Acker, 2012). For example, routes to career success for women have been shown to vary from the ways used by men to achieve progression and success at work (Melamed, 1996), which has the potential for disadvantage for males or females depending on the gendered structure of organisations.

In contrast to this, the gender of organisations has also been defined by the extent to which they are male or female-dominated (Blackburn & Robert, 2009), for example when one of the gender groups dominates a particular professional category (Bielby & Baron, 1986). This is the most common definition of gendered organisations amongst past literature (e.g. Glass, 1990; He & Xiaoping, 2006; Williams, 1993), focusing on occupations and organisations in which males or females are a minority group. Other research however, has developed multi-dimensional definitions of gendered organisations that refer to both the ideology that gender is a foundational element of organisational structure, including processes, work practices, and hierarchy of power, but also encompassing the gender of the individual as an influencing factor (Britton, 2000). This builds upon earlier work by Cockburn (1988) who argues that individuals have a gender that rubs off on the jobs they do, but in turn the jobs they do have gendered characteristics that rub off on the individuals that undertake them.

Taking the latter definitions into account, gender segregation in the workplace can occur within and between organisations, occupations and industries (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Specifically, two types of gender segregation have been identified in the literature, namely horizontal and vertical gender segregation (Blackburn, 2009). The term horizontal gender segregation has often been used to describe overall segregation, as it refers to the representation of males and females across occupations and industries (Connell, 2009). This type of segregation is more resistant to change as the underlying beliefs and expectations about male and female gender roles are often deep rooted in society (Charles, 2003). Vertical segregation on the other hand, refers to the representation of males and females within the hierarchies of individual occupations. For example,

research has demonstrated that females are often poorly represented in high level or managerial roles, due to fewer opportunities for women to progress (e.g. Dann, 1995; Demaiter & Adams, 2009; McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005).

There are a number of different theories in the literature that offer explanations of why these types of segregation occur. On the one hand, there are theories that suggest gender segregation in the workplace arises from the individual level, encompassing the idea that males and females are socialised into gender roles in response to societal expectations, and therefore enter occupations that are associated with gendered preferences. Two theories that dominate this area of research include Super (1957) who suggests males and females strive to match their self-image to one of a large number of occupational images.

In other words, males and females develop gendered attributes through the process of socialisation, which in turn enables them to self-select gender dominated occupations in line with these attributes. Similarly, Holland (1985) proposes a theory focusing on the congruence between the individual and the occupation that can be applied to gender. Specifically, it is suggested that satisfaction, achievement and stability at work depends on the congruence between the personality of males and females and the occupational environment. In support of these theories, Kay et al (2009) found that women defended the underrepresentation of female employees in male-dominated industries, such as business and politics as desirable, natural and part of the status quo. These findings demonstrate support for system justification (Jost & Hunyady, 2002), in which individuals show a tendency to defend the status quo, for example gender inequality, by interpreting the current situation as a natural occurrence, or the way that things ought to be. Furthermore, in support of preferences theory and system justification, Korvajärvi (1998) found that men's working styles were preferred to women's in an empirical study of employment office workers, and women were to conform to men's working behaviours in order to achieve success.

On the other hand, Kanter (1993) initiated pioneering research that set out to show that gender differences in organisations are related to structure rather than individual

characteristics of males and females. For example, Acker (2012) describes the presence of a "gendered substructure" in which often-invisible processes in the day to day running of organisations encompass gendered assumptions about males and females that are embedded and reproduced. It is argued therefore that gendered substructures are made up of a number of components (see table 4.1), all of which contribute to the maintenance of gender inequalities in organisations.

Table 4.1 Gendered substructures adapted from Acker (2012)

Components of Gendered Substructures	
Organising processes	Inequalities are built into job design, salary determination, distribution of decision-making and authority, physical design of the workplace, and rules (both formal and unwritten expectations) for behaviour at work.
Organisational culture	Attitudes and beliefs about gender equality/inequality are shared and reinforced within the organisation. For example, a culture of denial and invisibility of inequities, aids to maintain gender inequality.
Interactions on the job	Interactions (both formal and informal) between colleagues and between individuals at different power levels of the organisation can reinforce gender inequality. For example, interactions that belittle or exclude females, whether consensual or exploitative, interactions of this nature make efforts to achieve equality more difficult.
Gendered identities	Identities constructed in the workplace, as well as identities brought to the organisation by individuals. Gendered identities are formed and change over time as males and females engage in work practices. For example, females in managerial roles may be challenged to 'manage like a man'.

Building upon this, Jacobsen (2007) suggests six factors that contribute to gender segregation in the labour market, encompassing influence from both individual and organisational levels (see table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Factors contributing to gender segregation in the workplace

Factors contributing to Gender Segregation in the Workplace
Gender differences in preferences for work activities
Gender differences in abilities for work activities
The allocation of human resources in the workplace
Structure of different occupations
Gender segregation in response to labour market imperfections
Gender exploitation

Whitmarsh & Wentworth (2012) demonstrate a key example of this in their study that suggests women have been discouraged from choosing certain careers, such as science and technology. They argue that such careers are traditionally dominated by men because of a variety of psychosocial and organisational factors including a lack of role models, a lack of career information, concerns about balancing career and family, gender-role stereotypes, and limited psychosocial support (Betz, 1994; Fitzgerald & Harmon, 2001; Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001).

Given the wealth of research that has explored the multitude of factors believed to contribute to gender segregation, the following sections of this chapter will focus on the experiences of men and women as the token gender in male and female-dominated occupations.

4.3.1 Male and Female-Dominated Occupations

Gender segregation in the workplace is common amongst certain occupations. Male-dominated occupations have been defined as occupations whereby females make up 25% of the workforce or less (Woodfield, 2007), whereas occupations are considered to be female-dominated if there are 15% to 20% of male employees (Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; Williams, 1992). For example, women are significantly underrepresented in the financial services, construction, law, medicine engineering and information technology sectors (Lemkau, 1983; Miller, Neathey, Pollard & Hill, 2004), and men are a minority group in

occupations including nursing, primary school teaching, librarianship and administration (Williams, 1992). The number of occupations with segregation against women is far greater than the number of occupations with segregation against men (He & Xiaoping, 2006). Overall, women are still heavily concentrated in comparatively few occupational areas and remain underrepresented in the highest paid and senior positions (Woodfield, 2007). Research suggests that segregation of this nature is also a cross-cultural issue (e.g. Carlsson, 2011; Huffman & Cohen, 2004; Huppatz & Goodwin, 2013), however studies have focused heavily on the experiences of women in male-dominated occupations with limited research available on the reverse situation.

4.3.1.1 Females in Male-Dominated Occupations

Extensive research has been conducted on reasons for the limited female presence in male-dominated occupations (e.g. Ryan & Haslam, 2007). However, other studies have focused on women who do enter gender segregated work environments in terms of their reasons for entry, the influence of their upbringing (McLean & Kalin, 1994), personality characteristics (Lemkau, 1983), family responsibilities (Frome et al, 2008) career interests and aspirations (Murrell, Frieze & Frost, 1991) and motivations (Mendez & Crawford, 2002).

In addition to this, factors such as socioeconomic status have also been implicated in women's career choices, in that women with higher socioeconomic status are thought to perceive work as a more of a source of personal satisfaction in comparison with women of lower socioeconomic status (Blustein et al, 2002). Moreover, women with higher socioeconomic status are thought to demonstrate higher levels of career adaptability, including thinking routinely about the future, engaging in self-reflection, developing skills, knowledge and understanding to cope with change, and open to seeking opportunities, particularly in male-dominated occupations (Whitmarsh & Wentworth, 2012). On the other hand, some studies suggest gender segregation in male-dominated occupations is a result of female personal choice (Ashraf, 2007), as women are thought to select occupations where there are fewer penalties for leaving work to bring up children and provide relative flexibility of working hours. As a result, it has been found that women's

career choices tend to reflect lower levels of aspiration, educational attainment, and achievement with the central priority being given to fitting career around family responsibilities (Whitmarsh, Brown, Cooper, Hawkins-Rogers & Wentworth, 2007).

Despite this, women do still enter male-dominated occupations. However these women are said to face numerous disadvantages including the invisible barrier of the "glass ceiling" that prevents them from gaining access to higher level positions (Ryan & Haslam, 2007). As such, research in line with theories that suggest men and women share similar career preferences that diverge over time, has shown that not only are women less likely to choose male-dominated careers (Jacobs, Chhin & Bleeker, 2006; Watt, 2006), but if they do enter these occupations, they are more likely to drop out or leave (Mau, 2003). On the other hand, women who do continue their careers in male-dominated occupations and break the glass ceiling are also said to experience considerable disadvantage in attempts to progress. For example, the phenomenon in which women are selected for leadership or higher level positions that are associated with a high risk of failure, known as "the glass cliff" (Ryan & Haslam, 2005) has also been widely researched (e.g. Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010; Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Nutley & Mudd, 2005; Ryan, Haslam & Kulich, 2010). Studies suggest that women who take on higher level or leadership roles in organisations often have very different experiences to men in similar positions. Specifically, women are said to be more likely to be promoted to positions that are precarious or at high risk of failure, as a result of being appointed to lead organisations that are in crisis or because they are not given the resources or support needed to succeed under those circumstances (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Both glass ceiling and glass cliff scenarios have been described as the "leaky pipeline" in male-dominated occupations as women set out to achieve but do not fulfil their aspirations in these fields (Frome, Alfeld, Eccles & Barber, 2008). Ultimately, literature in this area has focused on the contradiction between the visibility of women in male-dominated occupations and the invisibility of the work they do (Smith, 2013).

Extensive research of this nature has raised considerable awareness of the experiences women have in occupational contexts that are male-dominated, such as professions associated with traditional career paths and success criteria that are thought to be

contrasting to what is important to women. Whereas research that explores the experiences of males in female-dominated occupations is limited by comparison. As female-dominated occupations are considered to be associated with opportunities to care for others and develop meaningful relationships (Dyke & Murphy, 2006), it is important to acknowledge the aspirations and experiences of males who choose to enter these environments, so that assumptions of existing career theories can be developed.

4.3.1.2 Males in Female-Dominated Occupations

Over the last three decades the personal services sector has grown, initiating a rise in female-dominated jobs (Bagilhole & Cross, 2006). Such changes in labour market patterns have not shown concomitant improvement in working conditions and remuneration for women (Olsen & Walby, 2004), and research on reducing gender segregation has remained focused on ways in which to get females into male-dominated jobs (Cross & Bagilhole, 2002). In particular, research on gender at work has highlighted the association between segregation and gender inequality, including the widespread devaluation of female-dominated work (Huppatz & Goodwin, 2013; Cohen & Huffman, 2003; England, 2005; Magnusson, 2009). However, research on the experience of males in female-dominated occupations is limited in comparison with studies on females in the opposite situation. Moreover, research that has been conducted in this area is predominantly focused on the nursing profession as an example of a female-dominated occupation. Understanding the career decisions and career paths of male as well as female token employees is of key importance, so that attempts to challenge gender stereotypical barriers at work can be effective.

A proportion of research focusing on males in female-dominated occupations has been conducted in the area of leadership. Labour Force Statistics (2013) show that even where females outnumber their male counterparts; men still dominate higher level positions, which is a phenomenon described as the glass escalator (Maume, 1999; Price-Glynn & Rakovski, 2012; Smith, 2012; Williams, 1992). This refers to males advancing to higher positions at a faster rate than female employees in female-dominated occupations. A number of factors have been identified that contribute to this effect, for example Charles'

(2003) review of gender segregation demonstrated that male nurses are often encouraged to apply for promotional opportunities in comparison with female nurses whose perceived family/personal commitments are interpreted unfavourably by employers, which demonstrates that even where males are considered to be the minority group, they are often segregated in higher positions within the hierarchy of female-dominated occupations. In addition to this, explanations for the glass ceiling suggest that characteristics associated with effective leadership are perceived to be masculine, such as independence, self-reliance, autonomy, instrumentalism and control (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995; Park, 1996). Therefore males are selected for roles of this nature more often, as they fit the managerial stereotype better than females (Kirchmeyer, 1998). Furthermore, Williams (1993) suggests that visibility is a key factor in the glass escalator phenomenon, in that males as part of a minority group are more visible to employees involved in promotion decisions in female-dominated occupations.

Exploration of the glass escalator has also lead to research that focuses on men who enter female-dominated occupations, including reasons for entry, career aspirations and experiences of working in a female-dominated environment. Jacobs (1993) was one of the first to conduct a longitudinal analysis of men entering female-dominated occupations in the US that supports the glass escalator phenomenon. Findings suggested that men entered via a 'revolving door' that eventually steers them back into male-dominated areas of work (e.g. managerial level roles). However, these gendered advantages for men seemed clear until the question of whether *all* men benefit from entering female-dominated occupations was considered (Price-Glynn & Rakovski, 2012).

Research by Williams and Villemez (1993) suggests that males enter female-dominated occupations on a short-term basis, only to revert to careers in male-dominated jobs as a result of social and peer pressure in combination with unattractive economic prospects. However, assumptions that men enter and exit female-dominated occupations in line with the revolving door metaphor is limited in its acknowledgement of individual or social influences.

On the other hand, Bradley (1993) presents contradictory findings to the revolving door metaphor, in the form of three types of decisions men are thought to make when entering female-dominated occupations. These include 'takeover' and 'invasion' relating to structural changes within occupations, in which either a job assigned to a woman is reassigned as a male specialty, or where men move into female-dominated occupations in large numbers, both of which bring about changes in the workforce from female to male. The third type, 'infiltration' refers to decision-making on an individual level in which males enter female-dominated occupations as a result of personal career aspirations or limited career opportunities. Infiltration therefore differs from takeover and invasion as it suggests occupations remain female-dominated as fewer men enter for this reason.

However, Bradley's (1993) infiltration hypothesis is not without criticism. Bagihole and Cross (2006) suggested that explanations for men's entry into female-dominated occupations are too simplistic and do not make sense of the contingent aspects of working life that may account for this. On the basis of their qualitative study of men in female-dominated occupations, Bagihole and Cross (2006) provided further development of the infiltration hypothesis, suggesting that labour market changes, role models, possibility of different masculinities and career ambition were key factors in men's decisions to enter female-dominated jobs.

Other recent explanations for men's entry into female-dominated occupations include findings of a study by Simpson (2005), who identified three categories that describe men as seekers, finders or settlers (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Simpson's (2005) reasons for entering female-dominated occupations

Categories	Reasons for entering female-dominated occupations
1. Seekers	Men who make an 'active' choice to enter female-dominated occupations
2. Finders	Men who make a 'passive' decision to enter female-dominated occupations (i.e. men find a job in the process of making general career decisions)
3. Settlers	Men who have a background of jobs with limited satisfaction before settling into their current job

Findings of this study did show support for the glass escalator phenomenon, with most men stating greater opportunities for promotion and upward advancement as key reasons for entry. However, in line with Bagilhole and Cross (2006) it was also found that the majority of men chose to pursue a career in a female-dominated occupation to fulfil goals and aspirations that were not perceived to be associated with male-dominated occupations. For example, greater opportunities for interaction with women, as well as personal, family and societal influences.

Whilst these findings support the glass escalator phenomenon, they also indicate that factors such as background, attitudes, values, interpersonal needs and family roles also have an influence. Lupton (2006) reiterates these findings in a qualitative study exploring men's entry into female-dominated occupations, which illustrates the complex and often contradictory ways in which men approach the notion of working in such jobs. For example, research by Bagilhole and Cross (2006) indicated that some men enter female-dominated occupations for career-advancement opportunities despite also emphasising their motivation and commitment to their work irrespective of financial reward. Moreover, Lupton (2006) identified a key theme from in-depth interviews with men working primary school teaching, human resource management and librarianship that suggested men's career aspirations developed from the career choices and experience of family members. In fact, the influence of role models in men's entry to female-dominated occupations is further exemplified by Sargent (2000), who introduced an additional

perspective, suggesting that more men should enter female-dominated occupations to act as role models themselves.

However, in light of the complex debate on definitions of masculinity discussed earlier in this chapter, perceptions of men in female-dominated occupations are mixed. For example, Skelton (2003) found that entry into primary school teaching was associated with the perception of being a positive role model for children and for being enforcers of discipline. On the other hand, men were also wary of negative perceptions associated their ability to be nurturing and caring, and perceptions of men as child abusers.

Research that focuses on factors such as the influence of family, other significant role models, or the desire to become a role model is quite limited. Overall, findings to date highlight the multi-faceted and complex factors influencing reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations, at both the individual and sociological level. Further research that focuses on theoretical and empirical issues of understanding gender segregation in occupations is needed to explore the implications for men, women and occupations themselves, particularly if men are influenced by others or encouraged to enter female-dominated occupations to become role models.

Other factors attracting men to enter female-dominated occupations are associated with labour market influences, such as a perception of increased job security and social class, in that males from a working class background felt less prepared and adequately educated to enter male-dominated professions (Lupton, 2006). Findings such as these provide evidence for the influence of both individual and social influences on men's decisions to enter female-dominated occupations. However, further research is required to explore whether fulfilment of career aspirations, job security or job satisfaction that were identified as reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations, are achieved over time.

Whilst female-dominated occupations have been shown to attract some men for advantageous reasons, such as rapid career advancement in line with the glass escalator or fulfilment of personal/family goals in line with the careers of a significant role model,

other studies have also shown that some men describe their experience of working in a female-dominated occupation as negative. For example, research suggests that masculinity comes under scrutiny for men when they cross gendered work boundaries (Jome & Tokar, 1988; Lupton, 2000). Men have been found to experience discrimination related to assumptions about their masculinity and sexual orientation as a result of working in a female-dominated environment. For example, Jome and Tokar (1998) reported that men working in traditional, male-dominated occupations endorsed significantly more traditional masculine values and associated behaviours, than men in non-traditional, female-dominated occupations. These findings were also associated with increased homophobic attitudes amongst men with traditional masculine values, suggesting that assertion of feminine qualities in a caring/nurturing environment brings sexuality into question. As a result, research by Simpson (2004) acknowledges masculinity in this context by suggesting that males manage potential conflicts between the 'feminine' nature of the job and their gender identity in a number of strategic ways. For example, relabelling their role to minimise feminine associations (e.g. adjusting their job title or omitting key details), status enhancement and distancing themselves from the feminine.

On the other hand, expression of traditional masculinity often brings competence and suitability to work in female-dominated occupations under scrutiny, in which either scenario has a negative impact for men in these environments (Lupton, 2000). Differences in gender role beliefs and attitudes would therefore influence men's openness to pursuing female-dominated occupations (Dodson & Borders, 2006). Nevertheless, discrimination of this nature has often been experienced from sources external to female-dominated occupations (Chusmir, 1990), which is supportive of research that suggests men in male-dominated occupations endorse stronger traditional masculine values than those in female-dominated occupations.

A wealth of research in the area of female-dominated occupations has focused on the nursing profession specifically. In contrast to Chusmir (1990), Sochalski (2002) speculates internal factors may also influence the experience of males in female-dominated occupations, such that a lack of respect from the medical community is a significant

factor in the reasons why new male nurses leave the profession at a higher rate than female nurse graduates. The nursing profession has been a key focus within research exploring the experiences of males in female-dominated occupations. For example, Williams (1993) found male nurses were subject to common stereotypes that they are effeminate or homosexual; and Price-Glynn and Rakovski (2012) found male nurses were at risk of stigma for engaging in 'feminine work'. Furthermore, research has shown that some men have found the glass escalator phenomenon to be disadvantageous, in that males are encouraged into areas of nursing that are associated with more masculine duties, such as mental health nursing, critical care and anaesthesia, despite their career intentions (Duffy, 2005; Xu, 2008). Hodes Research Group (2005) further confirmed these findings as part of an online survey of men in nursing, in which concerns were expressed that the term 'nurse' was sexist and changing this title would attract more men to the profession and minimise negative connotations or consequences. In light of the literature that reports negative experiences of men who work in female-dominated occupations, research in the area of career interventions warrants exploration to determine the consequences for men whose career aspirations are hindered by opportunities, or lack of, in their occupational context.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by acknowledging the challenge of defining gender, with reference to the diverse psychological and social factors that contribute to our understanding of male and female, beyond biological distinctions. The social construction of gender is therefore of key importance to understanding how gender has changed over time and across occupational and organisational contexts. However, it is acknowledged that observing individuals as an initial point of reference for conducting research on gender in occupations and organisations should not be discredited as an important starting point for exploring new research questions.

Building upon chapters' 2 and 3 of this thesis, which consider career paths and career success, gender differences dictate that traditional careers with objective indicators for success are associated with male preferences, whereas protean careers are thought to be the only option available for females with the assumption that this pattern of working

enables them to cope with family commitments in addition to work. However, the large body of research on gender differences in careers has several themes in common, such as the limited recognition of the variety of occupational contexts. On this basis, research on gender segregation in occupations was reviewed as part of this chapter, acknowledging the wealth of research on the experiences of female employees in male-dominated occupations, but with limited research focusing on males in female-dominated occupations by comparison. Thus far, studies have focused on men's reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations, demonstrating the complex and sometimes contradictory decisions that lead men into non-traditional jobs. However, hypotheses and models drawn from these studies are somewhat simplistic in nature and require further development to account for the plethora of factors that contribute to career choices of men in female-dominated occupations. Furthermore, research on the experiences of men in female-dominated occupations show that accounts are considerably varied. Studies include both positive reports of career advancement in line with the glass escalator phenomenon, but also negative experiences associated with discrimination, stereotyping and the glass escalator as a hindrance to personal career aspirations.

The next chapter of this thesis will explore career interventions and opportunities in occupations and organisations. Based upon the review of the literature thus far, it is thought that contextual factors should be a key focus in understanding career paths, definitions of career success and experiences of men and women at work. Building upon this, career interventions will be explored in relation to their purpose, appropriateness and effectiveness to establish their influence on career success and gender. For example, career interventions for males and females who enter and experience occupations that are gender segregated may not be effective if assumptions made about male and female career success are not consistent across all occupational contexts. As such, career interventions may hinder as well as help individuals to achieve career success.

Chapter 5

Career Development and Interventions

"Understanding the impact of organisational demography on individuals' career choices and on the opportunity structure that confronts them is relevant to modern career research."

(Lawrence & Tolbert, 2007)

5.1 Introduction

The review of the literature on careers, career success and gender differences in chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis thus far indicates that occupational context as well as psychological and social factors are key factors in the complexity of career choices, definitions of success and experiences of work for men and women. Specifically, chapter 4 highlighted research on men and women who enter occupations that are gender segregated, which demonstrates a mix of positive and negative reports in relation to career experiences. For example, women are thought to experience barriers to career progression, such as the glass ceiling, in male-dominated occupations, whereas men are thought to benefit from their token status, including the glass escalator phenomenon, in female-dominated occupations. Despite this, many men have reported negative experiences of 'glass escalator' opportunities, when vertical advancement is contradictory to their career aspirations. This raises the question of whether assumptions about gender differences in career success in organisations may actually hinder, rather than help individuals if they do not define it in the same way.

In light of this, it is important to build upon the exploration of the career success literature and examine career development interventions in relation to the key themes identified from the literature thus far. The following sections will seek to define career interventions and explore whether or not these strategies or interventions are effective for personal and professional development, and whether or not this facilitates the achievement of career success. Career paths and gender differences will also be considered.

5.2 Career Development

5.2.1 Individual Career Development

Like other areas of the careers literature, career development can be defined from an individual and organisational perspective; including how individuals manage careers within and between organisations, as well as how organisations structure themselves to enable progression of employees (Waltz, 1982). From an individual perspective, theories

of development, such as Erikson, (1959, cited in McLeod, 2008), Super (1978) and Levinson (1986) have been particularly influential in understanding the lifelong process of careers. Common themes have emerged from these three theories, which highlight their significance to careers research. For example, all three emphasise an 'exploration' phase, in which career interests are formed; a career choice phase, in which interests are more firmly established; a phase that suggests a career is maintained; and finally a phase that emphasises disengagement or retirement from the career (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Integration of Developmental Theories

	Erikson	**Super**	**Levinson**
Phases	Identity Vs Role Confusion	Growth	Leaving the family
	Intimacy Vs Isolation	Exploration	Getting into Adulthood
	Generativity Vs Stagnation	Establishment Maintenance	Becoming one's own person
	Ego Integrity Vs Despair	Decline	

Theories such as these contributed to the establishment of models of career interests and choices, such as Holland's (1996) RIASEC model and Schein's (1993) career anchors, both of which are widely used by career coaches and counsellors to support individual career development.

Irrespective of the career path an individual may choose to follow, career choices and entry into work is an important part of life in societies where employment is the norm, as it provides individuals with the opportunity to develop as people (Woods & West, 2010). Personal development at work refers to the activities that develop skills, talents and potential, facilitate employability, enhance quality of life and contribute to the achievement of aspirations and personal success (Baruch, 2004). Work is a key element in life overall, as in addition to a source of income and material well-being, work meets important psychosocial needs for individuals, including social interaction, development of social roles and identity and status. Central to the notion of personal development, work

provides people with a sense of purpose, challenge, and self-fulfilment, as well as the opportunity to network and build relationships (Millward, 2005). Kannan (2007) therefore concludes that building a career is no longer about finding the right job and keeping it, but about making career-related choices in response to a continuously changing job climate in order to continue to develop personally and professionally.

Other research however, emphasises the influence of career choice and career path on individual career development. Specifically, Kim (2005) emphasises the importance of career path and personal definitions of career success as key factors influencing an individual's willingness to participate in certain career development activities.

In line with this evidence-base, some research has explored individual characteristics and their association with career development. For example, level of self-efficacy, which refers to beliefs about ability to perform career-related tasks, has been shown to be related to effective career decision-making (Betz, Klein & Taylor, 1996). Moreover, personality variables including conscientiousness and extraversion (e.g. Hartman & Betz, 2007) and other individual factors such as commitment, confidence, perceived career barriers, experience of social career support and career engagement (e.g. Hirschi & Freund, 2014) have also been shown to be important to individual career development, from studies that have differentiated between willingness to engage in career development activities at different stages of a career. Evidence such as this is useful to inform individual career development activities such as coaching and counselling, as practice of this nature has sought to bridge the gap between career development theory and practice by focusing on proactive career management, rather than simple career decision-making (Hirschi & Freund, 2014). These findings are a key example of self-regulation theory (Raabe, Frese & Beehr, 2007) in practice, which refers to employees who proactively participate in the self-management of the development of their career by acknowledging deficiencies in career competencies.

In light of this, examples of proactive behaviours individuals can engage in to further career development (e.g. De Vos, De Hauw & Van der Heijden, 2011; Kossek, Roberts, Fisher & DeMarr, 1998) include:

- collecting information about existing or possible career opportunities,

- gaining feedback about personal competencies

- creating career opportunities through networking

- focusing on enhancing marketability of experience and competencies

Overall, the literature thus far appears to indicate that individual differences, career path choice and definitions of career success are an important influence in career development, particularly in line with changing job markets. In light of this, emerging research has begun to recognise that career success and willingness to engage in development not only benefits employees but also their organisation, as personal success can contribute to positive organisational performance (Chang & Feng, 2014). The following section will therefore consider the needs of both individuals and organisations in order to achieve successful development.

5.2.2 Organisational Career Development

Whilst achievement of career success is important to individual career development, research is yet to explore in depth the relationship between individual career success and career development interventions available in organisations. According to researchers, exploring organisational career development ignores meaningful individual differences, whereas an individual-level approach often neglects contextual factors that significantly influence individual behaviour (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Therefore, it is suggested that neither approach can adequately account for achievement of career success as a result of career development (Cheng & Feng, 2014).

From an organisational perspective, Baruch (2006) suggests that the documented shift in career paths over time does not mean that organisations no longer have a say in career management. Whilst upward advancement and a long-term psychological contract may be less common in some occupations, career paths such as protean and boundaryless careers are still characterised by opportunities for employees to move within and between organisations (Arthur & Rousseau, 2001), and by the quality and variety of the development opportunities that are available (Zaleska & de Menezes, 2007). Whilst

76

employees have been shown to take more control of their careers, whether that be in line with personal preferences or influence of occupational context, Barnett and Bradley (2007) point out that much remains for organisations to manage. In fact, Cook (2006) suggests the key to effective career development is striking a balance between individual and organisational needs. In particular, Baruch (2006) argues that organisations have a significant role to play in career development, namely being a supportive enabler and developer of its human assets. Moreover, London (1988) emphasises that the work environment acts to reinforce career development, specifically those that recognise the importance of development in relation to the achievement of organisational goals, who are more likely to recognise the value of developing and rewarding employees. It is therefore important that career development opportunities provided by organisations are appropriate from both perspectives, as poor experience of career interventions could have negative consequences for employees and organisations alike.

Consequently, a theme that emerges from the literature on career development emphasises the responsibility of both the individual and the organisation in managing careers. For example, Cook (2006) identified that key barriers to career progression included lack of opportunities, lack of career guidance, and minimal provision of training and education programs. Whilst each of these appear to emphasise the responsibility of organisations to provide more opportunities for development, the importance of employees taking responsibility and actively seeking opportunities to facilitate their own career planning was also highlighted.

Career interventions from an organisational perspective are opportunities and activities used to develop careers including career education, career guidance and career counselling/coaching (Sampson, McClain, Musch, & Reardon, 2012). For example, Cappelli (2004) found that organisations who arrange tuition reimbursement for educational courses had lower turnover rates than those without opportunity for educational training. Thus, employees have the opportunity to develop educationally, whilst the organisation also benefits from developing and retaining a competent and skilled workforce.

Baruch (2006) outlines a number of interventions that organisations can provide to promote career development (see table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Examples of career interventions *(adapted from Baruch, 2006)*

Career Interventions	
Assessment centres	Collection of exercises designed to evaluate an individual's suitability for a job role.
Career brochures/ booklets/ leaflets	Guidance and support for career development.
Career counselling/coaching	Service provided by trained practitioners to support employees with career-related issues such as career exploration and choice, career change, and career development.
Career workshops	Support and opportunities for skill development to enable individuals to find employment or change career.
Diversity management	Management of equal opportunities.
Dual ladder	Focus on retention of skilled workers who may not be looking to pursue management roles, to remain in their career and continue to receive incentives/opportunities.
Expatriation/repatriation	Opportunities to work/develop skills abroad based on organisational links.
Formal career paths	A clear combination or sequence of associated roles within an organisation to promote career development/ progression.
Formal education/tuition reimbursement	Organisational sponsorship for education/qualifications.
Formal mentoring	A supportive partnership between two employees (mentor and mentee), working in a similar field or sharing similar experiences to support professional development.

Induction programmes	Supportive process by which new employees are welcomed to an organisation.
Job postings	Advertising of internal and external job opportunities
Lateral moves/job rotation	Technique that involves planned moves to expose employees to a variety of jobs within an organisation, to develop skills and experience.
Peer appraisal	Evaluation of job performance by peers.
Performance appraisal	Evaluation of job performance (by manager, HR).
Pre-retirement programmes	Events, workshops or sessions designed to support employees in planning or preparing for their retirement.
Succession planning	A process for identifying and developing employees in preparation for progression to key roles within an organisation.
Training programmes	Opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills and competencies relevant to the job role.
Upward appraisal	Evaluation of the job performance of managers/ supervisors by subordinate employees.

In light of acknowledgement of individual differences, it is thought that a variety of career interventions are beneficial to motivate employees who have different needs. For example different types of work, pay, benefits, promotion systems and types of recognition (Kim, 2005) could be used help to facilitate career development for individuals with differing career aspirations and personal definitions of success. Given that the literature suggests that organisations and individuals should both take responsibility for career development, it would be logical to propose the importance of an alignment between definitions of career success and organisational career interventions. For example, identification of a particular skill weakness does not necessarily require formal or informal development to be of benefit to an individual or organisation. Rather, appropriate development should be identified with consideration of the extent to which outcomes can be linked to individual career success and the strategic goals of the organisation (Benson, Levenson & Boudreau, 2006; Cook, 2006).

Models of career development interventions that have aimed to encompass both individual and organisational needs have enabled evaluation of different types of interventions and their outcomes. As such, perspectives of their effectiveness are mixed and will be discussed in detail in the following section.

5.2.3 Multi-level Models of Career Development

Consideration of career development interventions in the literature suggests that activities can be categorised as having a direct or indirect influence on individuals and organisations (Gelso, Nutt Williams & Fretz, 2014). For example, Wils, Guérin and Bernard (1993) identified 4 types of career development activities in organisations that can be described as direct or indirect (see table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Multi-level Career Development Activities in Organisations *(adapted from Wils, Guérin & Bernard, 1993)*

	Type of Career Development	Focus	Examples
Direct interventions	1. Impersonal career	Internal staffing activities	*Job posting, promotional opportunities, lateral mobility*
	2. Organisational career	Organisational-orientated activities	*Succession planning, data collection on employees and future jobs, job matching*
	3. Individual career	Individual-orientated activities	*Career planning, career counselling*
Indirect interventions	4. Policy	Influential systems (policies/rewards)	*Employee compensation, benefits, employment policy*

This model suggests that organisational-focused activities are often primarily implemented for organisational purposes rather than individual benefit. However, it

could be argued that individuals who are proactive in seeking opportunities of this nature will find opportunities advantageous for their development. Interestingly, this model also considers indirect interventions, such as policies, that can impact individuals and organisations even though they may not appear to be a part of career development. For example, rewards or benefits available to employees may enhance or hinder career development, by influencing critical decisions at various points over the duration of their career.

Furthermore, Kim's (2005) two-dimensional model of organisational interventions also incorporates indirect career interventions by suggesting that ways of assessing employees can also be approached from a career development perspective (see figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Kim's (2005) two-dimensional model of career development.

Direct Interventions

Training and development systems

Personnel allocation systems

Career development support systems

Individual-focused ← → **Organisation-focused**

Compensation/benefits system

Employee appraisal systems

Indirect
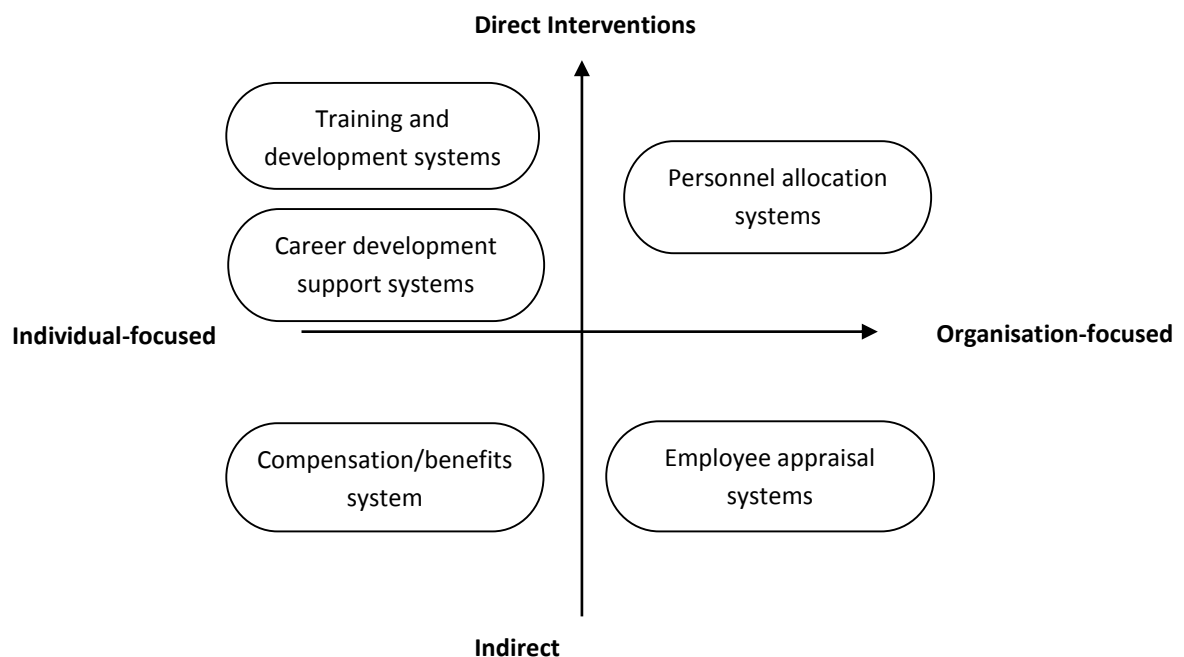
Similarly, the model does acknowledge that not all career development interventions have the same appeal or will have the same benefit to all employees (Baruch, 2004). Moreover, there will also be individual differences in the extent to which employees will allow organisations to be involved in their development (Kim, 2005).

With this in mind, like criteria for career success, it could be possible to make links between career development interventions and definitions of career success. For example, in chapter 3 it was identified that objective indicators of career success, such as promotional opportunities and financial incentives, are associated with the traditional career path. Therefore, it could be suggested that organisations within occupational contexts that are associated with the traditional career should make sure there are opportunities to achieve these objective factors. Ultimately, organisations that support different career paths should provide career development interventions to support these orientations. Findings of research by Segers et al (2008) showed that within the protean career model, individual's motivation towards development was thought to change from a 'reactive' to a more 'rigid' career attitude over time if organisations did not provide career development opportunities that were associated with this orientation.

Given the broad range of definitions of career success, organisations with an invested interested in the recruitment and retention of employees should consider career development interventions that specifically address the possibility of multiple career paths and career stages (Quesenberry & Trauth, 2012). As a result of this, career development opportunities should be diverse enough to satisfy the variety of values and motivations of all employees.

The review of the literature on career development interventions has raised important questions about individual, organisational and indirect interventions designed to encourage, develop and retain employees in their chosen occupations. However, research that elaborates on the relationship between specific types of interventions and specific types of employees is limited.

5.3 The Future of Career Development

In light of the themes that have arisen from the literature thus far, it is suggested that the design of career development interventions in organisations should take into account the increase in temporary, contingent, casual, contract, freelance, part time, consultant and self-employed individuals (Savickas, 2012), in response to changes in careers and

organisations over time. With this in mind, it is important to consider how career development can become more contemporary in order to support new orientations of careers. In practice, organisational frameworks, such as Kummerow (2000), on equality and diversity in career development could provide a valuable basis for how this could be achieved. Adaptations of the common themes that emerge from such frameworks could therefore extend to types of employees and new career paths with regard to the promotion of inclusivity, building positive relationships and mutual adaptation (Baruch, 2004a).

From a research perspective, a wealth of existing studies on diversity in career development, including gender, age, race and disability, is prominent in the literature (e.g. Lent & Brown, 1996; McKenley, 2004; Nikunen, 2012; Sutherland & Davidson, 1996). Studies such as these have often evaluated the experiences of groups of individuals within a variety of occupations to establish potential barriers to opportunities. In line with the theme of this research, studies on gender equality specifically appear to focus heavily on barriers to career development experienced by women in male-dominated settings, with the assumption that men are therefore at an advantage in a variety of occupations. However, it was established in chapter 4 that research indicates mixed experiences reported by males in occupations that are female-dominated, despite the perception of the glass escalator phenomenon (Maume, 1999) that is assumed to create attractive career development opportunities. Moreover, Chartrand and Rose (1996) point out that existing study that identify careers that men or women are more likely to pursue, are informative but do not provide insight into how career development patterns could be changed. With this is mind, it could be argued that further exploration of new career experiences is required to extend interpretations of equality and diversity to contemporary careers as well as occupations that are associated with token groups of individuals. In order to develop interventions to encompass support for equality and diversity, it is more important to understand why differences occur, beyond noting that differences exist (Chartrand & Rose, 1996).

It is suggested therefore that the future of career development poses challenges for individuals and organisations in adapting to support contemporary careers such as

protean and boundaryless orientations (Cook 2006). Specifically, individuals are considered to be responsible for managing their own career development, whereas organisations are encouraged to adopt supportive rather than commanding roles regarding opportunities (Baruch, 2006). Ultimately, it could be argued that career interventions should include multi-level opportunities so that both individuals and organisations can develop. However, if organisations are to provide effective career interventions, then it is important to understand and address interests and needs from both perspectives in order to promote career experiences and maintain the psychological contract of both parties.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by outlining individual perspectives of career development, with acknowledgement of early developmental theories that apply to careers that have been used as a basis to explore personal development associated with more contemporary patterns of careers. As such, from an individual perspective research appears to have focused on career choice, career stages and personal characteristics, such as personality, that have been shown to relate to motivation to develop and engage. In addition, it is suggested that such factors may predict individual's willingness to proactively self-manage their careers by seeking opportunities to strengthen career competencies.

On the other hand, the organisational perspective maintains that organisations are still an important contributor to career development despite the view of a shift from traditional to contemporary career paths over time. Therefore, organisations continue to have a valuable role to play in the development of individuals in relation to the quality and variety of opportunities it can provide. Therefore, a key theme that emerges from the literature emphasises a responsibility of both the individual and the organisation to effectively manage careers.

Multi-level models of career development are therefore thought to be important for bridging the gap between individual aspirations and organisational goals. Interventions that are designed to support the individual and the organisation are therefore often

referred to as direct in the way they are implemented, such as promotional opportunities, succession planning, and career counselling and coaching programmes. However, it has also been suggested that indirect interventions, such as policies, may also effectively support career development even though they may appear to be directly related.

Overall, the career development literature appears to suggest that personal success can contribute to overall organisational success and multi-level models of career interventions may be the most effective way to support this. However, current approaches to individual and organisational interventions appears to have the assumption that all interventions have the potential to appeal to all individuals, and that all individuals will allow organisations to be involved in their career development. Although it is suggested that career development opportunities should therefore be diverse enough to satisfy the motivations of all employees, it is argued that this approach may not acknowledge individual aspirations for success, but in depth research that explores the relationship between individual career success and career development interventions available in organisations is currently limited.

5.5 Summary of the Literature Review

The literature review has revealed broad explanations for career path choice and definitions of success, which forms an important basis for understanding how careers have changed over time. However, studies such as these have a strong focus on managerial level workers in male-dominated occupations and rarely explore the career choices or definitions of success from a wider variety of occupations. In addition, studies have identified gender differences in careers and success, which has resulted in general assumptions about what is important to males and females, further limiting consideration of the influence of occupational context and personal characteristics.

Despite the wide use of existing models and measures that categorise career success by objective and subjective criteria, key gaps have been identified in the literature that this study aims to address. Firstly, it is argued that general assumptions about how males and females define success prevent the understanding of career choice and success in occupations that are not associated with gendered criteria, such as male and female-dominated occupations. Specifically, studies exist that show negative experiences encountered by females in male-dominated occupations, yet little is known about how males define and achieve success in the context of female-dominated occupations. Therefore first research aim of this study seeks to address this gap by exploring how males in female-dominated occupations define and achieve success. Furthermore, the extent to which general assumptions about gender differences in success apply to males who work in female-dominated occupational contexts is unclear, therefore support available in males' occupations will be explored as the second key aim of this research.

A methodological limitation has also been identified from the literature, in that existing models and gendered assumptions about success are derived from quantitative findings. Recent research in this area has therefore called for more qualitative methods to explore success, as a means to understanding how success is defined and how different occupational contexts may influence these meanings. It is also argued that a qualitative methodology would be valuable for understanding the achievement of success as the literature on career development provides little information to determine whether individual definitions of success are supported by organisational interventions.

This study adopts a qualitative case study approach as a valuable way of exploring personal definitions of career success in a specific occupational context. As a result of the issues raised by the literature review, this study aims to explore career success from the perspective of males in the context of female-dominated occupations, to develop an understanding of success and achievement in a context that current literature would suggest is not associated with criteria that is important to males. Furthermore, the case study approach enables an in-depth exploration of success from individual and

organisational perspectives to determine how males achieve success in this context and whether career interventions and development opportunities are effective for supporting this. As a result of the gaps in the literature, the following study aims and research questions will be addressed (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Aims and Research Questions

Aim 1	**Aim 2**
To explore how males in one professional and one non-professional female-dominated occupation define and achieve career success.	To determine which interventions are most effective in enabling males in female-dominated occupations to achieve career success as they define it.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1	**RESEARCH QUESTION 2**	**RESEARCH QUESTION 3**	**RESEARCH QUESTION 4**
How do male primary school teachers and university administrators define career success?	What motivations influence males to enter primary school teaching and university administration?	What are the experiences of male primary school teachers and university administrators in their achievement of success?	Are career interventions available in males' employing organisations and do they help or hinder males to achieve success as they define it?

On the basis of the review of literature in chapter's 2, 3, 4 and 5, the following chapter will discuss the methodology adopted by this research to explore the theme of gender and career success in the context of female-dominated occupations. In chapter 6, the underpinning research philosophy, rationale and procedure will be outlined.

Chapter 6

Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis seeks to explain the methodological approach of this research and the methods that have been utilised. For the purpose of this research the term 'methodology' is used in this chapter to explain the overall theory and approach to research and the term 'method' is used to refer to the actual tools and techniques used to obtain and analyse the data.

The first section of this chapter outlines the research philosophy of this thesis, in which quantitative and qualitative approaches to research in the social sciences are discussed. Traditionally, a quantitative approach has been adopted to research and measure career success, predominantly in the field of occupational psychology. However, following the literature review of this thesis that suggests that success can be specific to different occupational contexts and moreover that male employees define success in a particular way, a qualitative methodology was adopted to explore personal definitions and perspectives of male primary school teachers and administrators in an in-depth case study of career success.

The details of the methodology that has been adopted for this thesis are therefore presented in this chapter, and the philosophical underpinnings of this approach are discussed here. In addition to this, the ethical considerations that relate to the conduct of the research and the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology, methods and study design will be explored.

6.2 Research Philosophy

The philosophical foundations of this research prompts an interesting epistemological and methodological debate. Whilst quantitative and qualitative approaches to research are overarching in the social sciences, a large body of career success research has been conducted in the discipline of occupational psychology, which is heavily embedded in a positivist paradigm. It is acknowledged therefore that the development of epistemology

and methodological approaches over time have emerged from quantitative approaches to study career success. Conversely, although interpretive qualitative approaches are evident in disciplines such as psychology, sociology and business, this methodology has rarely been adopted to explore career success. In order to develop an understanding of the meanings of career success in a specific context, the research is underpinned by a contextualist philosophy (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This encompasses key elements of essentialism and constructionism, by acknowledging the ways in which individuals make meaning of their experiences, as well as the ways in which the broader social context may impinge on those meanings.

6.2.1 Quantitative Vs Qualitative Research

Social sciences have historically constructed themselves with a long history of quantitative data collection and a strong emphasis on the positivist paradigm (McQueen & Knussen, 2006). However, such disciplines have also frequently identified data with characteristics that make them rich in description and open to interpretation, which presents an opposite approach to hypothesis testing (Howitt, 2010). The quantitative and qualitative approaches came about from the positivist and interpretive perspectives. Traditionally, the positivist paradigm encapsulates a belief that researchers should not go beyond the boundaries of what can be observed. In line with this perspective researchers examine phenomena in a quantifiable way, adopting the universal laws of cause and effect.

For example, the hypothetico-deductive method is used in positivist research, in which research questions and hypotheses are generated from pre-existing literature and are then tested using statistical methods. Specifically, quantitative research refers to the systematic empirical investigation of phenomena using statistical techniques (Clark-Carter, 2008). Hypotheses based on existing literature are either accepted or rejected based on the statistical analysis of the data. On this basis the quantitative approach aims to be objective and scientific by controlling variables, establishing statistical significance, and developing theories through the generalisation of findings. With regard to data collection, quantitative research often involves the use of standardised measures to

obtain data, with a strong focus on validity and reliability. In line with a positivist approach, researchers engaging in quantitative research will remain objective to the phenomena under investigation so as not to influence the results (Rogelberg, 2007).

On the other hand, qualitative research has significantly advanced since the 1980s, focusing on the collection of data that is rich in description (Howitt, 2010). Qualitative methods emerged from the interpretive epistemological position, which argues that measuring individuals' behaviour via numbers and statistics reduces phenomena down to a simpler form (Clark-Carter, 2008). In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative researchers will often use methods which aim to gain an account of real-life experiences of individuals, for example in-depth interviews, focus groups, observations and field notes. For qualitative researchers, it is important understand the significance of behaviour by gaining awareness of the meaning it has for participants. Therefore in-depth discussion or observation of behavioural phenomena are beneficial when exploring new areas of research.

Despite the clear distinction between quantitative and qualitative research, it is common for research to adopt a mixed methods approach. In many cases, quantitative and qualitative methods can be seen as two stages of the same piece of research. For example, a qualitative approach can create the basis for phenomena to be explored and hypotheses to be generated, leading to a quantitative investigation of the research question (Clark-Carter, 2008). Moreover it has been suggested that quantitative research is confirmatory and is commonly used for theory verification, whereas qualitative research is exploratory and is often used for theory generation (McQueen & Knussen, 2006).

With regard to the topic of career success, much research has been conducted in the field of occupational psychology specifically (e.g. Ng et al, 2005), where there has been a long history of quantitative methods to study individuals in a work setting in a systematic way (McKenna, 2012). Over time however, there has been a slow but increasing acceptance of the use of qualitative research methods in this field. In particular, many researchers and practitioners in occupational psychology agree that a qualitative approach can be

extremely valuable for certain research questions, to extrapolate the lived experiences and meanings held by the employees themselves (Lewis & Zibarras, 2013). Despite the distinction between quantitative and qualitative approaches continuing to spark debate about the relevance and credibility of methods of knowledge production in the discipline (Bartunek & Seo, 2002; Dachler, 1997; Rynes, 2005), Symon, Buehring, Johnson and Cassell (2008) argue that qualitative research is particularly important for exploring research questions that are embedded in specific contexts.

Overall it is clear from previous research that both qualitative and quantitative methods are valuable. In occupational psychology specifically, the focus on the creditability of quantitative research is beginning to extend to emphasise the value of the qualitative approach (Cassell & Symon, 2011). As such, the literature would suggest that both approaches are appropriate for enabling researchers to explore workplace phenomena in different occupational contexts. For this thesis, a qualitative methodology was adopted for investigating career success from the perspective of male employees in female-dominated occupations. The opportunity to gain detailed insight into the personal definitions of career success from males in this context provides the basis for a valuable contribution to the career success literature, specifically enabling the meanings of career success to be explored, which would be constrained by a quantitative approach. Moreover, this approach would enable a detailed evaluation of career interventions available to male employees and to establish whether or not these help or hinder the achievement of success as they define it.

6.2.2 Exploring and Measuring Career Success

In line with the ongoing debate surrounding quantitative and qualitative methods, empirical research focusing on the measurement and assessment of career success has predominantly adopted a quantitative approach. In previous research, career success has most frequently been assessed using questionnaire surveys, including items that require respondents to rate the importance of success criteria using rating scales and rank order items (for example, Greenhaus et al, 1990; Judge et al, 1994; Kirchmeyer, 1998; Ng et al, 2005). Although this approach enables definitions to be quantified and interpreted in

order of importance, to a certain extent the closed-ended items included in such questionnaire surveys can limit individual definitions of career success from emerging, as identified in chapter 3.

In addition to this, existing measures of career success continue to focus on criteria such as salary, promotions and hierarchy, despite research that demonstrates the impact of organisational changes (Sullivan, 1999), downsizing and restructuring that have occurred over time. As such, current measures of career success may not fully capture a potential shift in focus of individual and organisational perspectives of success. Furthermore, instruments that purport to measure subjective career success often focus solely on career or job satisfaction (e.g. Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Wormley, 1990). However, satisfaction is not the only criteria associated with subjective career success, which limits the study of other subjective criteria. Moreover, criteria such as work-life balance are often not included in measures of career success at all.

As a result of the findings of the literature review, it was suggested that career success can be context specific to different occupations and industries. Furthermore, gender differences in career success indicated that male employees will often value objective indicators of success in contrast to female employees who place greater importance on subjective definitions of career success. Taking this into consideration, generic questionnaire surveys designed to measure career success may not necessarily be applicable to all industries and occupations, or to male and female employees. For example, in the case of the context and structures of different occupations there may be definitions or criteria for career success that are not included in current questionnaire surveys. Similarly, as it has been shown that career success can be perceived differently by male and female employees, existing measures with closed-ended items may not provide the flexibility for individuals to indicate or explain criteria for success that they consider to be important. As a result of this, a qualitative methodology for exploring career success in the context of male employees working in occupations that are female-dominated was thought to be appropriate to determine how career success is defined from a personal perspective in this specific and under-researched context. In particular, occupations that are traditionally female-dominated are not usually associated with the

opportunities for achieving extrinsic success that males are thought to perceive as important, therefore an in-depth exploratory approach is needed to identify criteria for success in this context. The following sections in this chapter outline the rationale for the methodological approach adopted for the study presented in this thesis.

6.3 Rationale of this Research

As previously discussed in the review of the literature, the influence of personal characteristics and occupational context emerged as key themes of the research surrounding careers and career success (McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005; Sargent & Domberger, 2007; Segers et al, 2008; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). Moreover, specific research on gender differences in careers that shows males value objective indicators of career success and females value subjective definitions of success (Ng et al, 2005), does not yet account for individuals who work in male and female-dominated occupations. In light of this, a case study approach has been adopted for this research as it is thought to be a valuable way of exploring personal definitions of career success. In particular, investigating career success from the perspective of males working in two specific female-dominated occupations would provide the basis for understanding how career success is perceived and defined in occupations that are not always associated with the objective indicators of success that are important to males specifically.

Given that the importance of accounting for contextual variables when investigating career attainment emerged as an important theme from the literature review, it was decided that one professional and one non-professional occupation would be included in the case study. By adopting this focus, definitions of career success could be obtained from male employees who have experience of different occupational contexts. For example, professional occupations often have a clear set of necessary qualifications/competencies employees must achieve in order to progress, whereas non-professional occupations may not specify this. In particular, research is yet to explore whether or not career paths in professional and non-professional occupations enable male employees to achieve career success in female-dominated occupations.

94

Primary school teaching was selected for the case study as an example of a professional occupation. Interestingly, the history of the profession has changed considerably over time. In the early 19th century, teachers of young children were predominantly male until the feminisation of primary (known as infant) school teaching in the 1840s (Blythe, 1965). At this time, males were said to be more attracted to 'real professions' in law or in the church, that lead to an increase in female teachers to cope with demand. These reforms also lead to the formalisation of teacher training, as females were considered to be poorly educated in comparison with males, yet in many cases their maternal and nurturing feminine qualities meant they were favoured for roles in this occupation. Professionalisation of teaching continued to develop over time until formal graduate level qualifications were established in the 1960s when undergraduate and postgraduate level qualifications were introduced as a legal requirement for entry into the profession (Hargreaves et al, 2006). By the turn of the 20th century, approximately 75% of primary school teachers were female, which has been a common trend to the present day (Drudy, Martin, Woods & O'Flynn, 2005). However, social attitudes towards teachers shaped by the ideology of the male breadwinner also influenced the unequal pay and promotion opportunities for males and females (Acker, 1983). Although differential pay scales for males and female were removed as a formal barrier to gender inequality in 1962, a counter-argument emerged emphasising a fear that females dominating the profession was detrimental to male students due to the lack of male role models (Riddell et al, 2006), which is a debate that continues today.

Like primary school teaching, administration also has a long history of female-dominance (Williams, 1993), although statistics are ambiguous due to the variety of job titles associated with administration that have changed over time (e.g. secretary, receptionist, clerk, assistant, phone operator). Large numbers of female workers populated office jobs in the 1940s during the war, resulting in feminisation of the occupation (Brown, 1995). Administration as an occupation has since been described as pink-collar work, a term that emerged in the 20th century to describe occupations in the service industry that were traditionally held by females and characterised by low job prospects and low pay (Probert, 1992). Administration is considered to be a non-professional occupation, due to

the varied entry requirements for different roles and responsibilities across a multitude of sectors in which administrators work. Academic or university administration is a key example of where roles and responsibilities are diverse, as employees are responsible for the maintenance and supervision of all departments of an institution, where some administrators may also have joint responsibilities (Association of University Administrators, 2015). For this purpose, university administration was selected as an example of a non-professional occupation in the case study.

Primary school teaching and administration were identified in the Labour Force Survey (2010), which shows employment figures by occupation and gender. The survey includes a breakdown in the number of male and female employees working in each industry, by occupation. Table 6.1 shows that male employees are a minority in primary school teaching and administrative roles in comparison with the number of female employees in line with Bagilhole and Cross (2006) and Williams (1992) definitions of female-dominated occupations. The Labour Force Survey (2010) shows that males represent approximately 12% of primary school teachers and 18% of administrative staff in the UK. It was also identified from the Labour Force Survey (2010) that the statistics describing the number of male employees within primary school teaching and administration did not refer to head teachers in primary schools or managers in administration as these were included in a separate classification. Therefore male head teachers and administrative managers were not included in the study as these occupations were not consistently female-dominated.

Table 6.1 Number of male and female employees in primary school teaching and administration, including full-time, part-time and self-employed (Labour Force Statistics, 2010)

Occupation	Male		Female		Total
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**
Primary and nursery teaching professionals	52,000	12%	380,000	88%	432,000
Administrative	121,000	18%	549,000	82%	670,000

A focused approach will enable an in-depth investigation of this new area of research, allowing hypotheses to be generated from the findings of the case study in this specific context. A case study design is beneficial for initial exploratory research, as opposed to the attempt at making predictions about career success for males in a wide range of female-dominated occupations. Specifically, emphasis will be placed upon the exploration and description of career success in the context of two female-dominated occupations, rather than focusing on generalisability of results. A large volume of literature currently exists on gender differences in career success; therefore the focus of this study was not to make comparisons between male and female definitions of career success. Alternatively the present study aims to critique the literature by comparing the existing research on male career success with personal definitions of career success obtained from male employees in two female-dominated occupations. In addition, one professional and one non-professional occupation were included in the case study to further explore occupational context, in relation to assumptions in the literature about objective criteria for success that is important to males in line with traditional career paths, including hierarchical advancement, number of promotions and level of salary (Ng et al, 2005).

6.3.1 Aims of the Research and Specific Research Questions

The overarching research aims of the study are to establish how males in one professional and one non-professional, female-dominated occupation define and career success, and to determine which interventions are most effective in enabling males in female-dominated occupations to achieve career success as they define it.

The research will be conducted in two phases in order to answer specific research questions (see figure 6.1) related to the exploration of individual definitions of career success and an evaluation of organisational career interventions. Research question 1 aims to explore the criteria used by a sample of male primary school teachers and university administrators in a case study of a professional and non-professional female-dominated occupation to define career success, and to then compare this to existing measures of career success and current literature on career success. This will enable a critique of the literature on the basis of the themes that emerge from research on career paths, which suggest careers and career success are influenced by personal characteristics and occupational context. Further to this, the second research question will focus on establishing whether or not males have achieved career success. Specifically, emphasis will be placed on the process by which males have achieved success or how they hope to achieve success in the future. The third research question will then determine whether or not the personal definitions of career success obtained from male primary school teachers and administrators support the existing literature and measures of career success. In light of this, a framework of career success will be developed that includes criteria for career success, in order to make recommendations for developing future measures of career success, as appropriate. The final research question will form phase 2 of the research in which an evaluation of existing career paths and interventions in male participants' organisations will be conducted to establish whether these help or hinder the achievement of individual definitions of career success and to make recommendations to organisations based on the framework of career success, where appropriate.

Figure 6.1 Study aims and research questions for phase 1 and 2 of the case study

Aim 1	Aim 2
To explore how males in one professional and one non-professional female-dominated occupation define and achieve career success.	To determine which interventions are most effective in enabling males in female-dominated occupations to achieve career success as they define it.

PHASE 1	PHASE 2

RESEARCH QUESTION 1	RESEARCH QUESTION 2	RESEARCH QUESTION 3	RESEARCH QUESTION 4
How do male primary school teachers and university administrators define career success?	What motivations influence males to enter primary school teaching and university administration?	What are the experiences of male primary school teachers and university administrators in their achievement of success?	Are career interventions available in males' employing organisations and do they help or hinder males to achieve success as they define it?

6.4 Method

6.4.1 Case Study Design

A case study is an intensive and focused investigation of an individual person, group or event (Clark-Carter, 2008). It is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context (Yin, 2009). The implication in other methods of research, such as questionnaire surveys, is that large numbers of participants are required for hypotheses and predictions to be accepted. However, under certain circumstances it may be more appropriate to explore a small sample of individuals, or an unusual event that only permits certain individuals to take part in the research. In situations where phenomena have not previously been examined, the case study method can enable an initial in-depth investigation (Flyvberg, 2006), from which hypotheses can be generated and explored more extensively in future research. Adopting a case study

approach can enable researchers to 'close in' on real-life situations and evaluate experiences directly in relation to phenomena as they arise in practice (Flyvbjerg, 2006). As a result of the small sample size associated with case study research there have been a number of criticisms of this approach. Flyvbjerg (2006) identified five common misunderstandings of the case study method:

1. Research findings obtained from a single case cannot be generalised, therefore a case study does not contribute to scientific development;

2. A case study is biased towards the researcher's expectations;

3. It is difficult to summarise and develop general hypotheses or theories on the basis of specific case studies;

4. General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge;

5. A case study is only useful for providing the basis for hypothesis generation in the first stage of a research project.

In an attempt to demonstrate the value of case study research, Flyvbjerg (2006) conducted a review of the literature to address and revise each of the five misunderstandings and oversimplifications about this method of research. It was suggested that it can be more valuable to carefully explore individual or small cases with a specific focus on learning something as opposed to proving something. Furthermore, in quantitative research a single observation that does not fit with the general behaviour of the rest of the sample will often be rejected, whereas adopting an in-depth approach in a case study allows for a closer examination of such 'anomalies'. The narrative outcome as a result of case study research can then develop descriptions and interpretations of the phenomena from a multi-dimensional perspective, for example from the researcher's, participant's and other individuals. On the basis of these findings, the five assumptions/misunderstandings about case study research were revised as follows:

1. Generalisations can be made from case study research as they may be central to scientific developments. The examples that case studies set are often underestimated;

2. A case study is not necessarily influenced by bias any more than other methods of research. Research has shown that the case study actually has a greater bias towards falsification as opposed to verification;

3. Although it can be problematic to summarise a case study, it is thought that this is in relation to the phenomena being studied rather than the case study method itself. It is suggested that it is undesirable to summarise a case study due to the value it brings to the development of research, instead case studies should be read as narratives in their entirety;

4. Context-dependent, practical knowledge can be obtained by exploring 'real-life' situations in-depth;

5. The outcome of a case study is not limited to the generation of hypotheses alone. The interpretation of a case study can provide a unique wealth of information based on the different perspectives from which the case is viewed.

In support of this, Heslin (2005) has argued that researchers need to do a better job of conceptualising and measuring individual views of career success in three distinct ways:

1. Utilising research on what employees want;

2. Attending more to how people in different contexts view their career success;

3. Using more qualitative methods.

Thus, a case study design was adopted primarily because it was congruent with an inductive approach to qualitative data collection, to examine career success and career interventions within the context of one professional and one non-professional female-dominated occupation. In order to address the two overarching aims of the research and answer the four specific research questions (see figure 6.1), the case study was conducted in two phases to encompass key information from individuals and their employing organisations. As a result, phase 1 of the case study was designed to explore how career success is defined and achieved from the perspective of male primary school teachers and university administrators themselves, in order to answer research questions 1-3. Building upon this, phase 2 of the case study was designed to examine what career interventions and support is available in males' employing organisations, to answer

research question 4 by establishing whether or not these are effective in helping males to achieve success as they define it.

6.4.1.1 Case Study Phase 1

Phase 1 of the case study was designed to address the first aim of the research by seeking to explore definitions of career success from an individual perspective and to explore, in-depth, their experiences of how it is achieved. In order to do so, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with male primary school teachers and university administrators to enable males to explain and give context to their own career success criteria (Hennequin, 2007). An overview of the semi-structured interview method is outlined in detail in section 6.4.2 below. To address research question 1, definitions of success obtained from this phase of the case study formed a framework of success to use as a basis for a critique of the career success literature that has a strong focus on assumptions about male career success in line with the categories of objective and subjective criteria.

In order to develop an in-depth understanding of success embedded in the context of both occupations, phase 1 of the case study also aimed to answer research question 2 by exploring career history and personal motivations to enter primary school teaching and university administration; and research question 3, by encouraging males to share their experiences of achieving career success in their current occupations.

6.4.1.2 Case Study Phase 2

Based on the literature reviewed on career success, gender and occupational context in chapters 2, 3 and 4 of the thesis, phase 2 of the case study aimed to address the second aim of the research by examining the career interventions that are available in male participants' employing organisations. A semi-structured interview method was utilised in this phase of the case study to gain valuable information from an organisational level, including the perspective of managers and HR employees who are responsible for supporting career development. The purpose of exploring career interventions in this way

was to build upon individual perspectives of success and achievement in phase 1, by establishing how organisations define successful employees in primary school teaching and university administration and examining what interventions were available to support the achievement of success. Phase 2 therefore enabled comparisons of individual and organisational definitions of success and how this is achieved. To address the fourth and final research question, information obtained from males in phase 1 regarding their experiences of achieving success was considered in line with career interventions that were reported by organisations, in order to evaluate their effectiveness for supporting the achievement of success.

6.4.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative interviews are valuable for researchers who are seeking to understand the experiences, decisions, attitudes and opinions of research participants (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003). In comparison with other qualitative methods of data collection, it is argued that interviews enable researchers to prompt responses to enable participants to explain, elaborate or clarify responses to add depth to the data (Elder & Miller, 1995). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003) also suggest that interviews can lead discussion into areas that the researcher may not have considered, which is valuable for obtaining data that is important for understanding the research topic. In addition, Gillham (2000) emphasises similar benefits of interviewing for participants themselves, in that this method of data collection also enables the participant to hear themselves thinking aloud about things that they may also not have considered previously.

Research interviews have been categorised as structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Newton, 2010). Semi-structured interviews were selected for the present case study in comparison with other approaches. An unstructured approach would have provided less opportunity to focus on defined topics for discussion, relevant to the aims of this research. Notwithstanding, a structured approach would have provided limited flexibility or scope to pursue an interesting and potentially significant line of enquiry that may have emerged unexpectedly.

Previous researchers have successfully used semi-structured interviews as an effective means of researching careers in depth and contributing key discoveries to the existing literature (e.g. Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; Mallon & Cohen, 2001; Smith-Ruig, 2008). Therefore, this interviewing technique was adopted accordingly in phase 1 and 2 of the case study.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on occasions that were mutually convenient for the participants and the researcher. In phase 1 of the case study, semi-structured interviews often took place in a classroom setting at the end of the school day for male primary school teachers, and in privately booked rooms at universities for male administrators. For a small number of participants, interviews were conducted at a local café for convenience. Semi-structured interview durations lasted between 16.29-57.02 minutes for male university administrators and 15.35-47.56 minutes for male primary school teachers. Interviews included 16 items and were structured in 4 sections to facilitate discussion about careers and career success (see figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Semi-structured interview schedule implemented in phase 1

---

1. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION AND CAREER HISTORY

1. Talk to me about your current post and what it involves.
2. How long have you been working in your current post?
3. Why did you choose to work in your current occupation?
   - Talk me through your career to date
4. Have you had a career plan/path you've hoped to follow?
5. Do you have any specific career goals you hope to achieve now?
   - Do you have any career goals set by your organisation?
6. What is your current level of education?
   - Has this helped/will this help you to achieve your career goals?
7. Is your current role important to your overall career goals?

---

2. CAREER SUCCESS

8. What does career success mean to you/how would you define success for you personally?
9. How do you plan to achieve career success/how have you achieved career success?
10. Do you feel that your definition(s) of career success is similar or different to your colleagues?
11. Is whole-life success important to you as well as success in your career?

---

3. EXPERIENCE, CHALLENGES AND BENEFITS

12. What is your experience of being a male employee in a female-dominated occupation?
    - Has this had any impact on your idea of career success?
    - Has this helped/hindered you in achieving career success?
13. Can you think of any challenges or barriers you have faced/might face in achieving success?
    - How do you think you will be able to overcome this?
14. Can you think of any benefits or things that will help/have helped you to achieve success?

---

4. ORGANISATIONAL SUPPORT

15. Do you know if your current occupation offers any support to employees to help them to achieve career success?
    - Have you ever used any of these facilities or career support available to help you achieve success?
    - Did these help or hinder you to achieve success?
16. In your opinion, is there a career path in place in your organisation?

In phase 2, semi-structured interviews were also conducted on the basis of mutual convenience between organisational representatives and the researcher. Interviews

either took place in private rooms booked on each of the university campuses or in private offices of employees from primary schools.

Items included in the semi-structured interviews were developed on the basis of the literature reviewed in chapters 2-5. A total of 11 items were included in the interview schedule, referring to careers and interventions in place in organisations that support employees to achieve success (see figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 Semi-structured interview schedule implemented in phase 2

CAREER INTERVENTIONS AND ORGANISATIONAL SUPPORT

1. What is your/your department's role in this organisation?
2. How does/do you think your organisation defines careers?
3. Do you think career development is the responsibility of the organisation or the individual?
4. How do you/do you think this organisation would define a successful employee?
5. What do you/does your department do to support employees in their career in this organisation?
- Why do you have this specific selection of activities/opportunities for employees?
6. Do you have career support activities/opportunities for different departments/employees specifically?
- What opportunities/activities do you have to support administrative employees?
- Do you think these activities may help administrative employees to achieve career success?
7. How do employees/administrative employees access these opportunities/activities?
8. Do you follow-up or evaluate the impact/effectiveness of the career opportunities/activities?
9. Can you think of any challenges this organisation may have faced in terms of the career support it has to offer employees?
10. What would you say the main/key benefits are of the career support this organisation has to offer?
11. Is there anything you'd like to see this organisation doing to support employees in their careers that it doesn't already do?

In phase 2, semi-structured interviews lasted between 22.01-37.43 minutes.

6.4.3 Participants

The term 'sampling' often refers to the process by which a group of individuals are selected to be representative of a population. In qualitative research, the approach to sampling is quite different, in that individuals that will contribute the most to theory development and from which the researchers will learn the most, are selected to participate in research (Howitt, 2010; Patton, 2002). Therefore, a purposive approach to

sampling is common in qualitative research, as opposed to other sampling techniques such as probability and random sampling, in which individuals who share the same characteristics or traits are sought to take part to contribute rich cases that provide the greatest potential for generating insight about the phenomenon of interest, career success. When adopting this method of sampling, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that the researcher must seek out groups and settings in which the phenomena being studied are most likely to occur. In relation to this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with male administrative employees working in a higher education setting and male primary school teachers. Primary school teaching was identified as an example of a professional female-dominated occupation, as it is associated with a more traditional linear career path, in comparison with university administration, a non-professional female-dominated occupation, in which there are a variety of administrative roles and career paths are less clear.

Initial interviews were conducted in phase 1 of the case study after gaining organisational consent from local primary schools and universities. Further to this, organisational networks were utilised to invite male primary school teachers and university administrators to take part in the study. A similar approach was adopted to invite organisational representatives to take part in phase 2 of the case study, in which organisations identified individuals involved in the implementation of career interventions, including managers and employees from personnel departments.

In contrast to quantitative research in which power calculations are utilised to determine sample sizes, Patton (2002) suggests that sample sizes for qualitative research are determined when data saturation is reached. This refers to the point at which additional participants or data no longer bring new information that encourages the refinement of the analysis, and nothing new is being learnt by continuing with data collection (Howitt, 2010). Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe data saturation as the point where no new information is forthcoming from new participants. Therefore, data saturation can serve as a means of deciding when no further participants need to be recruited to a study. Following guidance from the literature (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002;

Howitt, 2010) interviewing in phase 1 continued until data saturation was reached for each occupation included in the case study. In total, n=34 semi-structured interviews were conducted with male participants from n=8 primary schools and n=3 universities (including n=15 primary school teachers and n=19 university administrators from registry services, finance, personnel, international, quality, research, communications, and subject faculty departments). Male primary school teachers were aged between 22-42 years (M=31.2; SD=6.2) and had been working in their current posts for an average of 3.68 years (SD=4.9) (see table 6.2). Male university administrators had an age range of 22-50 years (M=35.46; SD=8.12) and had been working in their current posts for an average of 4.22 years (SD=4.09) (see table 6.3).

Table 6.2 Demographic information of male primary school teachers (phase 1)

No.	Current Role	Years in post	Age	Experience
PT004	Year 5 class teacher and e-learning safety co-ordinator	19	42	Previously a year 4 class teacher and ICT co-ordinator at the same school.
PT006	Year 2 class teacher	0.5	25	First appointment since studying PGCE.
PT008	Year 5 class teacher and year 6 PE teacher	4	29	First appointment since studying PGCE.
PT009	Private primary school tutor	1.4	39	Worked as a gardener and assisting with car repairs in a garage before completing a graduate teacher programme. Experience of running development workshops and one-to-one tutoring with primary school students.
PT010	Class teacher	3	27	First appointment since studying PGCE.
PT011	PPA cover tutor – ICT and PE across all year groups 1-6	1	35	Previously taught science and PE at middle school until 3 tier education system was removed.
PT018	Reception class teacher	2	33	Previously a numeracy co-ordinator at a larger primary school, until responsibilities changed as a result of a restructure.
PT019	NQT (year 5 class teacher)	1.2	32	Previous experience of sports coaching in schools prior to studying PGCE.
PT020	Year 6 class teacher and maths co-ordinator	11	37	Previous experience of PSHE co-ordinator and eco-schools responsibilities at the same school.

PT021	Year 4 teacher and PSHE co-ordinator	4	26	First appointment since studying PGCE.
PT030	Assistant Headteacher (Head of Key stage 2) and maths co-ordinator	1.4	40	Previous experience of 3 primary schools, a class teacher for a variety of year groups and co-ordinator for maths and science.
PT032	Year 1 class teacher and special needs co-ordinator	6	28	Previous experience as year 3 class teacher, and geography, modern foreign language co-ordinator at the same school.
PT033	Year 5 teacher, head of IT and IT technician	6	28	Previous experience as year 4 class teacher at the same school.
PT034	NQT	0.5	25	First appointment since studying PGCE.
PT035	NQT	0.5	22	First appointment since studying PGCE.

Table 6.3 Demographic information of male university administrators (phase 1)

No.	Current Role	Years in post	Age	Experience
UA001	Finance Administrator	3	31	Completed undergraduate degree in Business and IT and worked as a Purchase Ledger for an energy company after graduating.
UA002	Administrative Assistant in Registry Services	3	35	Completed undergraduate degree in Sociology and History and gained 14 years of administrative experience since graduating.
UA003	Administrative Assistant in Registry Services	6	40	Completed A Level qualifications at college. Qualified as a Hairdresser. Gained administrative experience from covering reception duties for staff absence. Completed an NVQ in Business Administration and went on to work in administrative roles for 19 years.
UA005	Team Leader for Postgraduate Courses in Registry Services	5	40	20 years experience of private and public sector organisations, including book keeping, credit control, telesales and administration.
UA007	Assistant Accountant	3	30	Completed undergraduate degree in Business Studies. Worked as a Teaching Assistant with a view to undertaking a PGCE but took a role in marketing administration after 12 months instead. Began undertaking a qualification in

				management accounting and accepted current role in finance administration for experience.
UA012	Projects Support Administrator in Business and Innovation Support Team	1	26	9 years experience of working in administration for a local city council.
UA013	Administrative Co-ordinator for Placements in Faculty of Nursing and Midwifery	7	32	Experience of temporary administrative roles in the same university.
UA014	Customer Contact Centre Officer in Recruitment and Admissions	1.5	30	Completed undergraduate degree in Sports Studies and worked as a professional football player for 5 years. Sustained injury preventing a career in football, therefore accepted an administrative role in a call centre and worked towards management level responsibilities for 3 years before accepting current role.
UA015	Timetabling Assistant in Faculty of Arts, Media and Design	4	30	Experience of working in hospitality during undergraduate degree in Hospitality and Leisure Management. Accepted a temporary administrative role at the same university for 6 months and became a permanent member of staff thereafter.
UA016	Administrator for Business School Research Centre	5	39	Experience of temporary administrative roles at the same university for 9 years before accepting current role.
UA017	Senior Administrator in Computing Faculty	16	42	6 years experience of working in temporary administrative roles before accepting current role.
UA022	Administrative Officer in Registry and Marketing	1	50	Co-owned a marketing and communications company that went into administration during economic downturn. Accepted administrative role at university as 6 months maternity cover, until role became permanent.
UA023	Research Office Administrator in Graduate School	3	50	Undertook several temporary administrative roles at the same university for 4 years after being made redundant from role as a commercial account manager.

UA024	Visit and Recruitment Co-ordinator in School and College Liaison Service	0.5	24	Previous experience of working as Student Ambassador at University, before accepting current role.
UA025	Administrator in Communications and Development Department	1	26	Completed undergraduate degree in History of Politics and sought a career in RAF but was unsuccessful due to injury. Worked in an administrative role at the same university for 6 months before accepting current role.
UA026	Senior Administrator for Electronic Resources in Media Faculty	10	38	Completed undergraduate degree in media and film and accepted a 6 month temporary contract in administration at the same university before the role became permanent.
UA027	Recruitment Officer in International Office	2	25	Completed undergraduate degree in journalism and worked as a Student Ambassador at the same university. Accepted a role as a Student Advisor after graduating before achieving a promotion to current role.
UA028	Assistant Quality Officer	3	30	Completed a PGCE but had difficulty finding a role that specialised in History. Worked in a variety of temporary administrative roles before accepting a permanent contract at the university.
UA029	Senior International Officer in International Recruitment Office	6	33	3 years experience of marketing administration and schools liaison at the same university.

In phase 2 of the case study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from n=4 of the primary schools and n=2 of the universities who took part in phase 1. The sample included n=13 organisational representatives in total and data saturation was reached following interviews with n=1 Head Teacher, n=2 Deputy Head Teachers and n=1 member of Senior Leadership Team from primary schools, and n=4 personnel employees and n=5 managers from universities (see table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Demographic information of organisational representatives (phase 2)

No.	Current Role	Responsibilities
Representatives from Primary Schools		
006i	Deputy Head Teacher	Responsible for CPD in the school.
007i	Deputy Head Teacher	Co-ordinates CPD for staff in the school.
008i	Head Teacher	Responsible for day-to-day management of the school, including development of staff.
013i	Member of SLT	Responsible for assisting SLT with implementing staff development.
Representatives from Universities		
001i	Deputy Director of Personnel	Responsible for co-ordinating recruitment and selection in the university.
002i	Professional Development Manager	Responsible for planning and delivering courses for academic and support staff.
003i	Personnel Advisor	Responsible for delivering training, dealing with grievances and conducting exit interviews.
004i	Director of Leadership Development Group and Personal Coach	Developed and delivers the university leadership development programme. Provides coaching for staff and delivers training for coaches.
005i	Personnel and Training Officer	Responsible for designing, delivering and evaluating training and induction for staff in the university. Contact person for supporting staff who are undertaking their first degree at the university.
009i	Principal Accountant and Team Manager	Qualified Accountant responsible for strategy and operations in finance. Line manages a small team of sales and credit control staff in finance department. Conducts appraisals, monitors probation, leads team meetings and supports staff development.
010i	Principal Accountant	Qualified Accountant responsible for financial systems, processes and procedures. Supervises the procurement team, identifies staff for promotion and development opportunities.
011i	Head of Corporate Relations, Department of Marketing and PR	Manages team of line managers in marketing and PR. Conducts appraisals, delivers management meetings, and focuses on developing employees' knowledge of corporate and social responsibility.
012i	Academic Support Unit Manager	Oversees the recruitment and development of administrative staff and management of workloads. Manages administrative team leaders within the faculty.

6.4.4 Materials

Participants were contacted using an informal, standardised invitation sent via email. Information detailing the purpose of the study was included to ensure male primary school teachers, university administrators and organisational representatives were aware of what their participation would entail. The contact details of the researcher were also included in the email so that males and organisational representatives who were happy to take part were able to arrange a suitable date and time for an interview directly with the researcher.

A standardised script was read aloud before each semi-structured interview to reiterate the purpose of the study and to outline the ethical principles of the research including confidentiality, anonymity and the participants' right to withdraw.

The semi-structured interview schedule developed for phase 1 of the case study consisted of 16 open-ended items that were categorised under 4 sub-headings including, demographic information and career history; career success; experience, challenges and benefits; and organisational support. To maintain flexibility of participants' responses, the researcher also prepared a series of prompts to use where appropriate to facilitate a rich and detailed discussion of careers and career success in each interview.

6.4.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical guidelines attempt to find the rules for judging the rightness or wrongness of research conduct (Stanley, Seiber & Melton, 1996). Research ethics in psychology are guided by the British Psychological Society (BPS) (2009) code and ethics of conduct and have a strong focus on consent, confidentiality, deception, right to withdraw and protection from harm. In qualitative research specifically, the raw data or information collected for studies is an individual's own words, actions, or observable behaviour, which often results in the handling of more sensitive data than is usually obtained from questionnaire surveys for example (Boyatzis, 1998). Most importantly, the anonymity and confidentiality of participants must be protected so that individuals cannot be identified

from written information or the final project report once the research is complete (Fisher & Vacanti-Shova, 2012).

The case study was reviewed and granted approval by the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Worcester. Ethical guidelines were adhered to throughout the duration of the case study, with a specific focus on ensuring the anonymity and protection of the research participants and organisations who took part. Initial consent was sought from primary schools and universities in order to approach male primary school teachers, university administrators and employees involved in career development (see appendix 1). An email inviting males to take part in phase 1 of the case study and to managers and personnel staff identified by organisations to take part in phase 2 was then sent (see appendix 2). Consent to take part in the case study was assumed if male primary school teachers, university administrators and organisational representatives responded to the email of invitation expressing agreement to participate. Participants were made aware that the semi-structured interviews were linked to PhD research and no other individual or organisation had a vested interest in the study.

The semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded for transcription purposes and data collected from each interview was coded to maintain anonymity using pseudonyms to protect the identity of participants and their employing organisations. All participants were made aware of the intention to audio-record the interviews at the point of invitation and that information discussed would form part of a written PhD thesis. Participants were also advised of their right to withdraw from the study at any point, with emphasis on the procedure to follow if they wished to withdraw after they had taken part in a semi-structured interview. Following participation, it was explained that participants could request a summary of the case study findings at a later date and that no identifiable information would be shared with their employing organisations. The above ground rules were reiterated prior to commencing each interview and consent was confirmed providing participants were happy to continue.

It was acknowledged that discussion of topics related to career success may be considered sensitive by some individuals, for which the provision of anonymity was

emphasised as protection from harm, in addition to information of support services participants could be referred to.

6.5 Data Analysis

6.5.1 Thematic Analysis

Approaches to qualitative analysis are profoundly diverse, complex and distinct (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Qualitative methods can be divided in to two broad categories; those that are associated with a particular theoretical or epistemological position, and those that are independent of theory and epistemology therefore can be applied across a range of approaches (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, methods including conversation analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis have a limited variability in how they can be applied, as one procedure guides the analysis. Others however, including grounded theory and discourse analysis, have different forms of the same method within a broad theoretical framework (Howitt, 2010). In addition to this, some methods can be applied across a range of theoretical approaches, including thematic analysis, which can be used with both essentialist and constructionist paradigms in psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In light of this, Holloway and Todres (2003) argue that thematic analysis is the key approach to analysis that all qualitative researchers should learn as it provides core skills that provide a valuable basis for other methods of qualitative analysis to be conducted. Many researchers further suggest that thematic analysis is particularly suited to exploratory qualitative research as a result of the flexibility to uncover diverse and complex discoveries, so much so that it should be considered a method, rather than an approach to analysis, in its own right (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

For this reason, thematic analysis was adopted to analyse the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with male primary school teachers, university administrators and organisational representatives, to explore career success and career interventions in this context. This method of analysis was particularly suited to the present case study in order to provide a rich, detailed and complex account of the data. An inductive or 'bottom up' approach was adopted for the coding of the data, in which patterns identified are led by

the data itself. As career success of males is yet to be explored in the context of female-dominated occupations, this approach to thematic analysis was adopted to interpret the data without linking it to theoretical expectations, in order to conduct a systematic critique of the literature on gender and career success.

In phase 2, thematic/content analysis was conducted to explore themes relating to career interventions and success. Evaluation of this data in line with themes obtained from male participants was conducted by comparing personal definitions of success to the career interventions available, to determine whether or not current interventions help or hinder males from achieving career success as they define it.

Thematic analysis is a method for systematically identifying, organising and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is a form of pattern recognition within qualitative data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The process of deriving themes from textual data and illustrating these with some representational tool is well established in qualitative research (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Qualitative researchers frequently comment on the advantages of using thematic analysis, in that it enables researchers to find the skills required to conduct thematic analysis as an important foundation for learning the skills and techniques required to engage in other methods of qualitative data analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) outline two main reasons for researchers to use thematic analysis for qualitative data, including accessibility and flexibility. For example, it provides the basis for researchers new to qualitative methods to learn the techniques of coding and analysing qualitative data in a systematic way, which can then be linked to a broader theoretical or epistemological position. In this way, thematic analysis worked in the reverse order in comparison with other qualitative methods that often require researchers to be familiar with theoretical perspectives prior to exploration of data. Similarly, in terms of flexibility, thematic analyses can be conducted in a number of different ways. For example, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest a six-phase approach, Attride-Stirling (2001) put forward six steps to constructing thematic networks, and Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) demonstrate six stages to the initial coding of data. Each approach is similar in that

emphasis is placed on the process of becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, and developing and naming themes. However, there are also different ways of conducting each stage of thematic analysis, for example, an inductive ('bottom up') approach can be adopted for coding data in which coding is driven by the data itself so that interpretations made by the researcher closely match the content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In contrast, a deductive ('top down') approach to coding can also be adopted in which the researcher brings ideas and concepts to code and interpret the data.

A six-phase approach to thematic analysis was adopted based on the work of Braun and Clarke (2006), to ensure analysis of the interview data followed a systematic and rigorous process of coding and theme development (see table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Six phase approach to thematic analysis (adapted from Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Phase	Process of Thematic Analysis
Phase 1: Familiarising with the data	The researcher spent time reading and re-reading interview transcripts and re-listening to audio-recordings of each interview. During this process of becoming familiar with the data, brief annotations were made in order to begin to understand the data beyond the surface meaning of the physical words on the transcripts.
Phase 2: Generating initial codes	The process of developing initial codes enabled the researcher to identify labels for distinct features of the data that were relevant to the research question. For example, the codes provided a description or interpretation of the content of the data. An initial code was assigned each time a piece of data was identified as potentially relevant to the research question. In contrast to line-by-line coding, the researcher focused on inclusivity at this stage, resulting in the production of codes for large and small chunks of data. Each code was noted down and the relevant extract of data associated with the code was recorded.
Phase 3: Searching for themes	Following the development of codes, it was then possible to begin to identify patterns (areas of similarity and overlap) in the data by grouping important codes together to create themes

	relevant to the research question. Engaging in theme development was regarded as an active process, as themes and sub-themes were constructed by the researcher, as opposed to being discovered. At the end of this process, themes were arranged into a thematic map ready for review and data extracts were sorted into their respective themes and sub-themes.
Phase 4: Reviewing potential themes	Once themes were outlined in a map, a careful process of quality reviewing was conducted. It was important to review each theme against the extracted data to ensure each theme was meaningful and relevant to the data. At this point, some codes were relocated to other themes and theme boundaries were refined to create a distinctive set of themes that worked in relation to the coded data extracts.
Phase 5: Defining and naming themes	In order to test the specificity and uniqueness of themes, a short summary was written for each theme to ensure they were focused, related but not overlapped, and not repetitive. Furthermore, it was also important to ensure themes were directly related to the research question. In light of this, themes could be named according to their specific focus and extracts of data selected to aid the structure of the analysis in the written report.
Phase 6: Producing the report	The purpose of the thesis was to document an account of the data based on the analysis, going beyond description to present an argument that answers the research question.

Each of the interviewees' data was transcribed and collated into an MS Excel document for each occupation. In both cases, the interview questions were removed, leaving only the spoken words of each participant. Interview transcripts from phase 1 and 2 of the case study were analysed over a period of several months, in which the researcher adopted a strategy of highlighting sections of the dialogue for further detailed examination. This process involved intense review on a cyclical, iterative basis, in which codes were developed to describe specific patterns identified in the data. An example of the coding process is illustrated in a sample section from an interview transcript obtained from phase 1 of the case study in figure 6.4 below.

Figure 6.4 Example of coding from sample interview transcript

[PT018] I think most people would define it as a label, as an ofsted, an observation or an LEA review. I mean I've worked in schools where there have been special measures, not because of me, but to help and support and touch-wood so far whenever an ofsted has come in we've done really really well. Part of me thinks my luck is going to run out sooner or later! You know, you put the hard work in. I'd always suggest if someone came in to do an observation and they give you some criteria, fine... i'd argue more now that what I see and what they see are two different things because of the way that I view early years and the way that they view early years, and that's to do with what my knowledge and understanding of what early years is, i'd perhaps argue that other peoples isn't as good as mine but I live and breathe it everyday and I can boringly recite the curriculum because I know it. So I think on that basis **I'd have to say it was those lesson observations**. **I think as well it is having happy and confident children**. We did a graduation last year where they did all the work and it was a years worth of work for us, for just 2 minutes for them to stand up on stage by themselves and sing or do whatever they wanted to in front of hundreds of parents, **so that makes me think that we're doing things in the right way, so that's a success. And the fact that the parents like the way we do things.** So **there's lots of different things mixed in, my perfect answer would be happy children but actually for yourself, you want to know you are doing a good job by someone coming in and saying this is good, this is outstanding or this is unsatisfactory** and then I can argue the case! Or if they think it is outstanding and I don't I can argue the case why it wasn't. But I think you look at those generic labels really, because **having a new class each year, I mean I have forgotten my first class and I'm sure they have forgotten me, so from that point of view it is hard to gage back then whether I did a good job as I am doing now,** so it's a mixture of things I think.	Perception of others' views of success as objective Outcome of lesson observations = success Success reflected in children's happiness Positive feedback/recognition from parents Acknowledgement of achievement of success as ongoing/diverse

In the above extract, a variety of criteria for success were identified during the coding process from one male primary school teacher. Several patterns that emerged in this example of the data illustrate the complexity of defining success, as criteria are described interchangeably and the fluid nature of achieving success is acknowledged. The process of coding including reading, familiarising, re-reading, highlighting extracts, reviewing extracts, issuing codes and reviewing codes, continued until data saturation was reached.

In phase 1 of the case study, the interview transcripts were analysed in line with the key topic areas of discussion outlined in figure 6.2. This process resulted in the development

of 78 codes that formed the basis for the construction of 9 key themes of definitions of career success; 7 key themes constructed from 29 codes related to career history and motivations; and 4 key themes constructed from 62 codes to describe challenges and benefits of achieving success in primary school teaching and university administration (see appendix 5).

In phase 2 of the case study, the same detailed process of coding was adopted to examine how organisations defined success for employees and whether or not there were challenges and benefits associated with current career interventions. Incorporation of data from phase 1 and 2 at this stage was beneficial for conducting a detailed evaluation of career interventions, therefore the analysis included consideration of whether or not career interventions were effective for supporting the achievement of career success defined by male primary school teachers and university administrators in phase 1. Thirty codes were identified from the interview transcripts with organisational representatives, which enabled the construction of 4 key themes including individual vs organisational definitions of success; positive investment in people; promotion of supportive work environments; and organisational barriers to the success of career interventions (see appendix 5).

6.5.2 Content Analysis

Whilst thematic analysis was conducted in phase 1 and 2 of the case study to explore career success and experiences of career interventions in depth, it seemed clear that this approach would be unsuitable for initial identification of specific career interventions reported by males and organisational representatives from both contexts. Rather, the first approach to achieving this was to undertake a simple content analysis. Many researchers consider content analysis as an important qualitative method, involving the reflexive analysis of documents through the categorisation of words and phrases according to their meaning (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Silverman, 1993). It is acknowledged that categorisation of words will therefore often involve a quantitative strategy, however this is not to suggest the research seeks to demonstrate validity or generalizability, as this is not consistent with the underpinning epistemological and methodological approach of

the case study. On the other hand, content analysis consistent with a qualitative approach has the potential to contribute valuable insight and understanding of the opportunities available to males in the context of primary school teaching and university administration. Thus, it was concluded that this approach was congruent with a qualitative research study.

In phase 2 of the research, content analysis was conducted using key literature reviewed as part of chapter 5 as a basis for identifying career intervention terms (e.g. Baruch, 2006; Cappelli, 2004; Sampson, McClain, Mush & Reardon, 2012; Wils, Guerin & Bernard, 1993). Interview transcripts of organisational representatives obtained in phase 2 were reviewed to identify career interventions reported by organisational representatives by highlighting key terms. Similarly, as part of this evaluation phase, male perceptions of career interventions that were available to them were also analysed using this strategy. In total, 97 terms were identified from the transcripts, which were categorised by training and development opportunities; indicators of work performance; job entitlements; and mentoring and coaching.

A content analysis was also conducted to accompany themes that emerged related to career history and motivations of males. This strategy was adopted to identify educational attainments of male primary school teachers and university administrators in phase 1 of the case study.

6.5.3 Considerations of Reliability and Validity

Although the terms reliability and validity are strongly associated with quantitative research, Creswell and Miller (2000) emphasise the importance of establishing the credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative data. It has been suggested that qualitative studies should adopt at least two of the following techniques in order to demonstrate this outcome;

1. Prolonged engagement
2. Persistent observation
3. Triangulation

4. Peer debriefing

5. Negative case analysis

6. Member checking

7. Thick description

8. External audits

During the process of analysis, the researcher's coding and interpretations were considered via independent audit (8) conducted by the supervisory team. Discussions about each theme took place with the researcher to assess explanations and distinctiveness of themes and to ensure theme labels were appropriate and effective to reflect their intended meaning. Feedback from these discussions informed the development and revision of themes in Braun and Clarke's (2006) phase 4 and 5 of the thematic analysis and encouraged summative reflection upon how the data has contributed to answering each of the study research questions. Triangulation (3) of information resulted from the design of phase 1 and phase 2 of the case study, as perspectives from the individual (male employees) and the organisational level (HR and managerial representatives) were obtained in the research interviews. Furthermore, relevant research evidence and theory was cited to support information obtained from interviews from a diverse range of literature. Finally, peer debrief (4) was utilised in this process in the form of feedback received from presentations at a number of national conferences and peer reviewed publications (see appendix 6).

6.6 Reflections on Methodology and Methods

When conducting qualitative research, emphasis is placed on the importance of understanding potential biases, attitudes, values and perceptions the researcher may bring to the research process. Hesse-Biber (2007) defines this important process as reflexivity. In other words, reflexivity encourages the researcher to consider the implications of the knowledge they create in terms of procedures of data collection, the biases they bring to the topic under investigation and the potential impact of their presence in the research setting (Howitt, 2010). Willig (2008) suggests that there are two forms of reflexivity involved in qualitative research, including personal and epistemological. Personal reflexivity refers specifically to the influence of the researcher's

personal characteristics, life experiences, political views, biases, attitudes and beliefs, and involves an awareness of the influence that the research has on the researcher as well as the influence the researcher brings to the topic under investigation. With regard to the conduct of this research specifically, the theme of gender in relation to success and occupational context was important to consider. In the design stage of this case study it was acknowledged that a female researcher conducting interviews with male participants about their definitions of success and experiences of a female-dominated occupation may influence participant responses. Whilst the researcher was knowledgeable of assumptions about gender and success in the literature, motivations to conduct the research were influenced by a background in applying qualitative methods to the study of occupational psychology to explore individual experiences. Therefore, whilst the researcher was mindful that gender could influence the research interview itself, it is important to note that interviews were approached with an open mind and a keen interest in what would be discovered in this occupational context, in order to build new understandings that potentially connect with existing knowledge.

Burr (2003) highlights the importance of reflexivity as a means of drawing attention to the fact that when an individual gives an account of an event, that account is simultaneously a description of the event and part of the event because of the constitutive nature of talk. Semi-structured interviews were therefore an important way of exploring success as the researcher was able to prepare questions that enabled flexibility of responses. In preparation for these interviews, it was important to focus on gaining trust, building rapport and showing sensitivity to the perspective and context of participants, given the prominent theme of gender in the research topic and in the relationship between researcher and participants. Semi-structured interviews therefore enabled the inclusion of a range of open-ended items to encourage participants to discuss information that was important to them and minimise any potential preoccupations of the researcher (Smith, 2008). Interviewing participants in a semi-structured way contributed to the construction of meaning as a result of talk between the participants and the researcher (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). This approach continued in the analysis stage of the research, where complexities and inconsistencies in the data were recognised and reported in the analysis to demonstrate that interpretations were

sensitive to how accounts of experiences are a process of building understanding rather than an established truth, which could have been subject to rationalisations or socially acceptable responses.

In addition to personal considerations, epistemological reflexivity enabled the researcher to reflect on the underlying assumptions of the research that contribute to the way the researcher thinks about the research question and findings. Familiarity with the existing literature was particularly valuable for developing the research questions of this case study that aim to address gaps in current understanding of gender and success, as this knowledge provides the basis for comparisons and explanations that may help to interpret findings, rather than to influence perceptions about males in this context. Complex themes that emerged from the analysis can be explained in line with existing literature, which goes some way to demonstrate the reliability and validity of the case study.

The reflexive approach to the research process demonstrates a key awareness of the methodology and ontology of the research process and how this shaped the case study. Consideration of the researcher forming part of the case study enabled development of the organisational practice of the researcher.

6.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided details of philosophical underpinnings of the research including the methodological approach and methods used to conduct the research, with a rationale for the adoption of each. Particular consideration has been paid to the historical use of quantitative methods to research and measure career success and how the emerging acceptance of qualitative methods in this area would be particularly valuable for key disciplines concerned with this topic. The specific research objectives and procedure for conducting phase 1 and 2 of the case study is explained in line with research evidence reviewed in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5. Furthermore, the six-phase approach to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) used to explore the data is outlined.

The following chapter documents themes surrounding definitions of career success specifically from male primary school teachers and university administrators. It presents each theme as a framework, followed by an interpretation of the data with examples of anonymous quotes from the interview transcripts.

Chapter 7

Phase 1 - Interpretation of Findings:
How do males in primary school teaching and university administration define career success?

7.1 Definitions of Career Success from Male Primary School Teachers and University Administrators

This chapter presents the findings of the thematic analysis of phase 1 of the case study to address research question 1: how do male primary school teachers and university administrators define career success? Thematic analysis was conducted to explore patterns in the interview data that were identified to be related to key definitions and criteria for success in each of the occupations. Findings of this in-depth exploration revealed five key themes to define career success of male primary school teachers and four key themes to define career success of male university administrators (see figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Structure of themes of career success of male primary school teachers and administrators.
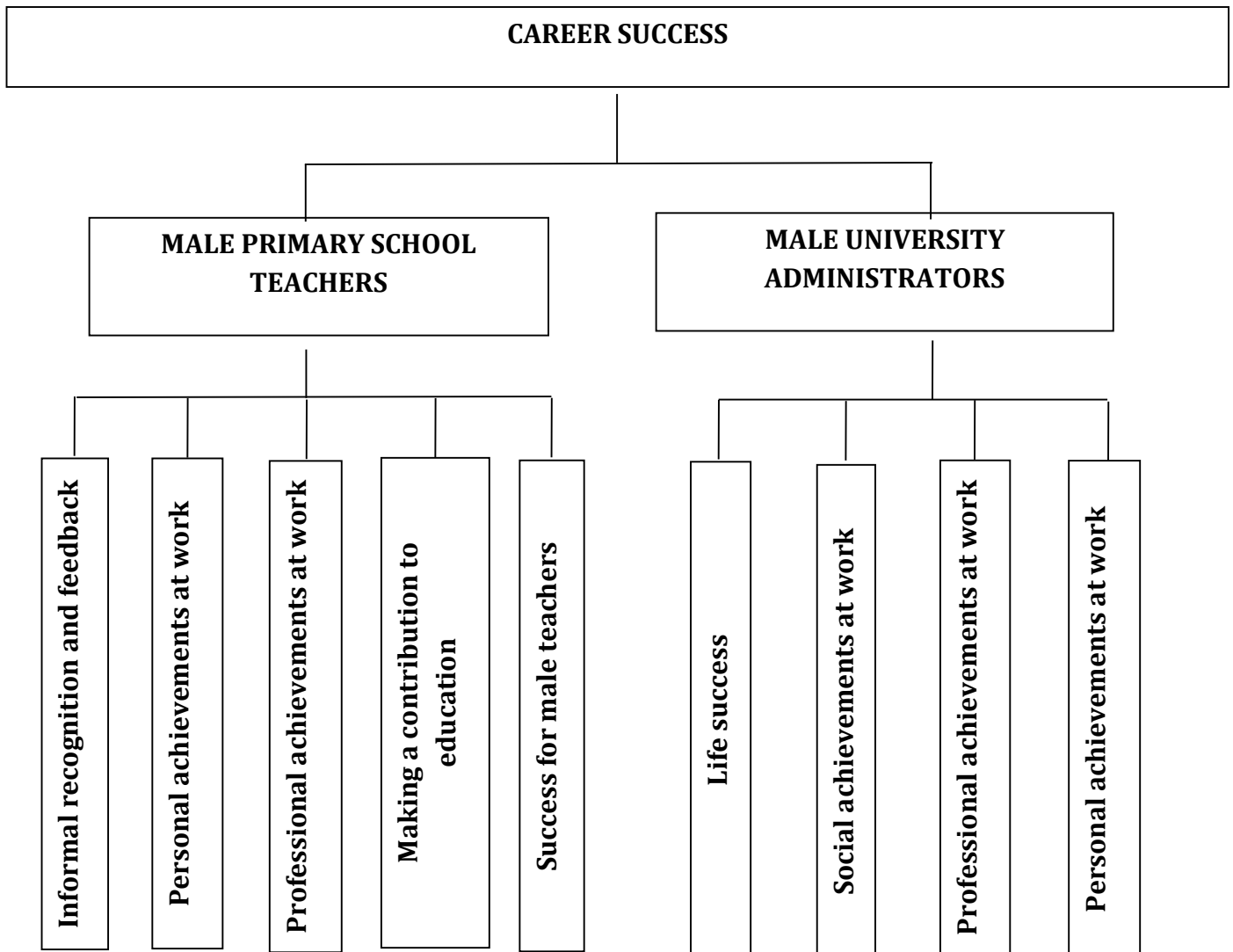
7.2 Career Success of Male Primary School Teachers

Thematic analysis of the interview data revealed five key themes that define career success of male primary school teachers including:

1. Informal recognition and feedback
2. Personal achievements at work
3. Professional achievements at work

4. Making a contribution to education

5. Success for male teachers

These five themes are discussed in detail below, including an illustration of sub-themes and key quotations from male primary school teachers.

7.2.1 THEME 1: Informal Recognition and Feedback

Figure 7.2 Informal recognition and feedback

```
              ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
              │   THEME 1: Informal Recognition and Feedback │
              └─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                              │
        ┌─────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┐
┌───────────────────────┐                   ┌────────────────────────────────┐
│ Positive Informal      │                   │ Informal Recognition of Good Work │
│ Feedback               │                   │                                │
└───────────────────────┘                   └────────────────────────────────┘
        │                                              │
    ┌───┴────┐                                  ┌──────┴───────┐
┌────────┐ ┌────────┐                      ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
│ From    │ │ From    │                     │ From      │ │ From Head     │
│ parents │ │ children│                     │ colleagues│ │ Teacher and   │
└────────┘ └────────┘                      └──────────┘ │ management    │
                                                         └──────────────┘
```
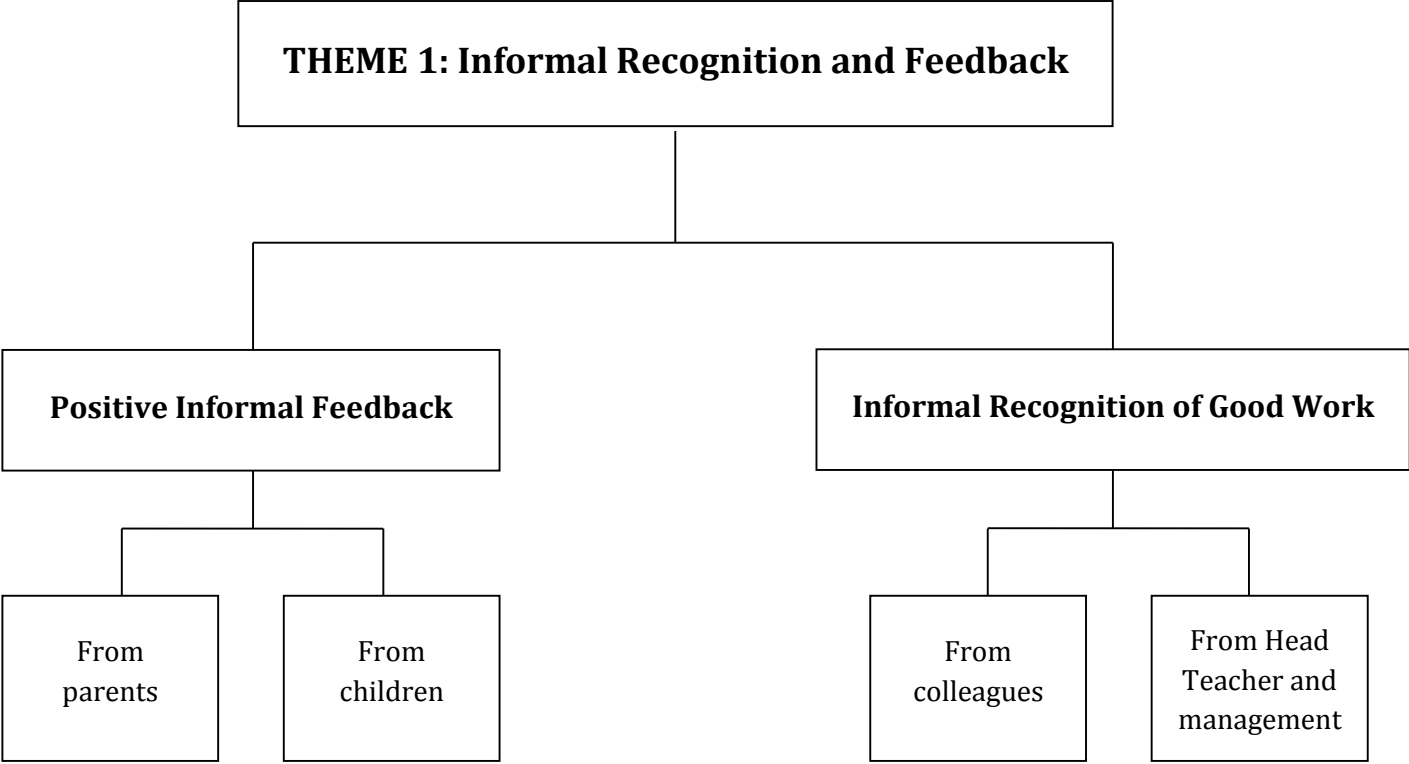
In the semi-structured interviews, male primary school teachers often placed emphasis on the importance of receiving acknowledgement, recognition and positive feedback to enable them to feel successful at work (see figure 7.2). A key aspect of this criteria for success referred to informal comments from others interpreted as positive praise, or comments of thanks, as opposed to formal objective feedback systems. In particular, this theme encompassed two specific sub-categories of recognition in relation to success, with the first relating to positive feedback from parents and children.

7.2.1.1 Positive Informal Feedback from Parents and Children

Several male teachers expressed their feelings of success in the classroom as a result of receiving positive comments and cards from parents and children. As one Year 5 teacher explained:

> *"At the end of the year the positive feedback from parents and children. Whether it's the report slips that they send comments back on, or cards from the children, or just a 'thank you'. I think that's what it [success] is"* [PT001]

Male teachers described the work involved in each school year as particularly diverse relating to day-to-day tasks, such as children working at different ability levels, as well changes to the working environment, including government cuts and re-structuring of teams and individual positions in schools. Therefore, praise and positive comments from parents and children provides confirmation of completing a successful school year, translating to personal success for many male primary school teachers.

7.2.1.2 Recognition of Good Work from Colleagues and Managers

The second sub-theme, although similar to the first, refers to recognition and acknowledgement from colleagues or managers for good work behaviour or job performance from Head Teachers, managers or other colleagues, which is emphasised by a Year 4 and a reception class teacher:

"I think the success is just being recognised and recognition that you have done a good job. Just that things are noticed and you are praised for them by the powers that be" [PT021]

"You want to know you are doing a good job by someone coming in and saying 'this is good'" [PT018]

These quotations demonstrate the importance of an awareness of good performance and behaviours in the class room amongst other colleagues and managers in schools, as it was described as eliciting personal feelings of achievement and success to individual male teachers. Specifically, praise from others enabled male teachers to feel good about their performance and provided confirmation that they were 'doing things right'.

In this case study, the individual definitions of success in the form of recognition and praise depend on the opinions of others and the social evaluation male primary school teachers enforce to compare their job performance and career with norms that exist in this particular occupation. This highlights the importance of the role of social processes in career success, for example, praise and recognition. In this respect, achievement of success in terms of receiving recognition and feedback becomes a continuous cycle, particularly in the context of primary school teaching, where teachers are allocated a new class of children every 12 months. The process by which male primary school teachers achieve success by receiving recognition and feedback for performance is emphasised as a continuous cycle by a Year 4 class teacher:

"I think it is a continuous process, being praised and being recognised will always carry on. I think one of your goals is to be recognised by the powers that be and peers can recognise you as well which makes you feel more successful. Especially when parents say you've done a good job. I think it's definitely an ongoing process in teaching, you are always asked to reflect on your practice so it is ongoing" [PT012]

7.2.2 THEME 2: Personal Achievements at Work

Figure 7.3 Theme 2: Personal Achievements at Work
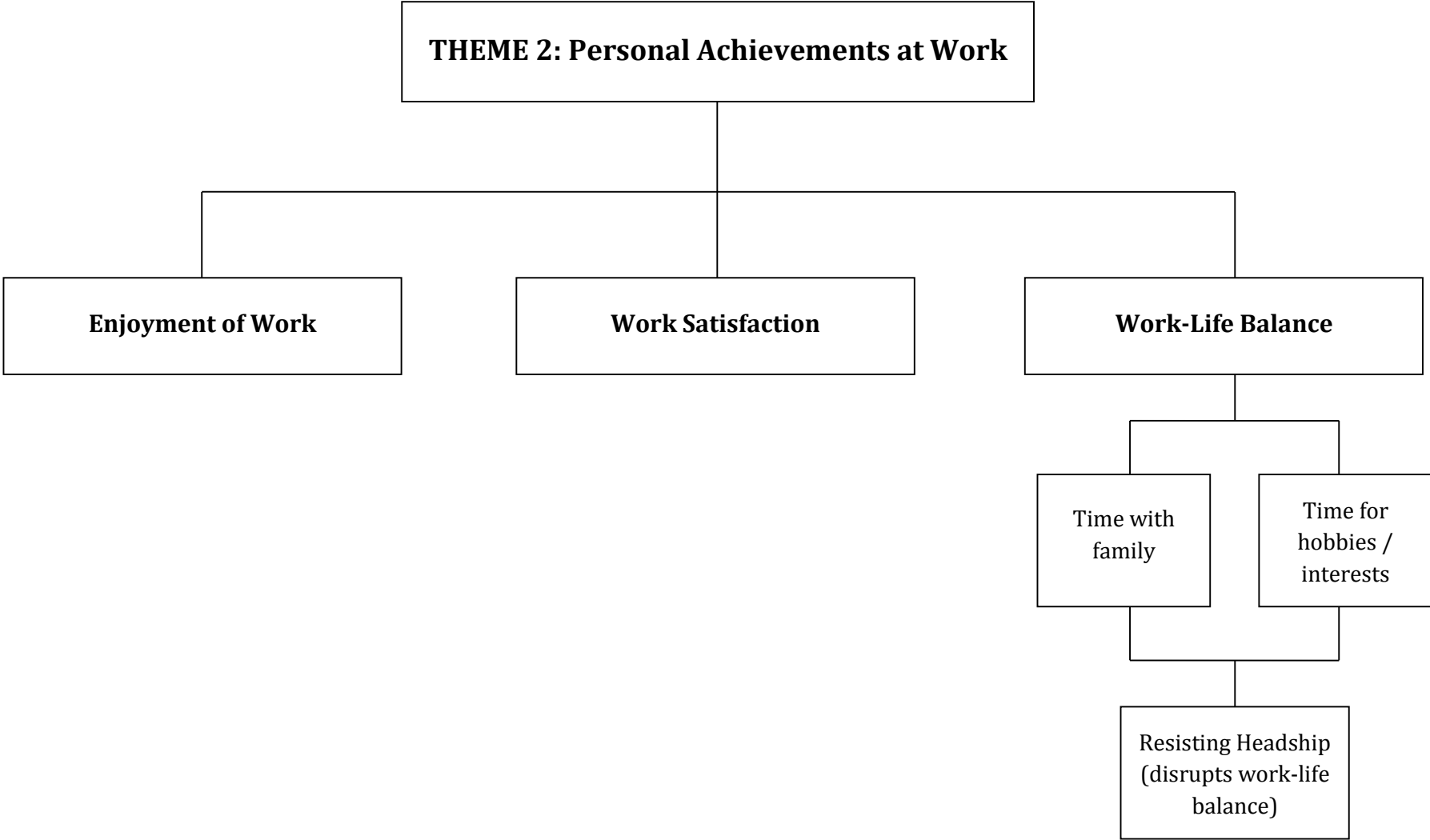
A second key theme (see figure 7.3) that emerged from the interview data related to achievements associated with personal interests, preferences and goals of male primary school teachers. Previous research has often labelled this form of career success as subjective achievements or psychological success (Ng et al, 2005; Hennequin, 2007), referring to the personal evaluation of aspects of career that are important to an individual (Park, 2010). Within this theme, definitions of career success were categorised into 3 sub-themes including, enjoyment of work, work satisfaction and work-life balance.

7.2.2.1 Enjoyment of work

Feelings of enjoyment at work and enjoying being a primary school teacher was identified as success by many of the male teachers. This particular criterion for success was deeply personal to each individual teacher and referred to finding teaching enjoyable and interesting, for example one Year 5 teacher described the enjoyment from the day-to-day tasks involved in teaching:

> *"I think for me it is enjoying what I'm doing and wanting to go back to work the next day. Teaching is often very long hours, it can be hard and the agro from parents and staff and children, so I think the success is that you're enjoying it"* [PT001]

Similarly another male involved in teaching Years 1-6 described success as the enjoyment of being based in the class room teaching children each day:

> *"I just want to be in the class room teaching kids because that is what is largely enjoyable"* [PT011]

In particular, when asked about the process by which career success was achieved, emphasis was placed on the personal feelings experienced when engaged in teaching, for example one freelance tutor described the achievement of success as:

> *"It was almost so effortless; it just became so joyful being at school. I didn't feel like there was anything else to achieve in that sense"* [PT009]

These males were therefore engaging in work activities and behaviours that facilitated the achievement of personal enjoyment, which was interpreted as success.

7.2.2.2 Work Satisfaction

The second sub-theme of job satisfaction was closely related to enjoyment of work, however in this sample of male primary school teachers it specifically refers to feelings of satisfaction with current circumstances at work. For example, a Year 6 class teacher with additional TLR responsibilities described his satisfaction with being happy in his current role and satisfied with the level of responsibility associated with this:

> *"With the way the job is at the moment I'm quite happy. I mean I qualified at the same time as people who are now Head Teachers. I am quite satisfied though, I don't know whether you'd be able to sustain that level of work for so many years!"* [PT033]

It was common amongst this sample of male primary school teachers to express their satisfaction in their current roles, referring to engaging in teaching itself, as well as personal satisfaction with the level of additional responsibilities they were managing, and satisfaction with the colleagues they work alongside. A male Assistant Head Teacher described work satisfaction as:

> *"Feeling like I am having a beneficial impact on the children, and a general sense of satisfaction with the staff that I work with"* [PT030]

In line with other definitions of work satisfaction, this sample of male primary school teachers emphasise a positive emotional state and a positive attitude resulting from the appraisal of their job. Specifically, it is apparent that satisfaction is associated with the specific nature of this occupation in that male primary school teachers are valuing certain facets of primary school teaching, when their expectations are met. For example, the degree of autonomy in lesson planning and managing additional responsibilities moderates the satisfaction male teachers experience when expectations are met.

7.2.2.3 Work-Life Balance

The final sub-theme of personal achievements refers to the importance of work-life balance in relation to success. A strong emphasis was placed on the personal feelings of success associated with managing time spent at work and time spent with family, friends and other commitments. For example, one male teacher explains his intention not to let his workload prevent him from spending time with his children:

> *"Being a parent, time is far more important to me than money because I don't see the point in earning money and having no time for your children"* [PT011]

Similarly, many male teachers emphasised the importance of having time for personal interests and hobbies outside of work:

> *"I am working harder now than I have ever done, but I still pride myself on having a work-life balance. I am very busy outside work, very busy! I am a keen mountain biker so all that kind of thing"* [PT020]

> *"If I don't go and play sport then I can't function so I need time to do those things as well"* [PT018]

In both cases, whether work-life balance was regarded as important for family commitments or for engaging in personal interests, many male teachers emphasised that they would not accept opportunities to work in roles associated with increased workloads and responsibilities at the expense of disrupting their work-life balance.

> *"I have seen people in my career who have been Heads of Year, Heads of Departments, Deputies etc, and I look at their workload and it horrifies me. I wouldn't want to do it at all"* [PT011]

In particular, the process by which male teachers strived to achieve a successful work-life balance often involved working overtime to a certain extent, but in individual circumstances effective time management was highlighted as a key skill to have. For example, one male Assistant Head Teacher described the importance of making time for his family, despite having a large workload:

"It [work-life balance] is important to me, especially having a family. The only thing with this job is making the time for that. I refuse to work weekends. I'd rather give up my evenings to work and have the weekends free, that's my philosophy" [PT030]

Discussion about work-life balance as a criterion for success had a strong emphasis on male primary school teachers managing their personal needs, family needs and the requirements of their career. It was apparent that work-life balance was important to these male teachers irrespective of whether or not they had children and regardless of their age. Male primary school teachers in this sample have described a wealth of personal circumstances that contribute to the importance of work-life balance, demonstrating that this criterion for success is distinctly personal to each individual.

7.2.3 THEME 3: Professional Achievements at Work

Figure 7.4 Theme 3: Professional achievements at work
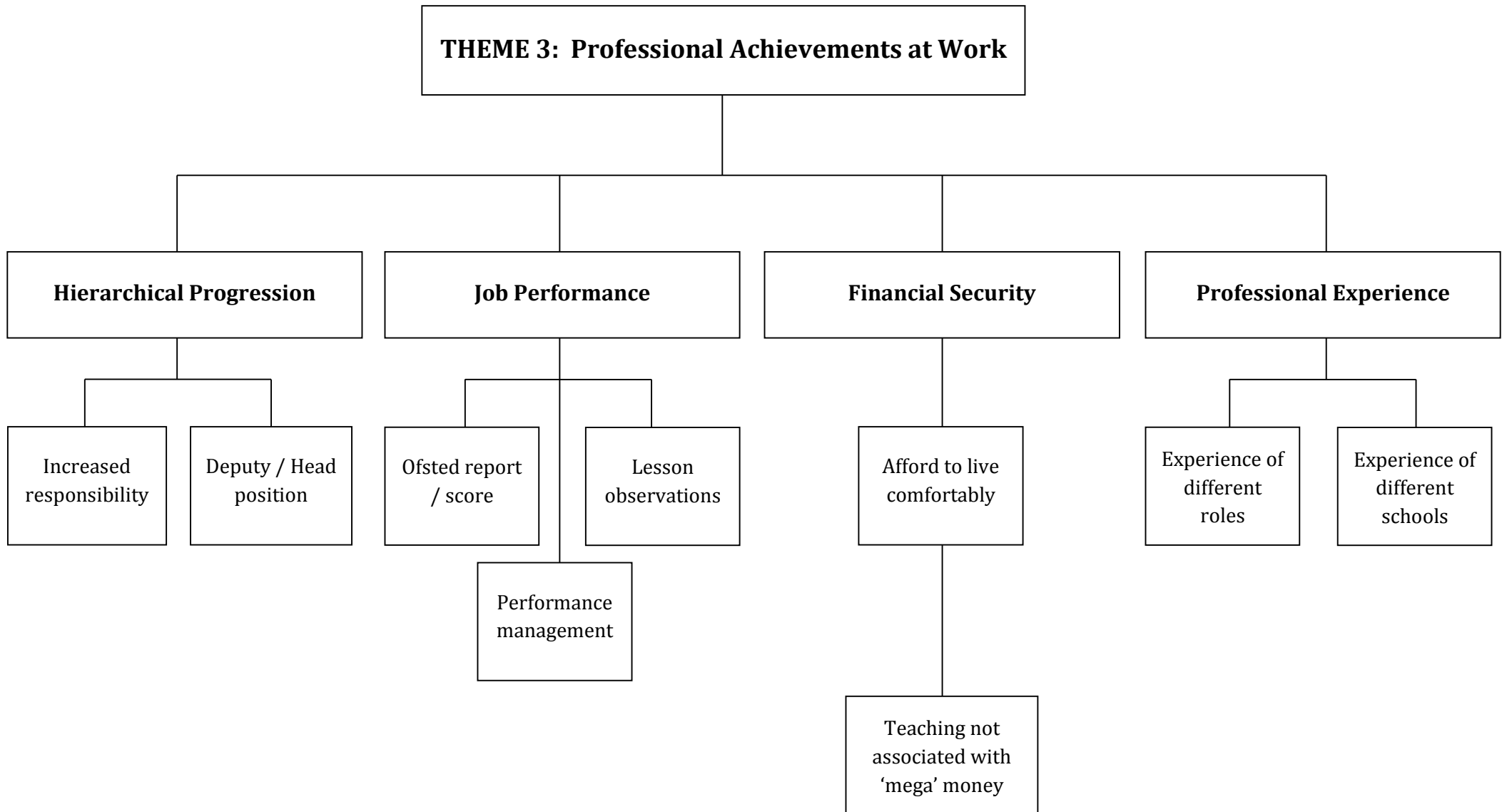
A third theme that emerged from the interview data was complimentary of what other research has described as objective career success (Ng et al, 2005) (see figure 7.4). In general this has often included aspects of career that can be documented and measured extrinsically, such as level of salary, number of promotions, hierarchical advancement (Ackah & Heaton, 2004). For the purpose of this case study, this theme was labelled 'professional achievements' as a number of male primary school teachers described several objective indicators relevant to primary school teaching as criteria for success. This particular theme is divided into 4 sub-themes relating to hierarchical progression, job performance, financial security and professional experience.

7.2.3.1 Hierarchical Progression

Hierarchical progression was a key aspect of career success amongst this sample of males, in that attitudes towards promotional aspirations were largely mixed. The majority of males suggested that they did not want to progress to a Deputy or Head Teacher role as management roles such as these are no longer associated with 'hands on' teaching. As a result of this, many of the male teachers described how they had resisted the opportunity for Headship as they did not want to be removed from a classroom setting, which was emphasised as the main purpose of pursuing a career in the occupation of primary school teaching in the first instance. For example, one male teacher described his experience of being encouraged to pursue Headship despite his career intentions:

> *"I don't want to go for Headship. That's the one thing I don't want to do despite being pushed into it by the powers that be! At the moment I am trying to resist"* [PT030]

On the other hand, achieving a Headship was important criteria for success amongst a small number of the male primary teachers that were interviewed. Aspirations to become a Deputy and then a Head Teacher were regarded as most important in discussion about their personal definitions of success. One Year 2 teacher described his intentions to take on additional responsibilities over time in order to achieve Headship:

"I would deem it a success if I eventually become a Head Teacher as I intend to. I hope to continue to progress in responsibilities on a yearly basis and achieve Headship in 12-14 years" [PT006]

Furthermore, one male teacher specifically discussed his perception of other teachers who do not progress to a Head Teacher role as unsuccessful in comparison with his career intentions:

"Success in my career would be to become a Deputy and then a Head. I don't really class someone who has stayed as a normal, bog standard teacher for their whole career as someone who has had career success" [PT008]

Achieving career success in terms of professional achievements was regarded as accepting promotion opportunities and working towards the qualifications necessary to become a Head Teacher by a small number of males. In this respect, the emphasis on hierarchical progression was closely related to the sub-theme of professional experience.

7.2.3.2 Professional Experience

For some male teachers, gaining experience of different roles was perceived as beneficial for achieving promotion opportunities and building attractive CVs. Similarly, emphasis was placed on the perceived importance of gaining experience of a variety of different schools. For example, one Year 5 teacher explained his intention to move schools to improve his chances of promotion:

"I am looking to move schools at the moment… You get more chance of a promotion if you have been to a wider range of schools and different types of schools. You get a better chance of being promoted" [PT008]

This statement appears to be illustrative of a boundaryless approach to career development, in that job mobility across organisational boundaries is perceived as beneficial to gaining experience for hierarchical progression. Moreover, it is also apparent that for some male teachers, the occupation of primary school teaching is associated with a Head Teacher role as the ultimate career goal. Hence, the structure of this particular occupation

has the potential to determine success for some individuals. For example, one Year 2 teacher describes the process by which he hopes to achieve success by completing the qualifications, skills and experience required to become a Head Teacher:

"I hope to achieve it by working through the qualifications and stages of responsibility, whilst gaining a wide range of knowledge, skills and experiences that are essential for Headship" [PT006]

7.2.3.3 Job Performance

A third sub-category of professional achievements was associated with measures of job performance specific to primary school teaching. For example, some male teachers defined career success in terms of scores or graded outcomes of Ofsted reports, lesson observations and performance management plans. For example, a reception class teacher described how success was associated with achieving a good Ofsted inspection:

"I think I would define it as an Ofsted observation or an LEA review" [PT018]

Similarly, another male teacher involved in teaching Years 1-6 defined success as the outcome of peer observations:

"I have achieved 'good' lessons, I've had three observations here and they have all been 'satisfactory' so that's good for here to be honest, but I'd very much like to get a 'good'. It's an aspiration to get 'good' or 'outstanding' lessons" [PT011]

This would suggest that positive outcomes of assessments of job performance that are common practice in this occupation are regarded as important indicators of career success for some male primary school teachers. Specifically, it has been suggested by some male teachers that their personal performance management plan is beneficial in enabling them to achieve success, as goals and targets are mutually agreed with managers. For example, a Year 5 teacher explained the process involved in performance management planning:

"Each year we have performance management goals. There's a broad one which is making progress with the children. But then you have your own specific performance-

related goals set at the start of every year. Then you talk about whether you've

achieved them or whether you need to change" [PT008]

7.2.3.4 Financial Security

Level of salary was discussed in the semi-structured interviews as an indicator of success for some male primary school teachers. However, male primary school teachers emphasised that success for them was more about being financially secure rather than financial gain or achieving a particularly high salary. One Year 5 teacher explained that it was more important to him to be financially secure as opposed to pursuing large monetary rewards:

"I think you're successful if you are fairly comfortable with money. I don't think you need to be mega rich, but just being comfortable with money and being able to enjoy life without having to worry about finances all the time" [PT008]

Furthermore, it was also acknowledged that primary school teaching as an occupation was not necessarily associated with high salaries and monetary rewards. Therefore it was not the intention of the male primary school teachers in this case study to go into this occupation purely for financial gain. For example:

"Being comfortable with money is success to me, but I know I am in teaching and I'm never going to get mega money" [PT008]

For other male teachers, the salaries associated with certain promotional opportunities were not perceived as sufficient for the additional responsibilities involved. Therefore, some male teachers were comfortable with their current level of salary in light of the salary they would receive if they were to accept additional responsibilities. For example, a male teacher involved in teaching years 1-6 explained his perception of an increase in pay not matching up with the volume of additional responsibilities:

"As a teacher you earn a reasonable wage, so I don't really have the drive to earn £4000 more per year, minus tax, for more work" [PT011]

Furthermore, several male teachers described how they were financially secure, but this did not feature in their criteria for success. Rather, the definitions of personal achievement and making a contribution to education were perceived as more important than achieving monetary rewards:

"I can't do something that is just for the money or anything like that. Obviously that is important but making a contribution is actually more important" [PT009]

Overall, this theme suggests that objective indicators of success for male primary school teachers are defined by the context of this occupation specifically. For example, job performance measured by observable indicators such as lesson observations and Ofsted evaluations, and hierarchical advancement and professional experience of the structure in place in primary school teaching (i.e. subject co-ordinator, deputy head teacher, and head teacher) defined success for some male teachers. Salary attainment was not the main focus of most male teachers' definitions of success. In fact, the achievement of financial security was more important as it was acknowledged that primary school teaching as an occupation is not associated with large salaries. In addition to this, most male primary school teachers described other indicators of success as more important than financial gain.

7.2.4 THEME 4: Making a Contribution to Education

Figure 7.5 Theme 4: Making a contribution to education
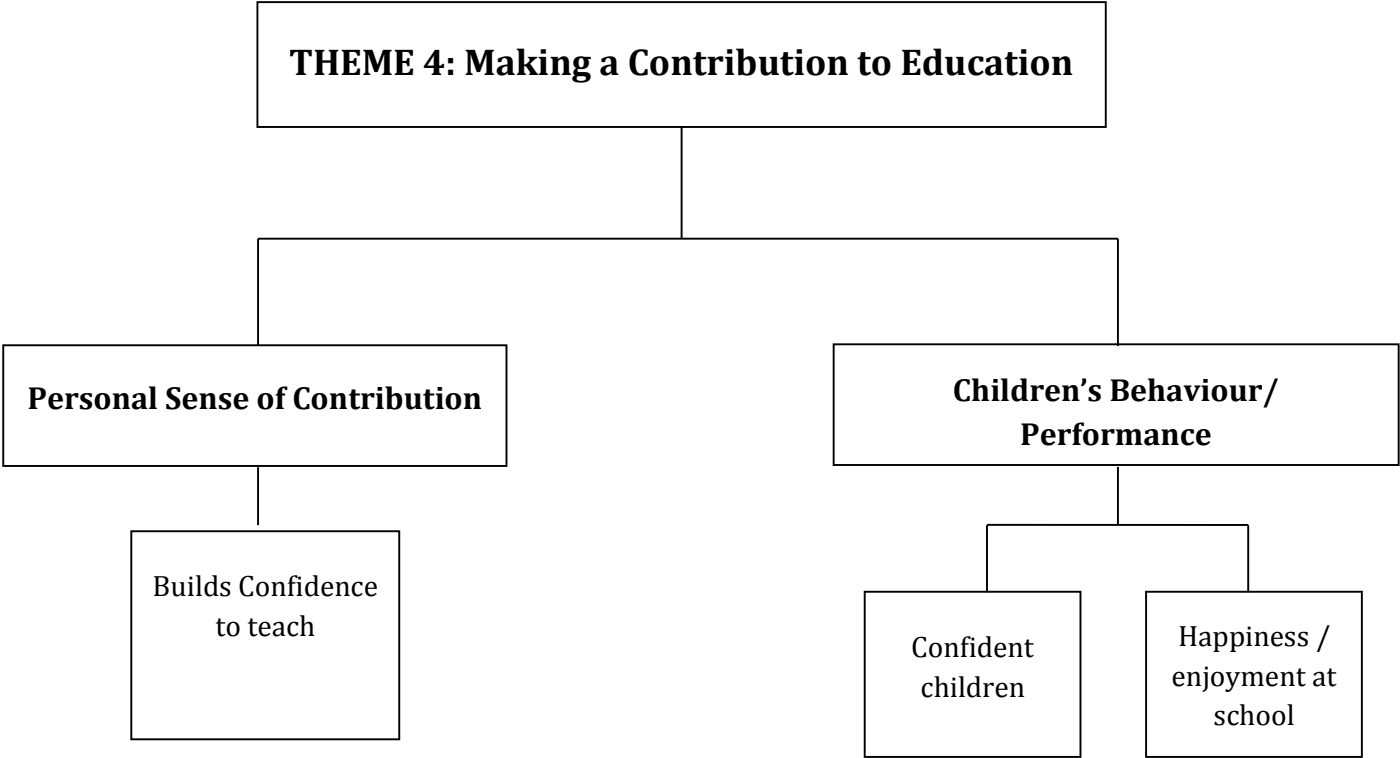
The fourth theme to emerge from the interview data referred to the feeling of making a contribution to education (see figure 7.5). This theme divided into two distinct sub-themes of the personal feelings towards teaching and the influence male teachers feel they have had on the children. Feeling a sense of contribution has previously been included in subjective definitions of career success (Parker & Chusmir, 1991), however specific feelings towards making a contribution to education from males in this occupation emerged as a separate distinct theme in this case study. Similar to other themes that emerged illustrating definitions of success of male primary school teachers, this theme relates to the specific context of primary school teaching, in that the success was focused on making a personal contribution children's education specifically.

7.2.4.1 Personal Sense of Contribution

The first sub-theme relates specifically to the emphasis on a sense of contribution to education on a personal level. In particular, some male primary school teachers articulated their passion for teaching and the confidence they have developed to teach as personal feelings of success. Similar to the theme of personal achievements, this theme is predominantly about the positive emotions experienced as a result of teaching. For example, one freelance primary school tutor described how his sense of contribution to education gives him a passion for teaching:

> *"The success for me would be the sense of contribution that I feel. It is all about the feeling for me. Basically it is the whole drive behind my passion for teaching because that's how I feel I can be most successful by contributing to an education environment"*
> [PT009]

Other factors such as confidence were also closely associated with the sub-theme of personal feelings of contribution to education. For example, many male teachers felt that the process of building and developing their confidence through day to day teaching was enabling them to achieve success at work. One Year 5 teacher explained how it is important to feel confident in teaching to be successful:

"Success is having the confidence to do what's right for the class, to know what the children need and what is best for them" [PT004]

Similarly, an Assistant Head Teacher defined success as feeling like he had achieved his potential in this particular occupation:

"For me, career success means feeling like I am achieving my potential as a teacher" [PT030]

7.2.4.2 Children's Behaviour/Performance

Male primary school teachers in this case study also emphasised how their personal definitions of success were often reflected in the children they teach. Specifically, some male teachers defined success as having confident children who are enjoying their education, as this was perceived as making a positive contribution to education. For example, a reception class teacher explained how he feels successful knowing that he has happy and confident children in his class:

"I think it [success] is having happy and confident children" [PT018]

Furthermore, a Year 5 class teacher emphasised how his job would not be successful if the children were not enjoying their education:

"The main thing in education in terms of success is that the children enjoy their education and that they get something out of it. If you're not doing either of those things then your job isn't successful" [PT019]

In terms of achieving success in this respect, male teachers explained their contribution to education as a continuous process, much like some of the other themes of career success in this occupation. The same Year 5 teacher continued to describe the achievement of his success in terms of being there for the children he teaches:

"I try and do things as I go, one thing at a time. Career success is based around the outcome for the children; it's about putting something back into education and working for them and that is always ongoing" [PT019]

In particular, many of the male teachers who were interviewed had a perception of their colleagues as having similar ideas of success relating to the importance of contributing to the children's education and positive outcomes for children.

Overall, this theme shows that making a contribution to education and influencing the experience of children at school is regarded as success by some male primary school teachers.

7.2.5 THEME 5: Success for Male Teachers

Figure 7.6 Theme 5: Success for male teachers

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  THEME 5: Success for Male Teachers  │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────┘
                                      │
              ┌───────────────────────┴───────────────────────┐
    ┌───────────────────────┐                      ┌───────────────────────┐
    │ Opportunities for     │                      │ Male Teachers as      │
    │ males are success for │                      │ Role Models           │
    │ some but not for all  │                      │                       │
    └───────────────────────┘                      └───────────────────────┘
              │                                                │
       ┌──────┴──────┐                                  ┌──────┴──────┐
   ┌────────┐   ┌──────────┐                      ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐
   │Regular │   │Resisting │                      │Role models│  │Afterschool│
   │opportu-│   │Headship  │                      │for young  │  │clubs run by│
   │nities  │   │          │                      │children   │  │male teachers│
   └────────┘   └──────────┘                      └──────────┘   └──────────┘
```
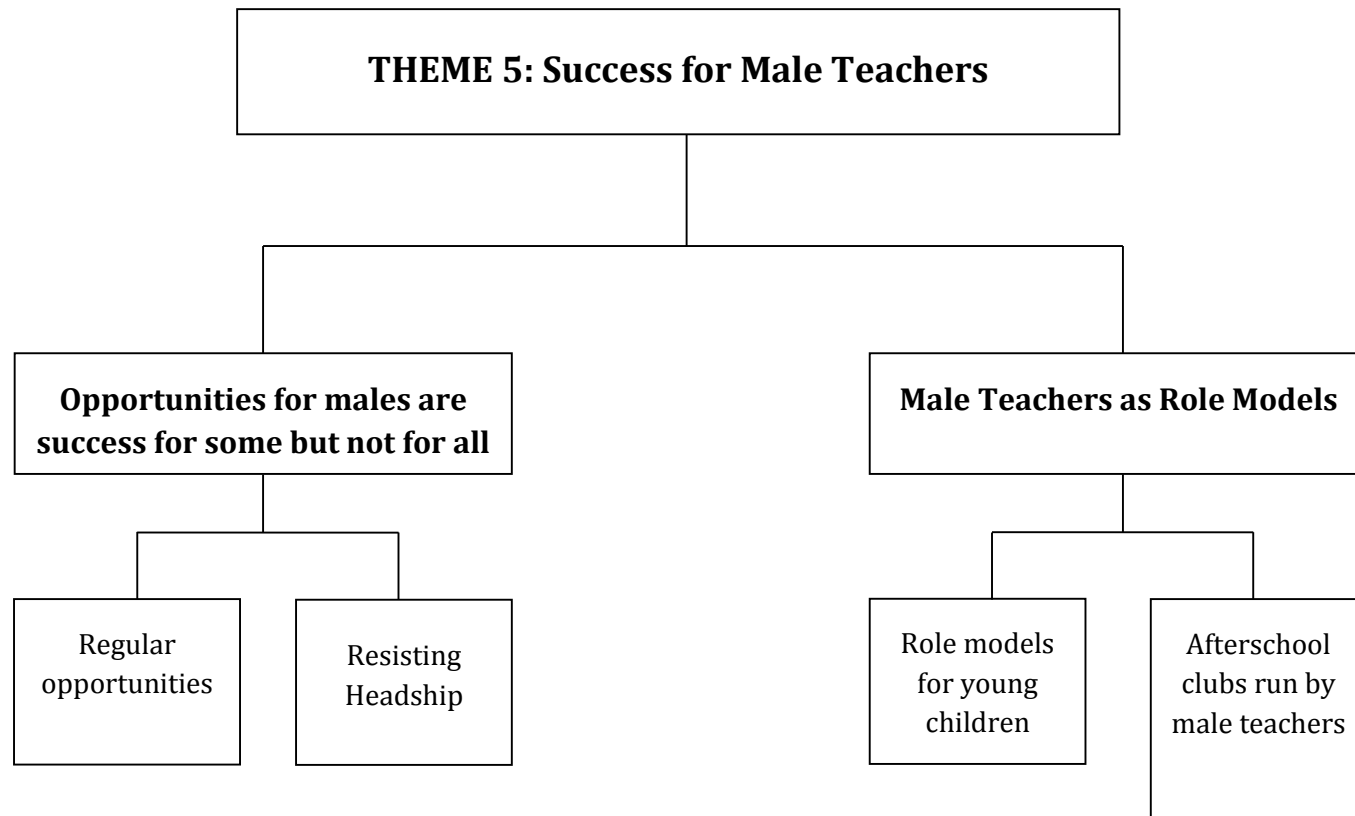
The final theme referred to opportunities associated with being a male in a female-dominated occupation that were viewed as advantageous by some but not all male primary school teachers (see figure 7.6). There was a clear awareness of the idea that males are offered regular opportunities associated with career advancement or specific subject responsibilities in this context and most males agreed that this was true of their organisation. Whilst perceived gender advantage was defined as success by some males, opportunities such as these actually contrasted the career intentions of other males.

On the other hand, factors associated with being a male teacher that were perceived positively were also discussed, including the perception of being a positive male role model for primary aged children. In this case study, positive aspects of being a male employee in primary school teaching could be categorised into two sub-themes; the perception of opportunities available for male primary school teachers, sometimes despite personal career intentions, and male primary school teachers as positive role models for young children.

7.2.5.1 Opportunities for males are success for some but not others

In the semi-structured interviews, some male teachers in the case study shared a perception that this occupational context offered specific opportunities for males, which would enable them to achieve career success. For example, a Year 2 class teacher explained how male teachers are in high demand in primary schools and this was a deciding factor in accepting his current post:

> *"I am often told I am at an advantage as a male in a primary setting. Men are in high demand in the early years. Being a man has helped my career so far, in fact it was a deciding factor in accepting my current appointment"* [PT006]

The majority of males contributing to this sub-theme however, suggested that despite the perceived advantages that male primary school teachers are thought to receive, emphasis was placed on how they have had to resist opportunities. These males appear to be aware that male employees are seen to be at an advantage in female-dominated occupations, however in reality this idea does not necessarily fit with their career plans or definitions of

success. Specifically, it was suggested by some males that there was pressure to accept opportunities because of their gender, despite their career intentions. One Year 6 teacher explained his perception of promotional opportunities at his school:

"I think as a male in primary school teaching there is always the expectation that you will become a Deputy Head and then a Head Teacher. I think when I first started it was widely accepted that as a male you would go a long way very quickly, but that is not something I want" [PT020]

Similarly, opportunities to take up specific responsibilities were perceived to be offered to male teachers, which were described as a hindrance to success in some cases:

"I am known as the IT guy at school, so in a way that could be a hindrance to what I'm doing because you get your face known and it's an extra responsibility, and people think you know your stuff! It's a similar thing with PE with one of the other guys, it's a guy thing really. It's strange, the literacy-based stuff goes to the women and the sport and activities stuff goes to the guys" [PT033]

Overall, this would suggest that there are aspects of being male in primary school teaching (a female-dominated occupation) that are perceived as success by some male teachers and their colleagues. In this case study however, other male teachers described this as a hindrance to their definitions success, in that they felt pressured to accept opportunities.

7.2.5.2 Male Teachers as Role Models

The second sub-theme related to the perception of male teachers being positive role models for children of primary school age. The majority of male teachers in this case study described how they felt it was important for young children to have experience of good male role models and to achieve this was seen as successful. One Year 1 teacher placed emphasis on the importance of having positive male role models in primary schools, particularly because some of the children had experienced a poor upbringing:

"I think the role we play in schools as teachers is important because an awful lot of children don't have a very good male role model. I think it is very important that they

are in touch with men who are good and decent people and know how to treat them"
[PT032]

Moreover, some male teachers described how they perceive themselves to be a positive role model in terms of assisting with behaviour in schools. For example, one male teacher involved in teaching years 1-6 described how he would be called upon for certain tasks because he was male:

"There are benefits to me being a male member of staff. Sometimes there can be a nasty disturbance with the children so I get called upon purely out of strength to pull the kids apart or sort it out. You are told you are a positive male role model" [PT011]

In addition to this, emphasis was placed on the advantages of conducting extra-curricular activities for male teachers. Several males described how they often engaged in after school activities for the children, and one Year 2 teacher in particular emphasised how there would not be any after school clubs for the children as he was the only male working in the school:

"I am also responsible for doing the afterschool activities so if I wasn't here then there wouldn't be a football club or cross country" [PT019]

In particular, for some male teachers, engaging in extra-curricular activities for the benefit of the children was thought to be an advantage in terms of adopting a more relaxed approach to other responsibilities. For example, one male teacher explained how attending school trips and running afterschool clubs enabled him to adopt a more relaxed approach to the paperwork involved in lesson planning:

"I perceive the hours I put into afterschool clubs are for worthwhile things while other people are planning, so I do the extra hours in a different way. Primary mystifies me, it seems to be entrenched in paperwork" [PT011]

Overall, this theme refers to definitions of success that are only relevant to male primary school teachers. Specifically, due to the limited number of males in primary school teaching, the presence of males in this context enabled them to be seen as positive role models for this age-group of children. Furthermore, opportunities were perceived to be available to

male teachers specifically, as well as gender being advantageous in terms of workload commitments. In particular, male teachers would often be involved in extra-curricular activities for the children (e.g. sports clubs), which was perceived as success to males as these activities would not necessarily take place without the presence of a male teacher.

7.3 Career Success of Male University Administrators

Four themes encompassing definitions of career success emerged from the interview data with male university administrators including:

1. Life success
2. Social achievements at work
3. Personal achievements at work
4. Professional achievements at work

The four themes are discussed in detail below, including an illustration of sub-themes and key quotations from male university administrators.

7.3.1 THEME 1: Life Success

Figure 7.7 Theme 1: Life success
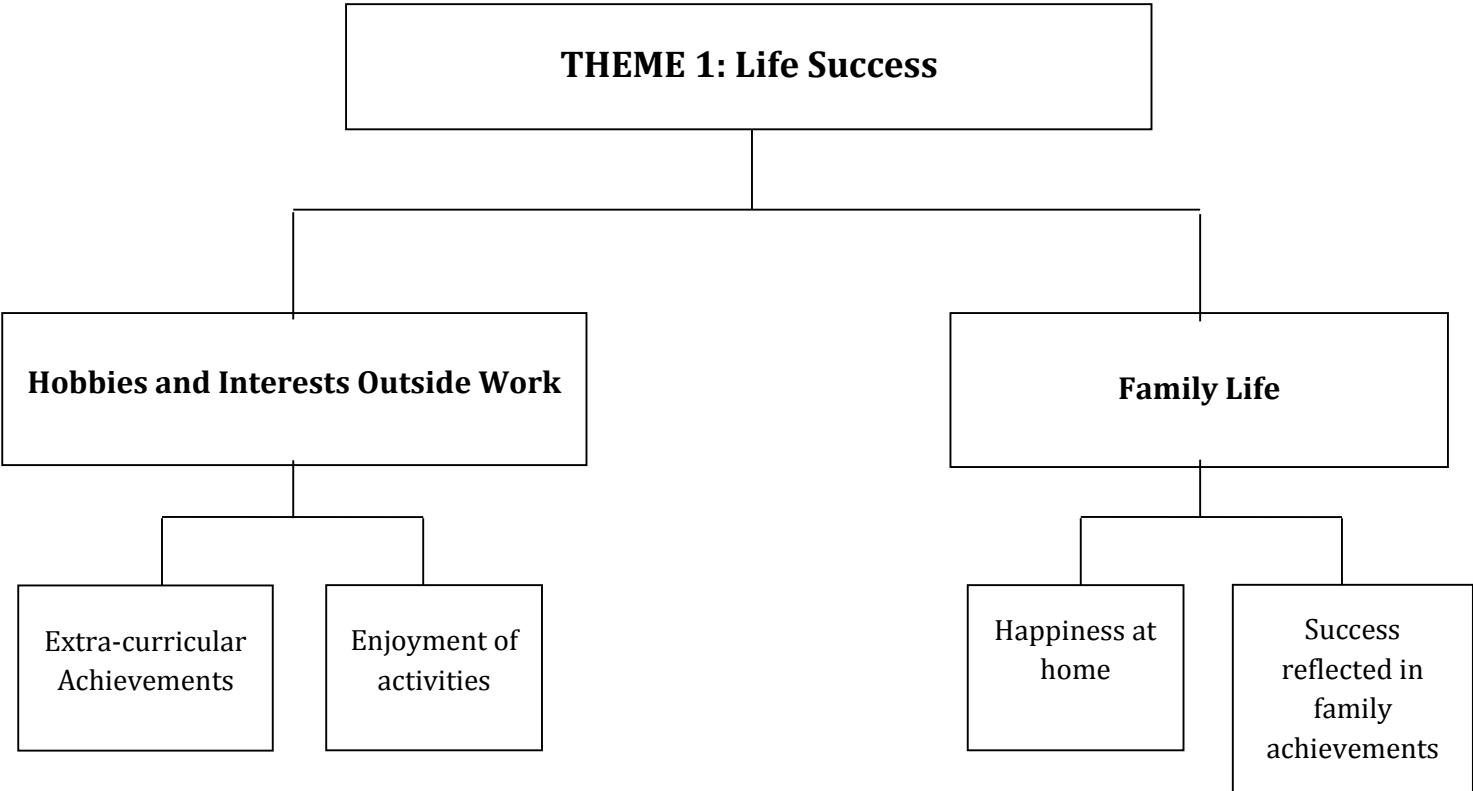
The first theme to emerge from the semi-structured interviews with male university administrators was the strong emphasis on success in other areas of life, as opposed to work (see figure 7.7). Within this theme, two distinct sub-themes were apparent that demonstrated the reasons behind the importance of work-life balance and life success for this sample of male university administrators. Specifically, the achievements and enjoyment from activities and interests outside work and spending time with family were key factors in the success of male university administrators, as well as a strong emphasis on the notion of work forming one part of whole life success.

7.3.1.1 Hobbies and Interests Outside Work

The first sub-theme was prominent amongst this sample, as several male university administrators articulated how they were involved in activities and hobbies outside work. It was apparent that definitions of success went beyond maintaining an important balance between work and spare time to enable them to engage in such activities. For example, an administrative assistant described how his idea of self-achievement in his interests outside work was most important to him in terms of success:

> *"I have very active commitments outside of work at the moment. I play very competitive level badminton, improving and getting better, getting up the leagues, that's important. I like my own time which I dedicate to various things, more so than advancing up the career ladder"* [UA005]

Similarly, another male administrator described achieving success outside of work in terms of his personal commitments and interests:

> *"Of course there's career success, but there is also outside of your career success too. I coach a ladies rugby team so that gives me an outlet for achieving things"* [UA022]

Throughout the semi-structured interviews with male administrators, the phrase 'work to live, not live to work' was often strongly emphasised. This was closely associated with the shared perception that success can be viewed as achievements in life as opposed to

focusing solely on success in careers. For example, one male administrator emphasised the importance of 'working to live, not living to work':

> *"You do get people who are totally career driven, for myself I have got a lot of other interests such as football, and I think the main thing for me is that I don't live to work, I work to live. It is not the be all and end all; it's that work-life balance so you are having time to do other things as well"* [UA014]

These quotations specifically reflect the importance of achieving success in other areas of life, aside from work commitments.

7.3.1.2 Family Life

Similarly, several male university administrators emphasised the importance of maintaining work-life balance to be successful, in order to spend time with family. It was evident that happiness at home and with family was valued as success by many of the administrators in this case study. One male administrator described success as having a good home life:

> *"It's [success] a combination of good home life and happy family life for me"* [UA017]

Specifically, one male described how his perception of success was reflected in the achievements of his family members:

> *"I see my success in my family achieving things. If my wife is achieving what she wants to achieve then that's part of success for me"* [UA022]

Specifically, male university administrators in this case study placed value on family, relationships, and achievements in personal interests and hobbies, above that of achievements at work.

7.3.2 THEME 2: Social Achievements at Work

Figure 7.8 Theme 2: Social achievements at work
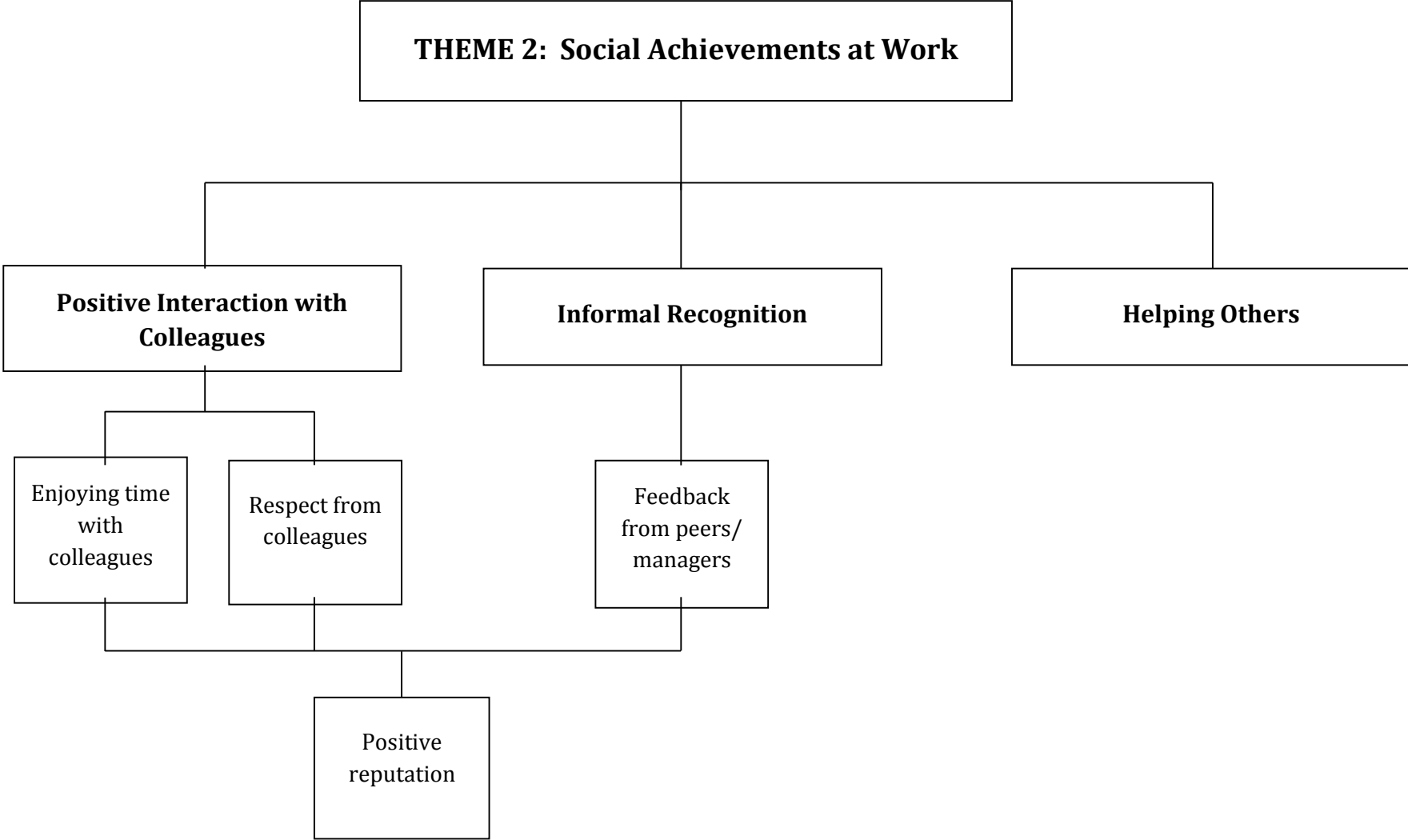
The second theme of career success of male university administrators related to criteria that can be defined as social success (see figure 7.8). Specifically, social achievements could be categorised into 4 sub-themes including; positive interaction with colleagues, building a positive reputation, recognition, and helping others. These particular criteria for success all reflect the perceptions, interactions and feedback from others, with achievement of success based upon the opinions and company of other individuals.

7.3.2.1 Positive Interaction with Colleagues

In semi-structured interviews with male university administrators, success in terms of enjoying time spent with work colleagues and getting on well with work colleagues was often discussed. Several males emphasised how it was important that they liked the people they worked with, and building positive relationships and friendships at work were perceived as success. For example, one administrator explained how it was more important to work with a good team of people than to earn a large amount of money, in terms of success:

> *"Success to me is working with a good team of people. To me that is more important than a giant wage packet at the end of the month. I'd much rather get paid a bit less but work with people that I actually like working with, than get paid lots and work with people I absolutely hate!"* [UA017]

Similarly, other male administrators defined success as their perception of the respect their colleagues have for them:

> *"I would say the respect of people you work with. If the team you are working with respect you, then you are doing something right. I would say that was a better indicator of success for me, rather than say, financial gain"* [UA012]

Several male administrators also explained how they felt they had developed a positive reputation in their organisation as a result of their relationships with others, and this was regarded as success. For example:

"If people in other faculties hear about you and you are doing a good job, I would say that is success for me in the job I am in at the moment. I believe reputation equals success" [UA012]

7.3.2.2 Informal Recognition

Several male university administrators referred to the recognition and feedback they receive from managers and peers in terms of success. One man explained how recognition for his contribution on a day-to-day basis made him feel successful at work:

"I want recognition of the fact that what I do on a day-to-day basis has actually helped or improved things, and that's recognition from my peers or management" [UA001]

Similar to the above sub-theme, male administrators also explained how they felt they had developed a positive reputation in their organisation as a result of the recognition they have had from managers and peers, and this was regarded as success. For example:

"I got a good reputation for being good at my job" [UA016]

7.3.2.3 Helping Others

The final sub-theme relating to social achievements related to helping others as criteria for success. This sub-theme was prominent amongst the male university administrators who had front facing responsibilities, such as dealing directly with students via the telephone or reception duties. One male administrative assistant described how being able to help students defined success for him:

"I'd say part of my success is my ability to deal with people. You have to be good with people and put people at ease. I've helped people who are feeling vulnerable, or upset, or nervous […] and you have to handle it sensitively and I think I am quite good at that" [UA003]

Overall, this theme demonstrates how the achievement of career success for this sample of male university administrators involves building and maintaining relationships with others at work, as well as the positive perception of feedback from others, developing a positive reputation and helping others.

7.3.3 THEME 3: Personal Achievements at Work

Figure 7.9 Theme 3: Personal achievements at work

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  THEME 3:  Personal Achievements at Work  │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                      │
           ┌──────────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┐
 ┌─────────────────────┐                            ┌───────────────────────────────┐
 │  Happiness at Work   │                            │  Utilising Career Competencies │
 └─────────────────────┘                            └───────────────────────────────┘
           │
  ┌──────────────┐
  │     Job      │
  │ satisfaction │
  └──────────────┘
```
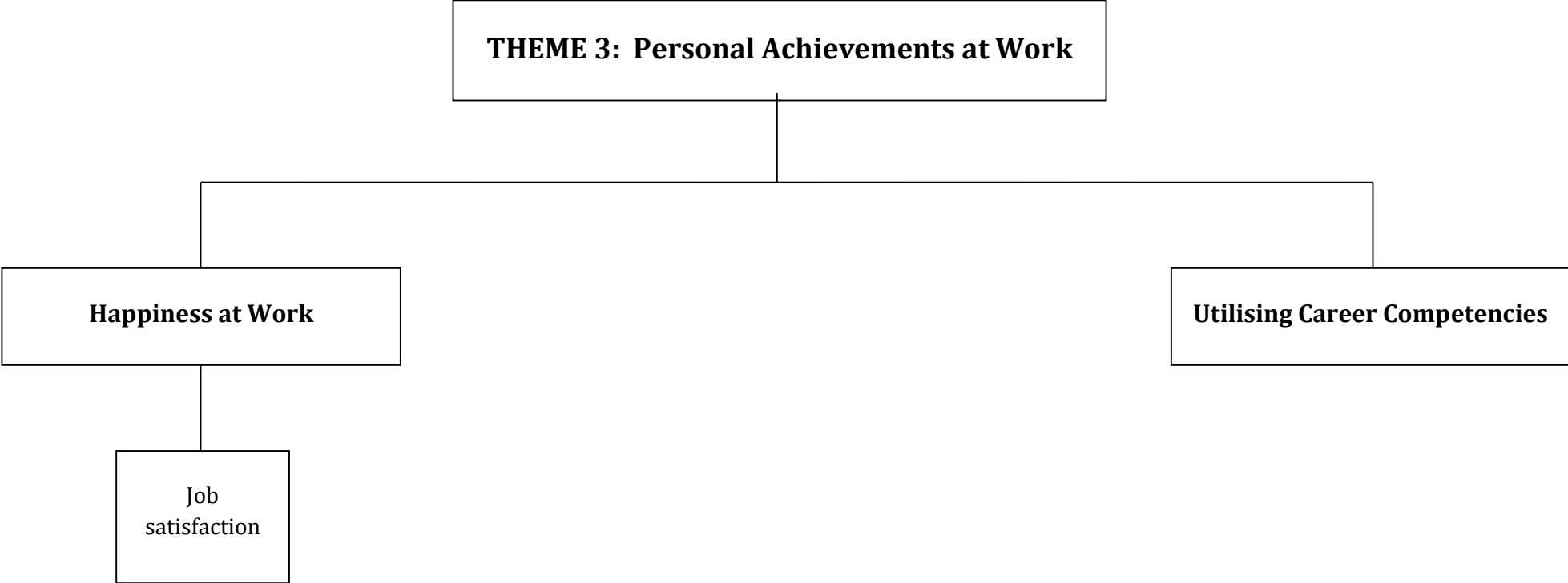
The third theme to emerge from the semi-structured interviews with male university administrators reflects personal achievements as definitions of career success (see figure 7.9). Criteria including happiness at work, job satisfaction, making a contribution emerged from the data as distinct sub-categories of this theme. In addition to this, the ability to apply skills and strengths at work in relation to success was included as a fourth sub-category as it was regarded as an important personal achievement by male university administrators.

7.3.3.1 Happiness and Satisfaction at Work

Several male administrators emphasised the importance of the happiness they experience at work in relation to their career success. This sub-theme also related to enjoyment and contentment at work which several male university administrators described as success:

"As long as I feel happy in what I do and feel happy to go to work, then that is success to me" [UA015]

"To be successful I need to be happy with what I am doing" [UA014]

"I am quite lucky because I am financially stable so I can do what I enjoy and that is success for me" [UA003]

These quotations reflect personal experiences and pleasure achieved through work that enable male administrators to feel like they have achieved success. This criterion for success appears to be related to job satisfaction. Male administrators who defined success in terms of happiness at work, also tended to describe feelings of satisfaction as a result of their contentment at work. One male explained how he regarded job satisfaction as criteria for success, and positive emotions experienced as a result of going to work:

"I think it [success] is about job satisfaction. I'd like to think it is about looking forward to coming to work, along those sort of lines really" [UA023]

Interestingly, the term 'job satisfaction' was used by male university administrators in comparison with male primary school teachers who often referred to 'work satisfaction'. In

line with theme 1 about the importance of life success for male university administrators, this could represent how their careers are perceived. The Oxford English dictionary defines the term 'job' as follows;

'A piece of work, especially a specific task done as part of a routine of one's occupation or for an agreed price. A post of employment; full-time or part-time position'

This could suggest that male university administrators are referring to their occupation as something that is part of their whole life success as opposed to career success. In contrast, the definition of the term 'work' also refers to employment, however emphasis is placed on the effort, devotion and achievement associated with a profession or trade specifically;

'Physical or mental effort or activity directed toward the production or accomplishment of something. A trade, profession or other means of livelihood'

The terms used in semi-structured interviews could therefore suggest the perception of career differs between the two occupations in this case study.

7.3.3.2 Utilising Career Competencies

In a final sub-theme relating to personal achievements, some male university administrators described how being in a role where they were able to apply their strongest skills, and work to their strengths was deemed as success. For example, one male explained how success to him was skills-based, and being able to utilise the skills he was good at enabled him to achieve success in an administrative role:

"[Success] for me it would be being in a job where I am using my skills and talents to my best. My written skills are very good and very strong and my ability to deal with people, so those skills I'd say were part of my success" [UA003]

Overall, this theme illustrates how personal achievements including happiness, satisfaction and being able to utilise strengths and skills at work was success criteria for some male university administrators. In contrast to social achievements, these criteria are focused on emotions and behaviours that are achieved on a personal level.

7.3.4 THEME 4: Professional Achievements at Work

Figure 7.10 Theme 4: Professional achievements at work

```
          ┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐
          │  THEME 4: Professional Achievements at Work    │
          └──────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                              │
    ┌─────────────┬───────────┴───────────┬─────────────────┐
┌─────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌─────────────────┐
│  Financial  │ │   Continuing      │ │     Career       │ │      Job        │
│  Security   │ │  Professional     │ │   Advancement    │ │  Performance    │
│             │ │  Development      │ │                  │ │                 │
└─────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └─────────────────┘
```
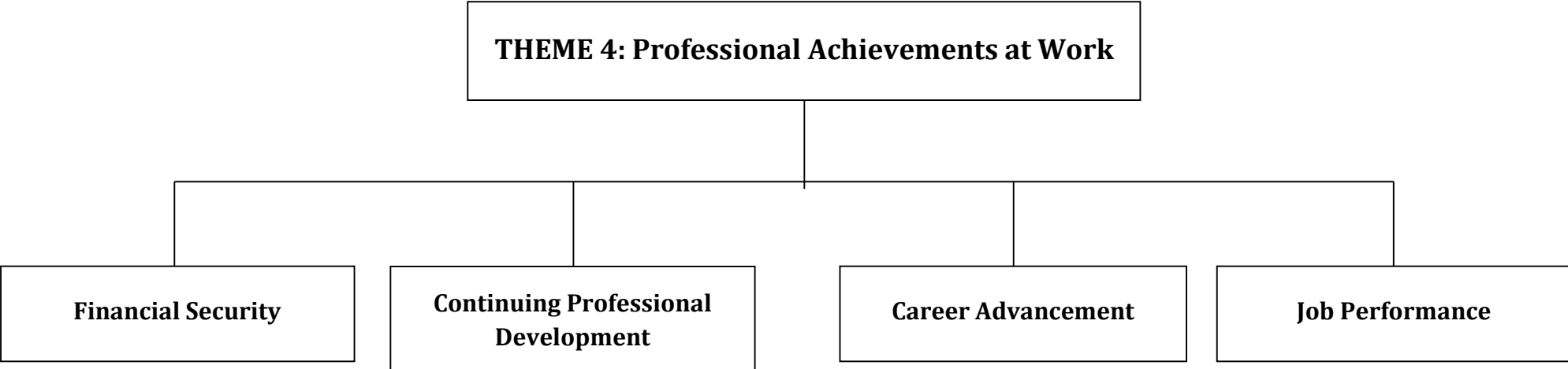
The final theme of career success for male university administrators related to criteria that is observable or measurable in a more objective sense (see figure 7.10). Similar to the theme that emerged from male primary school teachers, this theme was labelled 'professional achievements' as criteria such as financial security, continuing professional development, career advancement and job security were regarded as success.

7.3.4.1 Financial Security

For some male university administrators, emphasis was placed on being financially secure in order to have achieved success, in contrast to high salaries or monetary rewards. Furthermore, males who perceived financial security to be important often described other success criteria in addition to this. For example, a male who emphasised the importance of happiness at work also wanted to achieve financial security in order to be successful:

> *"I think success is happiness at work and being happy with what you do, combined with a comfortable salary as well, but yes, just happiness in the work that I do"* [UA015]

Similarly, one male specifically explained how he would like to achieve a salary to enable him and his family to have a comfortable lifestyle, as opposed to a high salary. Moreover, this individual also defined success in terms of his family's achievements and monetary gain was mentioned in addition to this:

> *"I would describe success as providing the facility for a happy home life. We are getting enough money to fund my daughter through college and my son as well if he decides to go, and to give ourselves a comfy lifestyle. It's not about having boats and fast cars and a Jacuzzi!"* [UA022]

These quotations show how financial gain was not necessarily the primary focus of career success for male administrators, however to be comfortable and secure with money was regarded as success in addition to other criteria.

7.3.4.2 Continuing Professional Development

Another sub-theme relating to professional achievements included continuing professional development as criteria for success, which was relevant to the context of higher education specifically. Some male administrators described their success in terms of the training or professional development they had undertaken at their employing organisation, which was easily accessible in this occupational environment:

"The university is quite good at promoting professional development with courses. There are quite a lot of in-house courses and they're beneficial for success" [UA016]

Another male university administrator defined success in terms of developing skills relevant to his post:

"When we get the new version of microsoft word, i'll go on a course for that, I also did a minute taking course and that was really useful for developing in my role." [UA003]

Overall, it was apparent that opportunities for continuing professional development were perceived as success by some male university administrators, and the university environment enabled them to select specific opportunities that were relevant to their current role.

7.3.4.3 Career Advancement

Some male university administrators referred to career advancement as criteria for success, including promotional opportunities and hierarchical progression. Specifically, two male university administrators, one working in finance and one in international student recruitment, described success in terms of status and hierarchical position;

"I think it's [success] about knowing there are opportunities available... knowing you are able to make steps forward and up. I wouldn't have taken this role if it wasn't for a much better salary and the status of managing people" [UA029]

"I certainly look at it as being the top person in an organisation, like a Finance Director or something like that" [UA007]

Moreover, one male administrator described his success as hierarchical advancement in a different occupation he wished to pursue in the future;

"At the moment, looking at the career I want to move into, I think if I got my Head Teachership that would be a success" [UA025]

These findings could suggest that career success for these males is closely associated with aspirations to move to and progress in other occupations, such as Finance, Recruitment and Teaching.

7.3.4.4 Job Performance

The final sub-theme of professional achievements was related to job performance of male university administrators that can be measured. However, job performance was perceived quite differently by individual male administrators, for example some referred to annual performance appraisals and measurable goals as an outcome of this process as indicators of success. In particular, one male had an idea of career success being defined by measurable goals, which he did not perceive to have in his current role. However, he then went on to define success in terms of his formal appraisal:

"I think career success means that in your career you have a goal that you can measure it against easily, so that's a tricky area in this job because I don't have that. It can sort of be measured whether I am doing a good job day to day from my appraisal" [UA016]

Another male administrative assistant described success in terms of job performance; however he interpreted this in terms of his ability to do his current job based on his own opinion:

"I would probably define it [success] as just being good at the job I am in, rather than thinking it has to lead on to going up the next rung of the ladder. Yes my definition of success is being content and good at the job you are in" [UA002]

It is apparent from these quotations that job performance was interpreted both objectively and subjectively, based on formal goals set during appraisals as well as personal feelings and perceptions of job performance.

7.4 Achievement of Career Success

Interpretation of the semi-structured interviews with male employees in primary school teaching and university administration suggested that perceptions of the achievement of career success were quite varied. Some men felt that they either had or had not yet achieved success as they defined it in their current role:

> *"I would say I've achieved success, only because I keep on adapting and keep on changing"* [PT018]

> *"I have achieved success, whether that will change down the line we may see but at this moment in time I am just happy doing what I am doing"* [UA014]

However, many males believed achievement of career success was an ongoing process, particularly if they had defined career success in a more subjective or social way. For example, success criteria that included enjoyment, happiness, satisfaction, making a contribution and receiving informal positive feedback, could be achieved on a continuous basis as opposed to the achievement of an ultimate goal.

> *"I have achieved success, I think so yes I mean this year I've had a very nice class, a very tough class, but I've had some very positive comments from parents and the children. Next year could be totally different"* [PT004]

> *"I do feel like I have achieved it [success], I always feel like 'I have achieved something today'"* [UA003]

Conversely, some males in administrative roles aspired to achieve success in other occupations, such as financial professions, therefore they felt they had not yet achieved success based on their personal definitions:

"I haven't achieved it yet, but I am on the way. This is a stepping stone to what I want to do" [UA007]

In this case study, most males regarded achievement of success as part of a continuous cycle, for example in the context of primary school teaching, a new class of children are allocated to teachers every 12 months, and in university administration tasks are associated with different stages of the academic year, providing opportunities to experience renewed success on an annual basis.

7.5 A Framework of Success for Male Primary School Teachers and University Administrators

Taken together, there are key commonalities in the way males in both occupations described success that suggest it is a complex construct that goes beyond the simplistic categories of objective and subjective criteria. These commonalities between themes from male primary school teachers and university administrators enabled the development of a framework of success including personal, professional, social and life achievements. In this case study, it is therefore argued that success should be defined thematically rather than categorically to show a variety of criteria and how they often overlap. Figure 7.11 outlines a framework of success that has been developed as a result of this analysis to demonstrate how success is a complex construct in which a variety of criteria from multiple themes can be important to individuals. The framework includes 'life success' to demonstrate the importance of achievements in other areas of life in addition to success that is related to career.

Figure 7.11 Framework of Success of Male Primary School Teachers and University Administrators.
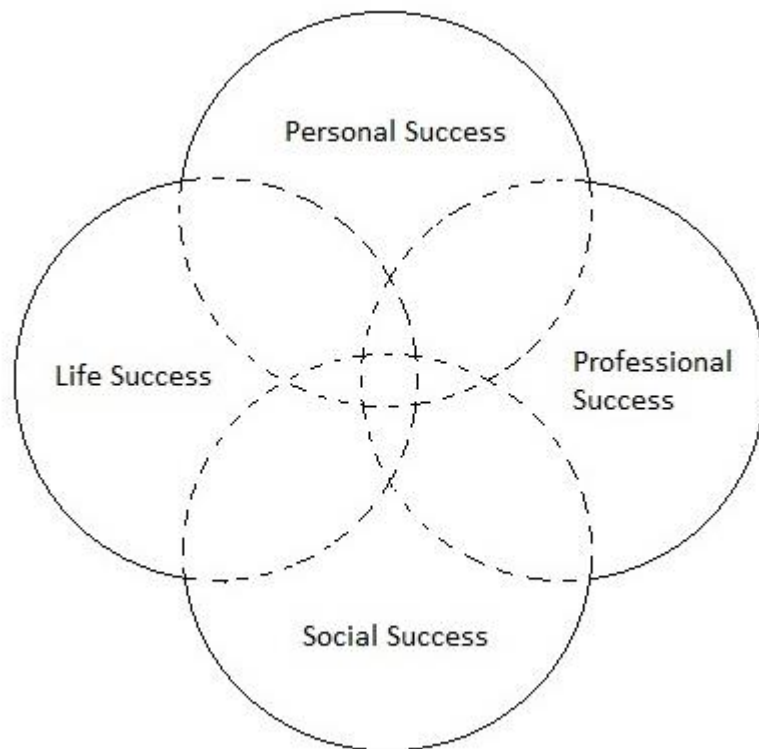
7.6 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter has presented key findings of the thematic analysis to show how males in primary school teaching and university administration define career success from an individual perspective. In response to research question 1, findings suggest that success is a complex construct that can be defined by themes of personal, professional, social and life achievements. These complex themes demonstrate that criteria for success are interrelated, which will be critically discussed in relation to current literature in chapter 11.

Within these themes, criteria for success was shown to be closely related to occupational context. For example males in primary school teaching valued criteria such as making a contribution to education, feedback and recognition from parents and children, and enjoyment of work in the classroom. In addition to this, males in this context referred to criteria for success that was specific to male primary school teachers, including being

perceived as a positive male role model for primary school children and increased opportunities for career advancement (despite their career intentions). On the other hand, the majority of male university administrators valued life success more so than career achievements. Specifically, it was apparent that the term 'work-life balance' held a different meaning for male primary school teachers and male university administrators, in that university administrators were using the term to describe achievements in other areas of life, whereas primary school teachers were emphasising the importance of maintaining a comfortable balance between work and time for other interests. This therefore suggests that generic measures of career success may not be suitable for specific occupations, as important items, for example 'life success', may not be included. Furthermore, enjoyment of work and social achievements were regarded as important to overall success in the context of university administration.

Objective indicators were not entirely ruled out as criteria for success by male primary school teachers and university administrators. In addition to subjective and social criteria, indicators such as financial security rather than financial gain were regarded as success by some males, as it was acknowledged that both occupations were not associated with large salaries. Other professional achievements were also referred to by some male primary school teachers, such as hierarchical position. In comparison with university administration the professional structure in primary school teaching may contribute to this perception of hierarchical progression as criteria for success for some males. University administrators on the other hand did not all aspire to 'climb the career ladder' in their current occupation as the hierarchical structure was perceived to include professions that did not necessarily feature in their career intentions. Conversely, hierarchical advancement was important to male university administrators who aspired to move into other occupations in line with their definitions of success, such as finance or teaching related professions.

Chapter 8

Phase 1 - Interpretation of Findings:
What motivations influence males to enter primary school teaching and university administration?

8.1 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis will address research question 2 of the case study - 'what motivations influence males to enter primary school teaching and university administration?'. With the findings of chapter 7 providing a basis for understanding how male primary school teachers and university administrators define success, thematic analysis was conducted to explore work history and motivations for entering primary school teaching and university administration. Patterns emerged from detailed explanations for seeking roles in both teaching and administration, providing valuable information on the career journeys that lead males to their current roles in line with their definitions of success (with reference to previous employment and career goals). A content analysis was also conducted to explore the educational background of males included in the case study.

8.2 Reasons for Entry into University Administration

Exploration of the career histories of male university administrators in this case study shows that males arrived at their current posts in university administration from a variety of different backgrounds. In order to demonstrate findings the career histories of male university administrators have been incorporated into a framework, to represent how men arrived in university administration in diagrammatical format (illustrated in figure 8.1 below).

Figure 8.1 Career histories of male university administrators

ADMINISTRATION	**HAIRDRESSING**	**SALES**	**SCIENCE/ HUMANITIES**	**HOSPITALITY/ LEISURE**	**OTHER PROFESSIONS**

Admin in HE (n=5)

Finance Admin (n=2)

General Admin (n=3)

Stylist/Receptionist (n=1)

Tele-sales (n=1)

Retail (n=1)

Lab/field work (n=1)

Chef (n=2)

Professional football (n=1)

Royal Air Force (n=1)

Teaching (n=1)

Set up marketing business (n=1)

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION (n=19)

Seeking entry into university administration

'Coming across' a career in university administration

Seeking university administration following positive work experience

Pursuing university administration for convenience

Settling for a career in university administration

University administration as a stepping stone

Four key themes explaining male's reasons for entry into university administration emerged from the interview data. Reasons for entry included themes of 'seeking entry into university administration', 'coming across a career in university administration', 'settling for a career in university administration', and 'university administration as a stepping stone'. Themes demonstrate complex factors that contribute to decisions to enter university administration and suggest the possibility that some men move between categories. The following interpretation explores each theme in detail with examples of quotations from male university administrators.

8.2.1 Theme 1: Seeking Entry into University Administration

Exploration of the career histories of male university administrators shared similarities with Simpson's (2005) model. For example, the decision-making of some male university administrators appeared to align with the 'seekers' category, in that they had made active decisions to pursue this occupation following a history of administrative-related jobs, either in universities or other public sector organisations. The following quotation reflects one male university administrator's career history in administration having made active decisions to work in this field:

> "Well, all my jobs have been administrative. I was a temp here about 8 years ago and I worked in various offices and got good experience of those offices. I made enquiries about coming back and then I applied for the Education Award Administrator [on a temp basis], which I got and did for 18 months… [my colleague] made it known she was going to move on from her post [in the Business School Research Centre] and then I got an opportunity to do what she did and I enjoyed it so I applied officially and I got the job" [UA016]

This highlights the proactive behaviour of this male university administrator to continue working in administrative roles specifically. He described his experience in a positive light, focusing particularly on his enjoyment of the temporary role, which lead to his decision to apply for a similar role permanently. He went on to articulate how he had sought an

administrative role at his employing university from the outset as he had positive experience of working in the same environment 8 years previously, which also reflects the decisions to 'seek' roles in university administration by other men in the case study. Specifically, males who sought out careers in university administration referred to the appeal of the HE environment as key reasons for entry into female-dominated environments. In particular, universities were perceived as good employers who provided stability, favourable annual leave entitlements, and a friendly environment to work in.

8.2.1.1 Seeking University Administration following Positive Work Experience

A sub-theme emerged from the theme of seeking entry into university administration, which referred to some males who had changed their career as a result of a positive experience in a previous role. For example, one male explained how he entered university administration following a career history in hairdressing, after gaining experience of administrative duties on the salon reception desk. He developed a particular interest in this type of work and then sought out an administrative role when an opportunity arose at his local university;

> *"I was the receptionist for about 5 months, I still did a bit of hairdressing but mainly I was sat at the desk as the receptionist. I really enjoyed the admin and I still got to speak to people so I finished there and went to do an NVQ in Business Admin... I was always the sort of child who wasn't outside playing football! I enjoyed keeping organised and keeping lists of things and keeping things in order, so now I do that as a job and I still do a little bit of hairdressing for fun"* [UA003]

This suggests that there is complexity in seeking entry into female-dominated occupations, as this male discovered a passion for administration whilst working in an alternative career. It is clear that specific aspects of his experience of hairdressing appeared to provoke reflection on tasks he enjoyed and felt good at since being a child, which prompted him to evaluate his career. He went on to explain how he was motivated to work in university administration to fulfil his enjoyment of administrative tasks, which suggests his career choices proactively incorporated his personal definitions of career success.

8.2.2 Theme 2: 'Coming Across' a Career in University Administration

Other male university administrators in the case study described how they had 'come across' their current role whilst conducting generic searches for a new job or career. For example, one male entered his current administrative post following a background in customer service call centres;

> *"When I was working in the call centre I really didn't enjoy it towards the end so I resigned from that post and was looking for work and wanted to stay in management, line manager etc. I saw the job here [in administration] and I thought it was a good organisation that no matter where you start there will be opportunities for you to progress."* [UA014]

He sought out his current administrative role in the process of making general career decisions, as he perceived the university setting to be advantageous for career opportunities. It could be argued therefore that this decision was not 'passive', rather this male appears to have evaluated his career decisions relative to self-referent criteria for success, in line with his career aspirations. Occupational context was perceived favourably here, as the university setting was perceived to be important for his aspirations to be achieved.

Although this theme shares similarities with research that suggests some men 'find' themselves in female-dominated occupations as a result of general career decision making, gender was not explicitly mentioned by male university administrators in this case study as a reason for entry. Rather, males who came across their current role in university administration whilst conducting generic searches for jobs, emphasised factors relating to the context of the occupation that influenced their decisions.

8.2.3 Theme 3: 'Settling' for a Career in University Administration

A third theme that emerged from the analysis emphasised the notion of accepting a role in university administration following a history of low satisfaction and/or dislike for previous experiences of work. One male in particular expressed a strong dislike of his experience of working in retail prior to his current administrative post:

"It was horrendous, in terms of all bad practices… me and my colleague, we were both 18 at the time and we practically ran the place with no credit, no pay system, no training! It was just embarrassing actually. It had such a high turnover of staff because people were mistreated. Shocking wages, the whole set-up was appalling, so just to apply to the University and get a job here was really good. Just to know there will be opportunities where you can progress, and I didn't even know those things existed!" [UA029]

Although a career move to university administration was not intentional, it appears that the appeal of the university environment is evident in this career choice. Similar to previous themes, gender was not mentioned as an influencing factor in relation to the perception of being able to progress. Rather it was the perception that this occupational context was associated with positive opportunities.

8.2.3.1 Pursuing University Administration for Convenience

A sub-theme emerged from interview data relating to settling for a career in university administration in that a variety of factors in addition to dissatisfaction appeared to influence the decision to enter university administration. For example, redundancy contributed to decisions to enter university administration for some males. One in particular described having a lengthy, successful career in marketing until the recession in the UK had a negative impact on his company. It was for this reason that he accepted a position as a university administrator, stating factors such as the convenience of location of the university, and the university being the current workplace of his spouse as key factors influencing this decision:

"I was a partner in a marketing/advertising and communications company and with the current recession we had two major clients go bust so that put the company in trouble. Whilst I was trying to keep the company going I did some invigilation work so I had contacts here and a post came up for a 6 month maternity cover in a similar administration role, and then I got this role and carried on. My wife works here so it's convenient for us both to come to work together, and I've stayed here trying to get a more permanent role" [UA022]

Decisions to enter female-dominated occupations following redundancy or loss of employment is not necessarily accounted for in current models of male's entry into female-dominated occupations, as most explanations suggest that males either actively seek out or passively come across female-dominated occupations when making career decisions. This theme therefore highlights the complexity of career decision-making amongst males in female-dominated occupations as this male chose to work in his current role in response to an environmental change, and decision-making was centred around the convenience of location and because the university was also the workplace of his spouse. As such, he did not actively seek a career in university administration, nor did he leave his role in marketing due to a history of low satisfaction. Similar to other themes, gender was not mentioned in relation to the decision to enter university administration, rather aspects of the university environment itself were perceived to be attractive. In this case, the convenience of location and the familiarity of the environment due to a family association.

In addition, two other males working as university administrators described having previous career plans in other professions, one in the Royal Air Force (RAF) and one in professional football. Both of these males unfortunately suffered injuries during the early stages of their initial careers, preventing them from pursuing their original career goals. Similarly, both males then sought out administrative roles due to convenience of the location of the university and familiarity with their working environment having studied towards undergraduate qualifications at their institutions previously. Therefore, the inability to continue with their chosen career path lead them to enter university administration.

"I wanted to join the RAF, I went all the way through the training for my shoulder fall out and so that went up the swannie... once I got my injury it took 2 years for me to reapply so instead of that I went to University and half the time through I realised there was no point going straight into the military as I would have a degree… I then had to rethink what I was going to do so in the meantime I went into university administration to get a bit of graduate experience. That was the best idea" [UA025]

8.2.4 Theme 4: University Administration as a Stepping Stone

It was found that male university administrators working in finance-related departments had often sought out their current role to gain experience for a future career in a finance-related profession. In this respect males were using their administrative role as a 'stepping stone' to gain experience and facilitate their career development into another industry. Furthermore, males working in finance-related university administration were in the process of completing financial qualifications, which were often supported by the university environment. As a result, males had entered university administration purposefully, in order to gain experience in a finance-related occupational context. Once they gain experience and/or qualifications they did not plan to remain in these positions on a long-term basis.

"Before I came to work at the University, I worked as a purchase ledger. I wanted to get into finance, I had done my undergraduate degree in Business and IT and mostly it had business elements to it. I originally wanted to do a business qualification but that didn't materialise, so I took a job as a purchase ledger. Then the finance job came up here and I thought that that was a good career to go into so that was why I applied for the job." [UA001]

This suggests there is complex variation in decision-making to enter female-dominated occupations in that this case study has shown some males to emphasise their intention to work in university administration, but their motives were not to pursue a career in administration itself. Rather, males had sought to gain experience of specific departments, as a stepping stone onto another career.

Overall, the reasons for entry into university administration as a female-dominated occupation explored in this case study demonstrate a variety of complex contributing factors and experiences. Key influential factors for males in this case study include redundancy, injury, development of career interest from positive work experience, and organisational factors including perceived opportunities, and convenience/familiarity with the organisation. This suggests explanations for males' entry into female-dominated occupations could be developed further to account for the complexity of decision-making in relation to occupational context and personal circumstances.

8.3 Reasons for Entry into Primary School Teaching

Interpretation of the career histories of male primary school teachers yielded less variation in background experience prior to entry into a female-dominated occupation in comparison with male university administrators. Exploration of the reasons for entry into primary school teaching included three key themes that suggested males in this case study aspired to work in primary school teaching from a young age (see figure 8.2). Themes refer to a variety of complex factors influencing decisions to enter primary school teaching, including 'lifelong aspiration to teach primary', 'interaction with children, a highlight of previous jobs with low satisfaction', and ''ending up' as a teacher'. The following interpretation explores each theme in detail with examples of quotations from male primary school teachers.

Figure 8.2 Career histories of male primary school teachers

| SOCIAL WORK | PART-TIME WORK | UNIVERSITY STUDY | HOSPITALITY/ LEISURE |

Social Worker (n=1)

Gardener (n=1)

PGCE Primary (n=9)

BA Ed (n=4)

Park Ranger (n=1)

PGCE Middle (n=1)

GTP (n=2)

Leisure Centre Manager

PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHING (n=15)

Lifelong aspiration to teach primary

'Ending up' as a primary school teacher

Interaction with children, a highlight of previous jobs with low satisfaction
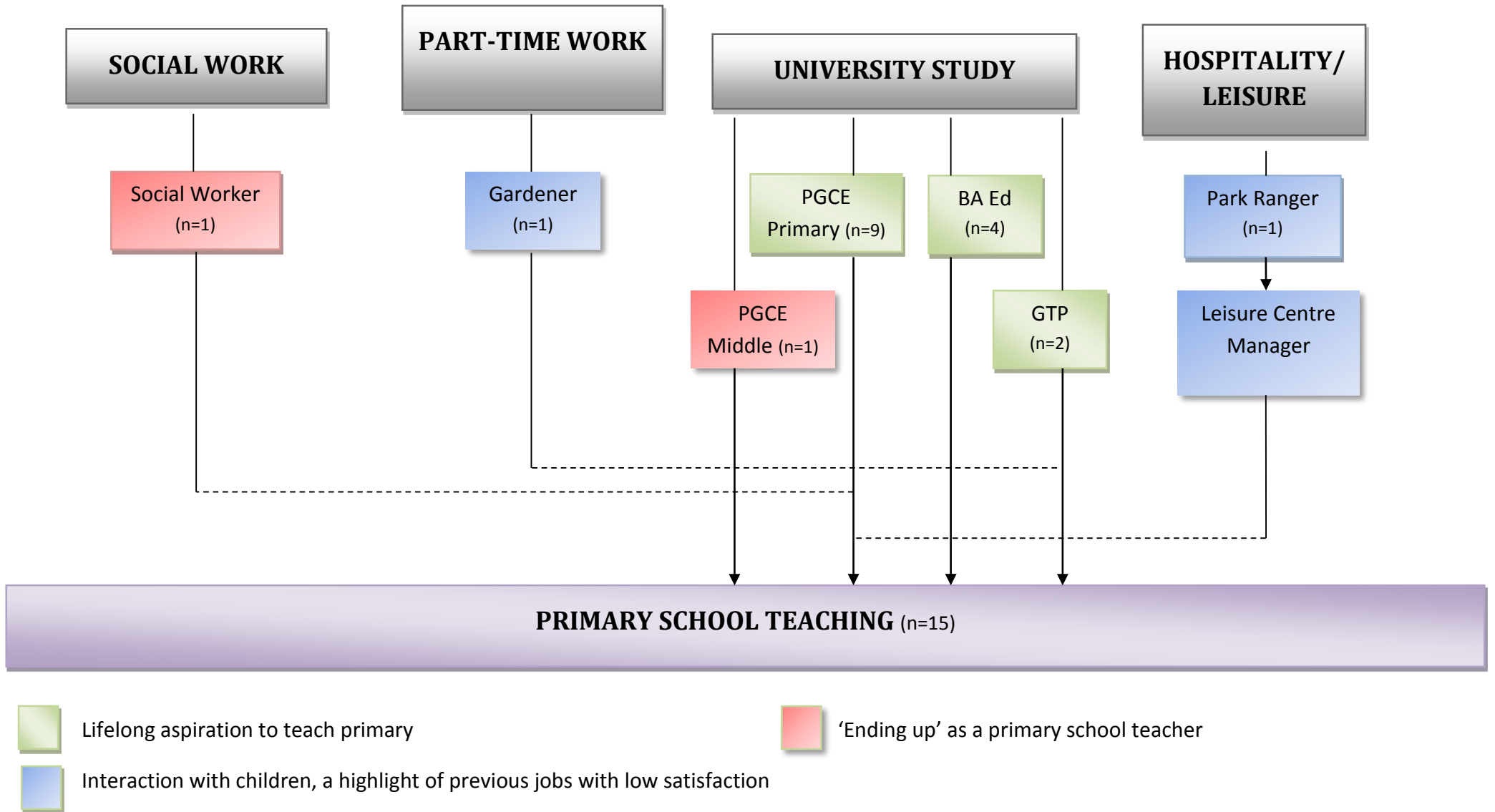
8.3.1 Theme 1: Lifelong Aspiration to Teach Primary

The interview data showed that many of the male primary school teachers had aspired to enter teaching as a career from a young age. Many referred to their intentions to become a primary school teacher dating back as early as childhood, particularly from memories of playing teacher-related games at school;

> *"I remember back at primary school it was something I wanted to do. I played 'teachers' when I was young and when I left primary school, the teacher said to me about becoming an actual teacher and it's something I've always wanted to do"* [PT004]

As a result of this, many of the male primary school teachers followed a traditional route into the profession, undertaking a postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE) following undergraduate study in a subject of interest.

> *"I took a year out from finishing my degree and starting my PGCE, but I always knew I wanted to go into teaching so I just ploughed through"* [PT021]

A sub-theme of the lifelong aspiration to teach primary relates specifically to the influence of role models whilst growing up. For the purpose of this study, role models are defined as individuals whose behaviour or activities have influenced others in a significant way (Karunanayake & Nuata, 2004). It is evident in this case study that males have identified with significant others involved in primary school teaching, a female-dominated occupation. For example, some males talked about their parents, other significant family members who had careers in teaching, or their own class teachers themselves who influenced their career decision-making. One male in particular referred to his desire to become a primary school teacher since he was young, due to familiarity with the profession from his parents, who were both primary school teachers;

> *"It was a job I was always familiar with as a child, because mom and dad always used to come home and talk about it. So I've always thought it was quite comfortable to go into, I've always got on with children."* [PT020]

Familiarity with the profession as a result of this personal insight therefore appears to be a key factor arising from the influence of role models. The above quotation specifically refers to feeling comfortable with the idea of working in primary school teaching as a result of this familiarity and close personal connection to the profession.

Whilst most males actively sought out a career in primary school teaching, factors such as this provide a more detailed account of the variety of motivations behind the decision to enter this profession specifically. For these men, childhood experience and influence of role models were key reasons for entry to this female-dominated occupation, which has implications for role model research from a male perspective. Moreover, findings such as these can facilitate the development of models explaining men's reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations, by acknowledging the influence of role models in career choice.

8.3.2 Theme 2: Interaction with Children, a Highlight of Previous Jobs with Low Satisfaction

With the exception of a few, most males in this case study entered primary school teaching after completing a specific teaching qualification at university, with limited experience of other occupations prior to entry. In comparison with male university administrators who had a variety of occupations in the make-up of their career histories, only few male primary school teachers discussed their journey into primary school teaching following experience of other employment. For example, one male explained how he had previously worked as a park ranger and a leisure centre manager but his experience of job satisfaction in each was poor;

> *"When I came out of Uni I was a park ranger for a few months. That was working outside and everyday was totally different, and it also involved taking children out to teach them about stuff on the rivers and, like school trips and that, so that's another reason why I became a teacher. Then after that I worked as an assistant manager in a leisure centre because that's what I really wanted to go into at first, the leisure and*

sports side but because it was so... I found it really boring and it wasn't really interesting so that's why I went and did my PGCE, and went into teaching" [PT008]

This quotation suggests that it was the enjoyment of regular interaction with children as one aspect of previous jobs that inspired him to pursue a career in primary school teaching. Similar to the theme that emerged from male university administrators, it appears that enjoyment of one aspect of a previous role provoked a proactive response to change career. Therefore, whilst this account does suggest low satisfaction contributed to the decision to pursue teaching, the specific experience of interacting with children prompted this male to undertake a PGCE in order to become a teacher. As such, this does not indicate the decision making was passive.

Another example to illustrate this theme comes from one male who had previous experience of working in short-term, hourly paid roles, including gardening and assisting in a garage as he was unsure of a career that would suit him. In fact, he described his experience prior to training to become a primary school teacher, as a way of actively avoiding making long-term career decisions. He went on to explain how teaching was something he had not considered before doing some voluntary support work with children, which sparked a realisation that working with primary school children is what he would enjoy doing.

"I just did some pretty bum jobs, I did a bit of gardening and working in a garage, I was basically trying to avoid working and making something of myself!... In the last few years I've done some development work in the community with children… and then teaching got me!" [PT009]

Interpretation of his experience also suggests his own reluctance in addition to low satisfaction prevented him from pursuing a career. Furthermore, it could be argued that his decision to pursue teacher training was not passive as he actively pursued training as a result of a positive experience of working with children.

8.3.3 Theme 3: 'Ending up' as a Teacher

A final theme emphasises how some males entered primary school teaching as a result of making general career decisions. For example, one male decided to pursue primary school teaching after his application for a social work placement was unsuccessful. Despite his background in psychology and sociology, he sought primary school teaching whilst making general career decisions and described wanting to pursue primary school teaching rather than secondary as he had a preference for that age group of children.

> *"After my degree course (in psychology/sociology) I wanted to go into social work. At the end of the course you had to apply for a job in social work but there were only 20 places and I didn't get on. I finished my degree and I didn't really know what to do, I was in a bit of a limbo. So I went on a PGCE, I just fell into it, but I love it, so…!"* [PT030]

Other males described 'ending up' as primary school teachers whilst making general career decisions after completing their degree course at university. It could be argued that even though the idea to enter primary school teaching came about whilst making general career decisions, they are not necessarily passive choices, as males have considered personal preferences for teaching in a primary setting as opposed to other levels of education.

In contrast to the career histories of male university administrators, male primary school teachers reported less of a variety of occupational experiences prior to entering their current roles. Most primary school teachers refer to a lifelong aspiration to pursue this occupation, as a result of childhood experience or inspiration from significant role models. As such most primary school teachers in the case study undertook teacher training in the form of an undergraduate degree or postgraduate qualification after leaving college or university, and therefore did not have experience of other occupations prior to entry. On the other hand, some males articulated experiences of other occupations or areas of study prior to entering primary school teaching and some common themes arose from this data. Most notably, the desire to pursue teaching came from a positive experience of working with young people as a small aspect of a previous role that yielded low satisfaction overall. These findings also suggest that models to explain men's reasons for entry into female-

dominated occupations could be developed further to account for complex factors, such personal influences and occupational context, in decision-making.

8.4 Educational Background

Content analysis was conducted on the interview data with male primary school teachers and university administrators to explore the highest Level of education held by each participant (see table 8.1). In doing so, it was apparent that there were key differences between the educational backgrounds of males entering the profession of primary school teaching and non-profession of university administration. For example, male primary school teachers have less variety in their educational background than university administrators, due to the level of attainment required to enter profession. In contrast, male university administrators possessed a variety of levels of qualifications across a variety of different subject areas. Although education was seen as useful by some, prior experience of work was perceived to be more important by most males. This is supportive of the somewhat complex and ambiguous distinction between professional and non-professional occupations, in that professions often outline specialised knowledge and skills acquired from education and training, whereas non-professions often emphasise experience and on-the-job training over formal qualifications (Wallace, 1995).

Table 8.1 Educational attainment of male university administrators and primary school teachers.

Highest Level of Education	University Administrators	Primary School Teachers
GCSE	1	0
A Level	1	0
Higher National Certificate (HNC)	1	0
BSc/BA	9	4
Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP)	0	1
Postgraduate Certificate (e.g. PGCE)	3	10
Postgraduate Diploma	2	0
MSc/MA	2	0
Total:	**n=19**	**n=15**

Regardless of their reason for entry into primary school teaching, it is evident that male primary school teachers in this case study had fulfilled either an undergraduate degree in teaching, a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), or a Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) in order to pursue their career.

In contrast, the highest level of educational attainment amongst male university administrators varied considerably. As a non-profession, the educational achievements required to enter university administration vary depending upon the expectations of the organisation and/or department. For example, some males working in university administration in this case study recalled that education to A Level or equivalent was a requirement of their role. However, male administrators working in finance-related departments for example, explained that proven experience of finance or financial knowledge was also an essential requirement, therefore finance-related qualifications were viewed as favourable (e.g. an finance-related undergraduate degree). Moreover, for many roles, males reported that experience or knowledge of a higher education environment was emphasised as a desirable characteristic for university administration, therefore many males perceived their degree qualification to be advantageous for this purpose also. In total, 16

out of 19 male university administrators were educated to undergraduate degree level or higher and many felt that their degree had provided them with valuable transferrable skills that were useful and relevant for supporting them in their current roles.

> *"I wouldn't say that any of the jobs I've had by any stretch needed a degree, but there are useful elements of it, things like looking at large amount of information and being able to draw out the information you need. It is more general skills that are of benefit like IT skills."* [UA012]

8.5 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter sought to address the second research question of the case study by exploring males' motivations for entering primary school teaching and university administration. Themes that emerged suggest there was a variety of motivations that influenced males in this case study, including influence of childhood career interests, influential family role models, interest in occupational context after a positive work experience, and adverse life events that resulted in a career change, all of which provide valuable insight into the complex decision-making surrounding entry into these female-dominated occupations.

Interestingly, whilst some themes illustrate partial support for existing literature that aims to explain reasons for entry into such occupations, including Simpson's (2005) seekers, finders and settlers, other key factors emerged that contribute to the development of such models. For example, decisions to enter university administration were influenced by adverse or unexpected life events (e.g. redundancy, physical injury), development of career interest from other positive work experience, positive perceptions of the occupational context (e.g. perception of development opportunities available at universities) and convenience/location of the job.

In contrast, male primary school teachers included in the case study collectively reported less experience of other careers or jobs prior to entering primary school teaching. It was

apparent that most had aspired to work in teaching from a young age as a result of personal interest or close personal connection to a role model working in this occupation. Interestingly, similarities between male university administrators and primary school teachers include the lack of emphasis on gender segregation in relation to entering their current occupations. In both cases, gender did not appear to affect decisions to enter primary school teaching and university administration.

Findings thus far therefore document complex motivations to work in the female-dominated occupations of university administration and primary school teaching, which will be discussed in relation to current literature in chapter 11. Whilst the influence of gender was not explicit in reasons for entry amongst these men, it may be problematic to categorise men who enter female-dominated occupations, when motivations are varied and related in complex ways.

Chapter 9

Phase 1 - Interpretation of Findings:
What are the experiences of male primary school teachers and
university administrators in their achievement of success?

9.1 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis will address research question 3 of the case study – 'what are the experiences of male primary school teachers and university administrators in their achievement of success?'. Thematic analysis was conducted to explore the experiences of males in their achievement of success thus far, by examining patterns in the data that related to examples of when the achievement of success was supported or hindered. Four key themes emerged from the analysis that encompassed both positive and negative experiences of working in primary school teaching and university administration including, social relationships at work, opportunities for personal and professional development, and factors that specifically relate to the two different occupational contexts. Although gender has scarcely been mentioned in the interpretation of data thus far, perceptions of gender began to emerge in relation to the experience of working in primary school teaching and university administration as female-dominated occupations.

In support of the literature that suggests males have contrasting experiences in these environments (e.g. Lupton, 2006; Williams, 1992), interpretation of the data indicated that male primary school teachers and university administrators recognised both challenges and benefits of working in female-dominated occupations, in relation to the achievement of success.

9.2 Theme 1: Social Benefits of Primary Schools and Universities

Many men in both occupations recognised similar beneficial aspects of their jobs that specifically related to social factors. These factors have been interpreted in relation to two sub-themes including, recognition and feedback at work, and positive relationships at work.

9.2.1 Informal Recognition and Feedback at Work

Both male primary school teachers and university administrators emphasised a culture of positive feedback and recognition in their workplaces. In line with themes that emerged relating to personal definitions of career success, male primary school teachers felt that receiving positive feedback from Senior Leadership Teams and Parents was beneficial for achieving success at work. For example, the following quotation emphasises the supportive nature of senior management that has helped this male primary school teacher to 'get better' or improve his performance;

> *"The senior management here, they're both reasonably good and I feel that, you know, even though she'll tell me off in a minute, she is very supportive and will tell me how to get better."* [PT011]

This male teacher went onto explain how he felt that he had a good relationship with senior management at his school, which is reflected in the more colloquial narrative used to describe their interactions (e.g. 'even though she'll tell me off in a minute'). Moreover, the perceptions of other male primary school teachers also indicated the perception that senior management were positive role models in relation to professional conduct and personal development at school.

> *"My old boss was an excellent manager, she was quite hands-off, I'm not sure she would have coped very well with the current environment but she was a really good role model."* [PT020]

Similarly, male university administrators emphasised how positive feedback and recognition for performance from managers facilitated the achievement of success. Many administrators also described their managers as helpful and supportive:

> *"I have been quite lucky with the management team I have had, and they have been willing to invest time and money in me. The vast majority of the time they are very supportive and they help me to achieve what I have set out."* [UA013]

Both of the above accounts suggest that managers or management teams are a key positive influence on success in both occupational contexts. In line with personal definitions of

career success, this would suggest that managers are perceived to have a key role to play in relation to the delivery of feedback and support for individuals who consider this to be important for success.

In line with the sub-theme of recognition and feedback at work, both male primary school teachers and university administrators felt that factors in their work environment had enabled them to develop a good reputation. Advantages associated with how their current occupation was beneficial for achieving this kind of success included, the opportunity to interact with others and develop working relationships over time and opportunities to take on additional responsibilities that were perceived positively by others within their organisation:

> *"I also think that people outside our team see us as very positive and friendly so I think that helps us get on better with team work and morale, so that's an advantage we have as a team."* [UA027]

> *"I think working and doing lots of extra-curricular activities outside the school which, I mean parents absolutely love you doing that because you're taking it out of your own time so that really helps. And I think I've had really good parent relationships as a result of it."* [PT008]

Having a good reputation was identified as criteria for success by males in both occupations in Chapter 7. In line with these personal definitions of success, it appears that males in this case study perceive both work environments as positive social systems that support the development of widespread positive beliefs about individual's work behaviours.

9.2.2 Work Environment Supports Development of Positive Relationships

Development of positive relationships with colleagues at work was perceived to be advantageous in both occupational contexts. University administrators specifically suggested that having friendships and positive relationships with colleagues were key criteria for success.

"I have some very good colleagues over the years, I've learnt an awful lot from people around me. We worked very well together, my colleague and I might as well be married we get on that well!" [PT020]

"We like seeing each other outside of work" [UA027]

Many males explained that communication channels and opportunities to interact with colleagues within their organisations enabled positive social interaction during working hours, which provided a platform for socialising with colleagues outside of work.

Other examples of the work environment supporting the development of positive relationships included the perception of mentoring schemes as effective support mechanisms within organisations. For example, some newly qualified male primary school teachers perceived the interaction and support received from mentors as a positive aspect of their occupation:

"I've done my training year here and there's always someone to go and speak to, so that's been good." [PT019]

One newly qualified teacher explained how the support received from his mentor helped to ease his mind when entering a new occupation for the first time. In particular, he described feeling worried about beginning his new role due to his inexperience and perception of how his reputation would develop over time. In this occupational context, he focused specifically on factors external to his immediate work environment, such as feedback and recognition from parents. However, the mentor support system helped him to overcome these initial challenges:

"I know one thing I was really worried about was the parents, I know that comes from outside of school but some of them now come in and speak to me and that puts me at ease with my role. Because of my age I felt... I'm younger than all the parents, younger than all the other teachers, so I feel really inexperienced. Support from colleagues has really made a difference because they're experienced and that really helps me and puts me at ease as well." [PT035]

This theme specifically relates to some of the personal definitions of success outlined in chapter 7. Recognition and feedback from others as well as the development of relationships with colleagues at work have been described as social criteria for success, and organisations in both occupational contexts within this case study appear to have mechanisms in place that help to support this in addition to other criteria.

9.3 Theme 2: Support for Personal and Professional Development

Males in both occupational contexts expressed positive perceptions of the opportunities available for personal and professional development in their workplaces. For example, many male university administrators had previously emphasised the appeal of the university environment for development purposes as a key factor in relation to their decision to enter their occupation. Many males perceived the promotion of CPD as advantageous to their personal and professional development;

> *"There is a benefit in that there are quite a lot of in-house courses, so you've got that resource. And there's longer term education as well. I can't speak for myself but I know a lot of other administrators have done a HND if they haven't got any other qualifications above GCSE or A Level."* [UA016]

This male also went on to describe how he found the appraisal system in his organisation useful for focusing on goal setting and how he could get the most out of his role. He explained how his appraisal often helped him to identify CPD opportunities that would benefit him. However he did acknowledge that this perception of the appraisal system was not widely shared with other staff;

> *"There's also the appraisal system, I do find that very useful because they help you to focus on things so it works very well and I actually quite like it like that"* [UA016]

Male primary school teachers also felt that their organisations supported personal and professional development. However, it was perceived that the size of the organisation determined the extent to which opportunities for personal and professional development

would be available. Larger schools for example, were associated with greater CPD opportunities, in that the expertise of the staff team was extensive as a result of knowledge sharing and learning from one another:

"...a school the size of this, naturally there's a lot of people with a lot of expertise around. My area of experience and expertise is the sport side of things and I can help other people and down this corridor for example you've got music experts, maths experts, science and literacy experts, we've got an art expert just up the way so there are a lot of people with a lot of expertise, whereas in smaller schools whilst you have to cover everything it might be quite limited, so it's great to have those people round you." [PT019]

One male primary school teacher also emphasised how the focus on the development of the school as a whole as well as individual members of staff was perceived to be beneficial for the achievement of success. Specifically, this school was perceived to take a positive approach to ensure equality in the availability of opportunities for all employees, which he perceived to be advantageous.

"Part of having a good school is developing the teachers. I feel like we do loads, every month we do something and in the last couple of years it's even more focused, so like in numeracy we felt like we were getting a bit tired so we got someone to do some number songs, so we're all dancing and singing in numeracy now! Everybody is treated really equally on who gets what and you can ask for stuff as well. I think our school is better at things like that, so if I ask to do a bit more on maths for low ability children, I can get sent on a course 4/5 weeks later. And all of these things are helpful to me and we share as well, so we split off into our teams so we can talk about things we do and how we can do it better. [PT033]

Overall, it is apparent that mechanisms for personal and professional development are regarded as a benefit of working in both primary school teaching and university administration. However, such opportunities are only perceived positively within both occupational contexts if fairness and equality in relation to eligibility to take advantage of such activities is upheld. For example, opportunities for training were highlighted as criteria

for success by many male primary school teachers, therefore some males perceived lack of training opportunities as a hindrance to success in their organisations:

> *"My current organisation offers very little training, so I don't feel I can better myself here. There hasn't been any training. Even in my NQT year I only went to 2 ½ days of local authority training and I know full well a lot more than this is offered to other teachers in their first year. I managed to get on a residential course for new teachers off my own back for a weekend, and this was valuable experience."* [PT010]

9.4 Theme 3: Gender-related Advantages and Disadvantages of the Work Environment

9.4.1 Opportunities for Males in Female-dominated Environments

Reflection of gender-related advantages in the workplace emerged as a key sub-theme outlining the experiences of male primary school teachers and university administrators. In line with the theme of success for male teachers that emerged from the analysis of personal definitions of success, male primary school teachers referred to advantageous opportunities in their career as a result of primary schools seeking male role models.

> *"I think being a male gives you advantage at interview. For my job here there were 5 girls and I got it, and the other NQT came in the following afternoon and he got the other one. I think this school looks for male role models so it's an advantage now."* [PT034]

This male in particular perceived his success at interview as a result of gender advantage, in line with the glass escalator phenomenon (Williams, 1992). Furthermore, other male primary school teachers perceived certain subject responsibilities to be of benefit to them specifically, for example Information Technology (IT) and Physical Education (PE) were perceived to be associated with positive opportunities for mentoring and career progression for men.

> *"I think being a lead teacher in P.E. and mentoring a couple of female staff who weren't sure about sport and so I've helped those out and worked a lot with them. And*

I know that sounds really sexist but a lot of women aren't as confident teaching P.E. so I've been in and taught lessons for them and they've watched to get ideas really, so that's definitely been beneficial." [PT008]

Similarly, some male university administrators suggested they had experienced promotional opportunities as a result of gender-related factors. On one hand, male university administrators did not necessarily outline gender advantages as criteria for success in their occupational context, however some articulated an awareness of gender-related phenomena at work.

"I suppose in some ways, and don't take this the wrong way, because it is quite a female dominated role, there's a particular age group within the admin staff that do tend to come and go. Usually taking breaks for child care and so on. So I kind of got a step up the ladder because of someone had gone off on maternity leave, and was then in a position that they didn't want to come back. So that kind of moved someone else so I could move up that little bit quicker." [UA017]

9.4.2 Gender as a Hindrance to Work Opportunities

On the other hand, a contrasting sub-theme emerged from the analysis that suggested some males in both occupational contexts reported negative experiences or challenges associated with being male in a female-dominated environment. For example, one male university administrator described a negative experience of accepting a promotional opportunity in his department.

"I was offered a considerable amount of support if I took the role that they wanted me to do and when I got it I knew I wouldn't be given that support and I was right!... it was a bit embarrassing because there was a lady who I don't think was approached for the role, who was higher up than me and she was sort of stepped over, but I don't think that was anything to do with that she was a woman or anything like that. So that was

199

difficult to deal with, like I don't think that she wanted to do the job but I think she would have appreciated being asked." [UA002]

When initially accepting the role he expressed concerns over the level of support he would receive, but he also acknowledged feelings of embarrassment when a female member of staff who was also eligible for the promotion was not approached. Although he suggests she was overlooked in an unfair manner, he perceives this not to be related to gender. However, he then goes on to discuss his views of unfairness towards other women in his department who have been promoted and adapted their roles to suit their circumstances.

> *"I've noticed that of those that have progressed, the majority of the women have changed the role to fit their own life, their own work-life balance, which I don't view as actually being quite fair. But I suppose they wouldn't have changed it if they hadn't been allowed to, but in terms of people who have progressed and gone on to a role that is responsible for people, like Administrative Officers or Assistant Registrar, then they've changed that role to suit their circumstances."* [UA002]

In this respect, the perception of gender in the workplace appears to be contradictory. Whilst some males view their gender to be advantageous for certain opportunities, perceptions of advantages for female staff are interpreted as unfair at their expense. Similar issues were reported by some male primary school teachers, who felt that female staff were often favoured for roles in early years. Despite emphasising previously that certain responsibilities were perceived to be advantageous for men, such as IT and PE, the perception that women were associated with opportunities in early years was perceived to be unfair.

> *"I think because I'm in Key Stage 1, when I have looked for jobs out there, there's the assumption that Key Stage 1 teachers have got to be more maternal, so perhaps they are more towards female members of staff and I have come across that a couple of times."* [PT032]

Similar accounts from male university administrators suggest that there are different expectations of males and females in their work environment, which were interpreted both

positively and negatively. For example, some male's perceived female staff to be approached more often to take minutes in meetings, despite those duties being a responsibility of male administrator roles as well. Given the contradictory perceptions, it is not clear as to whether this helps or hinders the achievement of career success for university administrators.

9.4.3 Fitting in as Man in a Female Context

In contrast to theme 1 relating to positive social relations emphasised by primary school teachers and administrators, some males reported that they were the only male in their work environment. In some cases therefore, males described difficulties in socialising with female colleagues as they often felt often felt as if they did not have things in common. Most notably, some males felt that interactions between female colleagues were centred around female-related topics, and therefore felt either not able to, or unwilling to contribute.

> *"It's frustrating because sometimes, no matter how you think about it, as a guy you miss the banter of being around a group of guys, you don't have that, you can't have that joke... it's not inappropriate joking it's just you can't have that same banter. I mean there's so many times in the office I've been stuck with two other girls and one is getting married so every conversation they talk about is about weddings, whereas I'm not really interested in that! We didn't really have a relationship to be honest."*
> [UA001]

> *"…when I arrived here they were used to just being all women, and emails would come round that had a picture of say David Beckham, and suddenly then they would have to be mindful of certain things they would say. Like 'why do men always do that' and there would have to be a footnote of 'not you obviously', you would have to be excluded from that, so you would smile and it is strange that over time they have slightly adjusted their behaviour to take account of me, rather than just being able to say what they wanted"* [UA026]

Interpretation of the above quotes show examples of the extent to which some men were engaged with their female colleagues. Interestingly, the first quotation comes from one male administrator who has prior experience of male-dominated work environments, and therefore explains how he misses interaction with other men. In contrast to the second example, he specifically stated that he does not get on with the women he shares his office with. On the other hand, the second quotation emphasises how the women in his office had to adjust to him when communicating with colleagues. Although he does not express an explicit dislike for this, he does explain that he is sometimes excluded from discussion.

It appears from the interpretation that men who discussed interactions with female-colleagues as part of their interview had varying experiences of whether or not they perceived this negatively, and also whether or not they perceived this to be purely related to gender differences. For example, one other male explained how he did not always find female-orientated conversations interesting, but he acknowledged that he may also feel this way about shared interests with male colleagues.

> *"At the level I am at it's purely as trivial as the type of conversations they have! I find that a little bit boring! But other than on a personal level, I don't think the way we interact or do our jobs is any different. We just don't share the same interests, but that could happen with male colleagues."* [UA023]

Although social relations have also been perceived as negative in relation to gender-differences in interaction with colleagues, it can be seen from different accounts with men that experiences range from having conflict with women, to simple acknowledgement of dissimilar interests.

9.5 Theme 4: Challenges and Benefits of the Occupational Contexts

A final theme that emerged from the data suggested that there were factors influencing the achievement of success in relation to the occupational context itself. Two distinct sub-themes were apparent in the data, the first relating to occupational factors helping or

hindering success within primary school teaching and university administration, and the second referring to perceptions of external factors influencing the internal work environment.

9.5.1 Influence of Occupational Factors on Perceptions of Success

Males identified several aspects of primary school teaching and university administration that were perceived to be influential on the achievement of career success within their occupational context.

For example, national expectations with regard to children's performance and teaching quality were meaningful to some as indicators of success, but interpreted by others as a pressure or challenge of the job. Ofsted inspections specifically were identified as intrinsic to the occupational context of primary school teaching and were interpreted by some males as a potential hindrance to their success.

> *"I think at the time you have an Ofsted and you do well that's brilliant, but 2 years later it's a different Ofsted criteria so you've got to move your own goal posts and it evolves. So I think it is a question of keeping up with whatever is current practice. You know, I don't agree that if Ofsted come in and spend 20 minutes in here, they've seen the best of it. So that frustrates me quite a lot, I understand that they can only spend a certain amount of time, but they could see the best 20 minutes of my life but they could also see the worst 20 minutes!"* [PT018]

Moreover, requirements of the role of a primary school teacher, including lesson planning, was perceived as a hindrance by some male teachers who assigned greater value to other aspects of the job as part of their success. For example, one male teacher described how he prefers to engage in extra-curricular activities as opposed to the compulsory requirement of lesson planning. This was therefore identified as a challenge for some male teachers.

> *"I am generally not work shy but because of the hours I put in while other people are planning are for worthwhile things, like I'll be doing the cross country. So I do the extra hours in a different way. So for me I would rather my own child's class teacher*

organised running after school than on more time planning, I just don't get that.

Primary just mystifies me, it just seems to be entrenched in paper work." [PT011]

Similarly, some male university administrators identified aspects of their occupation that were perceived to be a challenge or barrier to achieving success. For example, the lack of a clear career path was acknowledged by some, in that those who defined career success in terms of progression felt hindered by the structure of their organisations.

"Well, you can't progress unless someone else leaves, and even then you aren't guaranteed to progress because you have to apply and interview for the job that becomes vacant, so there's a block there." [UA001]

This male in particular felt that opportunities for upward advancement were limited by the nature of the non-professional occupation. He acknowledged that unless individuals leave higher level positions in the organisation, there is little scope to progress up the hierarchy, which suggests that his current occupation is not necessarily supportive of his traditional view of career progression. It has been suggested that public sector organisations are defined by job content, self-development, recognition, autonomy, interesting work, and the chance to learn new things (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007; Houston, 2000), which indicates a mismatch in perceptions of success between some employees and their organisations.

Furthermore, whilst many males felt university administration was particularly beneficial for personal and professional development, it was also noted that opportunities such as development courses were not always useful for their job role. For example, some males felt that courses were quite generic in nature and did not necessarily support professional development beyond general skills such as minute taking, time management, communication and training in computer software (e.g. Microsoft Office).

"There are lots of internal training courses, but they are quite general courses. The ones which I have seen are not really going to give me what I haven't got already." [UA012]

However, experiences of opportunities such as courses were varied between Universities, as other male university administrators reported the availability of courses was a key benefit of their work environment.

"We've got our own department for professional development so when people are putting on courses at the place where you work, constantly, it's easy to take advantage of that and get the most out of that. It is something that is always encouraged within our department." [UA014]

In addition to this, many male administrators explained that their University would often support members of staff to study towards their first degree, which was also seen as a benefit of their occupation.

Similarly, primary school teaching was perceived as a career in which organisations are supportive of staff development, whether that be within their school or elsewhere. In particular, it was perceived that schools invest heavily in professional development and encourage teachers to apply for positions at other schools if opportunities cannot be provided internally.

"Teaching is quite different to other careers, in terms of if you decide you want to move then the school is always supportive, even if they don't want to lose you, it's always supportive. So if a Deputy Headship comes up or I want to go for another teaching post, then it's very open and encouraging. So if I needed to go and spend an afternoon in another school then that would be supported." [PT020]

It is clear from this sub-theme that there are mixed perceptions of how occupational factors, such as role responsibilities and organisational support may help or hinder the achievement of career success. It appears that there are key differences between the organisations that were included in this case study, with some males interpreting factors intrinsic to their occupation, such as results of Ofsted inspections and opportunities for professional development, as mechanisms that support the achievement of personal definitions of success. Whereas others have reported problematic experiences with factors such as these, including limited opportunities for promotion and a lack of development courses that build upon generic skills.

9.5.2 Influence of External Factors on Occupational Support

Males in the case study also referred to external factors that influence the achievement of career success in primary school teaching and university administration. For example, changes in government legislation and funding have impacted both occupations in primary and higher education.

> *"…because of cuts and stuff that has been going on, the whole educational sector has cut down on how much CPD you get."* [PT021]

> *"In higher education what the government do has a massive bearing on how it impacts the university, obviously we are seeing that this year with the rising university fees. That is the main challenge going forward working in the university."* [UA014]

The impact of funding in particular was perceived to have had a negative impact on the opportunity to undertake training and professional development in their organisations. Moreover, males in both occupations demonstrated an awareness of individuals staying in their current posts for longer rather than attempting to progress, as a result of an increase in competition for new posts.

9.6 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter sought to address the third research question of the case study by exploring the experiences of males in entering primary school teaching and university administration in relation to their achievement of success as they define it. Overall, the themes that emerged show support for previous research that reports both positive and negative experiences as males in female-dominated occupations. One theme specifically outlined perceptions of gender-related advantages in primary school teaching and university administration, including increased opportunities at interview that support the glass escalator phenomenon. On the other hand, it was suggested that females were at an advantage for certain roles (e.g. early years teaching in primary schools), or were able to adapt their opportunity for promotion to suit personal circumstances, which was perceived as unfair and detrimental to the achievement of success for males in some cases.

Other themes emphasised benefits and challenges of the work environment itself. For example, the environment supported social interaction and development of friendships with colleagues, which was emphasised as criteria for success. Some males had developed friendships with work colleagues that extended to socialising outside of work hours. Experiences such as these were seen to be supportive of the achievement of success, as organisational context had provided a platform for relationships to be established. In relation to gender, negative experiences of social interaction were often reported when there were no other male colleagues at all, thus hindering the achievement of this criteria for success.

Similarly, contradictory findings emerged in relation to the perception of organisational opportunities that support the achievement of success. Males in both occupations reported positive experiences of a variety of personal and professional development interventions. However, differences in experience were observed between organisations, as others questioned the value of development opportunities, such as courses, and limited scope for job mobility.

It is evident that themes reflecting perceptions of benefits and challenges of the work environment share key similarities with themes that describe personal definitions of success. For example, males who regarded upward advancement as criteria for success reported positive and negative experiences depending upon the availability of promotional opportunities within their organisation. In addition to this, availability of opportunities was also perceived to be influenced by external factors, such as government cuts to funding in both occupations. Therefore, it appears that perceptions of the work environment in relation to how it supports career success, shares similar complexities and contradictions that emerged from reasons for entry into these occupations.

Findings thus far have therefore shown that perceptions of the support or hindrance of the work environment in relation to career success are complex and ambiguous. It is plausible to suggest therefore that the work environment, availability of opportunities, external factors and perceptions of gender interrelate and affect the achievement of career success in complex ways, which will be considered as part of the general discussion in chapter 11.

Chapter 10

Phase 2 - Interpretation of Findings:
Are career interventions available in males' employing organisations and do they help or hinder males to achieve success as they define it?

10.1 Introduction

This chapter of findings addresses the fourth and final research question of the case study – 'are career interventions available in males' employing organisations and do they help or hinder males to achieve success as they define it?'. Interview data from phase 2 of the case study (see section 6.4.1.2) was obtained from representatives of primary schools and universities, including managers and personnel staff (see table 6.4), who were involved in career development to gain information on the career interventions and support that is available to male participants.

Thematic analysis was conducted to explore patterns in the data to explore how organisations define successful employees from the perspective of managers and personnel staff and to determine the career support available to male primary school teachers and university administrators. Building upon the themes that emerged to reflect males' experiences of achieving success in chapter 9, this analysis considered the career interventions available in primary schools and universities and a comparison of perceptions of their effectiveness from organisational representatives and male primary school teachers and university administrators themselves.

Initially, specific career interventions were identified from the interview data using content analysis, which enabled categorisation into sub-themes including training and development opportunities; indicators of work performance; job entitlements; and coaching and mentoring. Further to this, thematic analysis was conducted to explore how organisations define successful employees and to consider whether career interventions were effective for supporting the achievement of career success defined by male primary school teachers and university administrators. Therefore, male perceptions were also examined as part of this analysis in order to conduct detailed comparisons between organisational and individual perspectives. Four key themes emerged from this analysis including individual vs organisational definitions of success; positive investment in people; promotion of

supportive work environments; and organisational barriers to the success of career interventions.

10.2 Career Interventions in Primary School Teaching and University Administration

Initial content analysis of the data was conducted to explore the perceptions of career support in organisations reported by male primary school teachers and university administrators, in comparison with evidence from representatives from primary schools and universities who are involved in the implementation of career interventions (see table 10.1 and 10.2).

Table 10.1 Career interventions in primary school teaching

Male Primary School Teacher Perceptions	Career Interventions Available

Training
  - Courses
    Subject-specific
    Management/Senior Management
    Head Teacher
    Skills-based
  - Knowledge sharing
	Professional Development
	  - Courses
	    External/Internal
	    Leadership
	    Skill development
	    Curricular knowledge
	    School legislation
	  - Team knowledge sharing
	  - INSET days

Performance Management
  - Appraisal
    Goal setting
    Children's targets/performance
  - Personal development plan
  - Peer observation
	Performance Management
	  - Appraisal
	  - Mid-point review
	  - Annual CPD meeting
	  - Peer observation

Mentoring
  - Mentoring NQTs
	Mentoring
	  - Mentoring NQTs and PGCE students

Promotional Opportunities	Career Opportunities
- Upward advancement	- Leadership roles
- Maternity leave cover	- Additional responsibilities
- Support for interview attendance	- Senior management
- Encouraging of boundaryless mobility	
Staff Meetings	

Table 10.2 Career interventions in university administration

Male University Administrator Perceptions	Career Interventions Available
Training and development	**Training and development**
- Courses	- Courses
Generic skills (e.g. minute writing, communication, risk assessment)	Leadership programme
Management	Accredited awards/certificates
Degree/professional qualifications	Generic skills (e.g. minute writing, assertiveness, time management)
External workshops/courses	Degree/professional qualifications
- Promotion of training opportunities	Mentor training
Development brochures/websites	Appraiser training
	- Induction
	- Probation
	- Away days
	- Individual requests for training
	- Staff development website/brochures
	- Events for support staff
Job entitlements	**Job-related support**
- Annual leave allowance	- Investor in People recognition
- Flexible working hours	- Coaching
- Protected time to study	- Apprentice scheme with local partners
	- Flexible working
	- Study support (time, funding)
Staff meetings	**Staff/Department meetings**
Appraisal	**Appraisal (annual)**
	Review (6 monthly)
	Regular one-to-one with managers

	External support
	- Association of University Administrators (AUA)

It is evident from the analysis that organisational representatives predominantly perceived organisational support in line with objective measures of career development and success. Interestingly, these findings appear to contrast many of the personal definitions of success, in which male primary school teachers and university administrators regarded more subjective and social criteria as important. Interestingly, male perceptions of organisational support appeared to automatically refer to ways in which career development is supported and measured objectively when asked about their organisations specifically.

Actual organisational support included interventions such as training and development by means of attending courses and workshops; goal setting and measurement of performance via appraisal systems; and regular, official meetings for teams of staff.

10.2.1 Training and Development Opportunities

Overall, training and development courses were regarded as the most prominent career intervention by organisational representatives in relation to how organisations can support the achievement of career success. A range of courses and workshops were reported to be available to primary school teachers and university administrators. For example, opportunities to undertake training in leadership and management was supported by primary schools to prepare staff for upward advancement. As identified in chapter 7, opportunities such as these were valued by some male primary school teachers in line with their career aspirations to become a Head Teacher. However, it was also suggested that some males felt pressured by opportunities such as these despite their career intentions. As a result, it could be argued that discrepancies between organisational and individual perceptions of success could be detrimental to both parties if employees feel pressured to pursue training for a career path that is not desirable to them.

Male university administrators appeared to have a variety of training and development opportunities available to them, such as generic skill-development, professional qualifications, support for additional responsibilities and team events. However, evidence also suggests experiences of training opportunities varied between and even within organisations. For example, men who reported using experience of finance-related university administration as a stepping-stone into a finance-related career, suggested that their organisations did not always offer support for specific professional qualifications. Some males described barriers on the part of the organisation in terms of funding or protected time to study:

> *"The University as a whole doesn't promote training. I mean it provides training courses but not specific to any occupational qualification, so it would be better if they actually said we'll give every employee a training fund"* [UA001]

Similarly, other male university administrators suggested that training and development courses themselves were perceived as a challenge or barrier to achieving success in some cases as they appeared to target the development of generic skills or competencies, which were not perceived to be adding value to their role. However, representatives from universities often reported a wider variety of courses available to administrative staff that most males did not appear to be aware of. For example, one university offered accredited courses targeted for the development and recognition of support staff:

> *"We also do a 'working in HE' award which is accredited. It is 2 modules, the first is contemporary issues - it covers how the organisation works. So it helps people to understand their role and helps them to see how they contribute to the overall organisation, because often our Administrators in admissions might be inputting data and think that that's all they do, when really without them we'd be absolutely stuck, we'd fall apart!"* [UA002i]

Moreover, many representatives from universities also perceived their induction programme and probationary agreement as key interventions to support development and

success. Whilst male university administrators in this case study did not tend to recognise these interventions in relation to their definitions of success.

In light of the mixed perceptions of training and development courses, it may be that opportunities are not communicated effectively to all administrative staff, resulting in a reduced awareness of the wider variety of courses that appear to be available to them. Alternatively, differences in perceptions between organisational representatives and university administrators may relate to a lack of understanding of the value or application of specific opportunities to administrative roles. For example, representatives from universities emphasised that whilst some career interventions are implemented by Personnel or Human Resource departments, others are implemented at the discretion of department managers. Therefore, communication between individuals who play a key role in influencing career intervention opportunities is essential to ensure employees are aware of all opportunities that are relevant and available to them.

10.2.2 Indicators of Work Performance

In addition to training and development courses, male employees and representatives from both occupations identified various measures of performance in relation to organisational support for achieving success. In particular, organisational representatives emphasised the value of appraisal systems for monitoring performance, usually on an annual basis with a mid-point review. For male primary school teachers, assessment of work performance also included indicators of child progression, which schools considered to be a key indicator of success in line with organisational strategy:

> *"Teachers need to make sure the children are reaching the right levels and making the right progress."* [PT007i]

Furthermore, many schools appeared to make effective links between other career interventions and their appraisal system, so that goals and objectives agreed at appraisal could be measured objectively over a period of time. For example, regular assessment of

teaching via peer observation enabled training and development needs to be identified and evaluated over time. Peer observation was often used as a support mechanism, not only for identification of training needs but also to celebrate good practice and enable colleagues to learn from each other:

"We all have the opportunity to go and observe the teachers who are rated 'outstanding' so we can learn from them." [PT013i]

On the other hand, it was apparent that approaches to appraisal systems varied between and within universities, depending on the department. In most cases, appraisals were conducted at management level and were used to set objectives and identify training needs:

"I do yearly appraisals with the team where we set objectives; new staff have an interim probation period where we identify goals and training for them." [UA012i]

However monitoring progress and evaluating achievement of objectives was ambiguous. For example, most representatives from universities reported that administrative employees would complete an evaluation after attending a course, and this information was used to evaluate the course for areas of improvement. However, less emphasis was placed on evaluation of actual work performance following a training course:

"[Do you evaluate the impact of career interventions?] Not formally. If something has been identified to improve someone's role then we keep an eye on their performance or on the specific thing that was focused for development." [UA009i]

Most representatives from universities also explained that any evaluation or monitoring of progress following an appraisal was done informally, via observation. This could help to explain different experiences of career interventions reported by males between organisations if some processes of evaluation are informal and do not necessarily involve direct input from the individual employees.

10.2.3 Job Entitlements

University representatives and administrators suggested that factors related to job entitlements, including annual leave allowance and protected time to study, were also valuable for supporting the achievement of success. Although male university administrators reported varying experiences of protected study time arrangements across organisations, these factors may support the achievement of success in other areas of life, which emerged as a key definition of success for male administrators specifically.

Interestingly, systems that support flexible working in administrative departments were mentioned, but only by a few male employees and university representatives when prompted. It appeared that systems such as these were not always directly perceived as an intervention to support the achievement of career success, despite male university administrators valuing the flexible nature of their working hours, which enabled them to achieve success in other areas of life. Similarly, university representatives in the case study did not directly identify flexi-systems to relate to career success either. It was acknowledged that flexible working systems also varied between and within universities, for example some had formal systems in place with clear guidelines, whilst others operated on a more informal basis, in which employees were given the responsibility to manage their own time:

> *"We also have flexible working in our department. We don't have a formal flexi system as such but people are trusted to do their hours around when it suits them."* [UA011i]

In contrast, primary schools did not appear to have formal systems to support flexible working due a standard approach to start and finish times of teaching sessions on school days. Rather, teachers were responsible for managing their own time to accommodate teaching and planning. For male primary school teachers, it was apparent from personal definitions of success that work-life balance held a different meaning in comparison with university administrators. In which case, for some men the holiday entitlement associated with the teaching profession was seen as a benefit of the occupation. But opportunities to

work flexibly, other than by means of part-time work, were not apparent in the organisations included in the case study.

10.2.4 Coaching and Mentoring

Organisational representatives from primary school teaching and university administration also emphasised organisational interventions that were focused on development and success of individuals, such as mentoring schemes and coaching. In primary schools specifically, mentoring schemes appeared to be standard practice in organisations to enable colleagues to support one another, particularly for trainee and newly qualified staff. Mentors appeared to be targeted for early career teachers as a point of contact for guidance, feedback and support.

> *"We also have mentoring for PGCE students and NQTs. Mentors are usually a member of SLT and mentees are assigned their mentor as a point of contact throughout their first year. Mentors will also conduct all peer observations for NQTs and PGCE students."* [PT013i]

In addition, many universities provided staff with the opportunity to attend coaching sessions, however schemes varied between universities. For example, at some universities coaching programmes were linked to certain training and development courses to encourage self-reflection of learning and support individuals to implement their learning in practice.

> *"We have coaching, which was implemented a little while ago and I think it has varying degrees of success because obviously not everyone wants to be coached! I think it is offered to all the team leaders, and I have been asked to coach some and you get some who embrace it and some who come to the first meeting and don't come again, and that's absolutely fine!"* [UA001i]

It was acknowledged however that coaching for individuals who had attended courses was not compulsory, therefore not all individuals took up the opportunity to be coached, which is reflected in the above account. In addition, other representatives from universities

218

suggested that coaching provisions had been set up to support all staff, with a key focus on recognition of strengths. However, it was identified that coaching programmes in some organisations adopted approaches that did not appear to compliment other career interventions, such as appraisal systems.

> *"We use a positive psychology approach here in coaching which is opposite to the appraisal system. We should be focusing on the strengths of people and of teams and how they can add value to the organisation."* [UA004i]

It could be argued therefore that the value of coaching for administrators and universities is limited if programmes do not relate to other career interventions. For example, if objective measures of work performance, such as appraisal systems, are used to set mutual objectives for administrators to achieve, then coaching programmes within the same organisations should be designed to support administrators to achieve said goals. However, whilst many university representatives identified coaching as a career intervention they perceived to support employees to achieve success, male administrators in the case study did not acknowledge any awareness of this opportunity.

10.3 Individual Vs Organisational Perceptions of Success

Despite a focus on objective measures, organisational support identified by representatives did include some aspects that related to key criteria for success of male primary school teachers and university administrators. For example, males in both occupations emphasised the importance of receiving feedback and recognition, and interventions such as appraisal systems, staff meetings and mentoring schemes were perceived by organisational representatives to be important mechanisms for supporting this. It was apparent that some male primary school teachers felt satisfied with receiving feedback as part of formal measures intrinsic to the occupation, such as peer observation.

> *"I would see things like praise as success, and personal achievement in the classroom as success. We have observations where we are watched and graded as satisfactory,*

good, unsatisfactory etc, and to get 'good' or better lessons is what I would consider to be successful." [PT011]

However, other male primary school teachers and university administrators referred to other forms of recognition and feedback, emphasising the value of informal positive feedback from parents, children, colleagues and managers as criteria for success. In this respect, organisations included in the case study may not be aware of the value of informal feedback in relation to the achievement of employee success.

Recognition and feedback most often referred to appraisal systems, which were viewed positively by organisational representatives and some male employees. However, others reported that annual appraisals were viewed as a 'tick box exercise' if they were not implemented effectively. Male university administrators in particular, articulated varying experiences of appraisal systems which appeared to be related to organisational factors. For example, some males suggested they were useful for career development but others suggested they were less valuable when the purpose of appraisal exercises were ambiguous:

"It's useful in terms of re-affirming what you're doing and perhaps where you're going, but I think it's a lot of paper work, a bit of a tick box exercise" [UA022]

Effectiveness of appraisal systems in this case study appears to be linked to their implementation. For example, Farndale and Kelliher (2013) suggest that the value of appraisal systems is dependent upon the communication of a clear purpose for assessing work behaviour using a structured approach to ensure employees understand the assessment of performance within the context of the organisation. It could be argued that males in this case study reported negative experiences of appraisal systems in relation to the achievement of success as a result of differences in implementation. However, findings of this case study suggest that evaluation of performance following appraisal meetings differed considerably between organisations, which was a key contributor to feelings of ambiguity surrounding the value of appraisal systems for supporting the achievement of success. Therefore organisations may believe they are providing feedback and recognition

via formal appraisal systems, when in fact employees may not find this useful if formal systems are not implemented adequately.

On the other hand, it was clear that other individual and organisational perceptions of success were notably different in relation to organisational goals in the professional and non-professional occupations included in the case study. From an organisational perspective, many representatives from both primary schools and universities defined a successful employee in relation to fulfilment of a set of standards or expectations outlined by the organisation. For example, many suggested success translated to the fulfilment of responsibilities and behaviours outlined in individual job descriptions.

> *"whatever we put in a job description, hopefully is measured in probation and appraisal"* [UA001i]

These perceptions are associated with ways in which success can be measured objectively, often to link employee achievements with organisational strategies. Notwithstanding, a prominent definition that emerged from the data referred to success as making an outstanding contribution to the organisation or exceeding organisational expectations in some way.

> *"[the organisation] recognises the contribution support staff make and those who have gone above and beyond to help the organisation achieve its mission statement."* [UA002i]

Overall, achievements such as making a contribution and exceeding expectations were emphasised by organisations, however organisational perceptions of successful employees appeared to be strongly associated with the overall achievement of organisational goals. As such, many organisational representatives explained that the selection of interventions to support development and success were adopted in line with organisational strategy, which could explain why individual criteria for success are not always supported by organisational interventions.

"All of our opportunities tie in with the University mission statement to provide an excellent student experience." [UA002i]

Organisational perceptions of success also appeared to be influenced by differences in occupational contexts. For example, primary school representatives emphasised success in association with taking on additional responsibilities and seeking promotion as part of a traditional career path to Head Teacher status within schools.

"Success I would say is a teacher moving onto the next step in their career" [PT006i]

Moreover, achievement of goals associated with child attainment was also regarded as a key indicator of success by primary school representatives. Similarly, these definitions ultimately related to organisational success, in that child attainment was seen as a key indicator of organisational performance within the context of the occupation. Once again, perceptions of success in relation to child attainment were apparent within both individual and organisational definitions of success, however organisational views related to objective measures of child performance, whereas male employees often referred to subjective feelings of making a contribution to the educational development of children via informal observation and feedback.

10.4 Organisational Representative's Perceptions of Career Interventions

This theme refers to the perceptions of organisational representatives of the benefits and challenges associated with the career interventions identified in primary schools and universities. Organisational representatives from both occupations discuss key desirable aspects of career interventions, which formed two distinct sub-themes that refer to a positive sense of investing in employees to develop, and perceptions of the supportive nature of the work environment.

10.4.1 Positive Investment in People

A clear sub-theme that emerged from interviews with organisational representatives referred to the perception of organisations benefitting from investing in career interventions for its employees. Representatives from primary schools emphasised how career interventions, such as training and development courses, resulted in more knowledgeable, experienced and content staff within the organisation.

> *"Definitely staff are more content! I think they feel supported and from going to courses they are more knowledgeable."* [PT007i]

Similarly, representatives from universities felt that career interventions available to staff resulted in a wealth of knowledge amongst teams with an abundance of skilled and experienced staff. Moreover, investment in skill and knowledge development was perceived to build confidence amongst employees.

> *"The key benefits are that it builds confidence in people and it builds strong teams. The courses also help people to understand the university and it promotes challenge."* [UA004i]

Ultimately, perceived benefits of the career interventions in place in the organisations included in the case study appeared to relate specifically to the impact of training and development courses available to employees.

10.4.2 Promotion of Supportive Work Environment

In light of the career interventions identified in both occupations, organisational representatives suggested that work environments themselves were positive, friendly and supportive places for employees to work. Interestingly, this narrative focuses on a more subjective definition of success in contrast to perceptions of interventions that support the achievement of success, which were largely objective in nature. Representatives from universities for example, felt that career interventions such as training and development courses facilitated the development of strong teams, which referred to the relationships between colleagues as well as the strength of their skills and expertise.

"We promote training in small teams and we are not nervous of other staff getting more qualified than us, we encourage it. Also in a smaller institution we are all very friendly and a lot of us have personal connections across departments." [UA005i]

Whilst the development of relationships at work was not mentioned in relation to organisational perceptions of successful employees or support to achieve success, it would appear that organisations perceive the benefit of some career interventions inadvertently supporting the development of relationships between employees.

Representatives from primary schools also acknowledged the perceived benefits of career interventions in relation to subjective criteria, in that teachers were perceived to feel supported by their organisation as a result of the opportunities available to them.

10.4.3 Organisational Barriers to the Success of Career Interventions

Similar to the perceptions of male primary school teachers and university administrators, organisational representatives from both occupations acknowledged the impact of financial constraints on career interventions in light of the current economic climate. Although organisations recognised that budgets for staff development and support may be restricted, measures had been taken to minimise the negative impact of fewer opportunities available to staff. For example, in primary schools, it was common for one member of staff to be identified to attend a training course relevant to the development of the staff team, with the expectation of knowledge sharing on their return.

"Sometimes one person is sent on a course and then they share this knowledge in a staff meeting on their return. Courses need to be cost effective so we select things like subject courses or dyslexia support courses carefully." [PT007i]

Moreover, protected time for employees to undertake career development was also identified as a challenge by organisational representatives. Specifically, some managers within universities felt that it was often difficult to manage the time to send employees on

courses, as well as time to cover their absence and time to allow them to reflect on their learning.

> *"Time! Both in the sense of people having time to go on courses, we used to run sessions in 2 hour slots per week and there were 10 sessions, but now we do blocks of 3 days as it is easier for managers to let their staff attend that way. Also though, managers and staff might take the 3 days away, but then when they return to the office there's a build-up of emails and work and they become too busy and forget the learning! There's no time to reflect."* [UA002i]

Similarly, representatives from primary schools suggested that limited time available to cover absence for training courses was also detrimental to the organisation, particularly in relation to the negative impact on children's learning.

> *"For children who had staff not in because of PPA and courses, it actually was quite disruptive for their learning."* [PT008i]

Further to this, it was identified that representatives from universities specifically felt that inconsistency of career interventions within organisations could be detrimental to the success of employees. For example, many managers suggested that approaches to flexible working were ambiguous as a result of a lack of universal guidelines to refer to. It was suggested by both managers and personnel/human resource staff that flexi-systems worked at the discretion of departmental managers, and therefore resulted in differing experiences for employees.

> *"I think the corporate approach to development in general is a challenge. For example, there is no approach to flexi-time, rather that is department lead, which is not helpful for a manager."* [UA009i]

Finally, in the context of university administration specifically, it was acknowledged that promotional opportunities were often limited, which echoes perceptions of male administrators included in this case study. Representatives from universities suggested that

they would like to see their organisations developing a system to support career progression for administrators, as many felt their organisations lost good members of staff as a result.

"I think it would be nice if we could support people in some kind of career progression, because I do sometimes think we lose really good staff because there aren't enough opportunities for people to develop." [UA001i]

Interestingly, some university representatives suggested that attracting individuals to administrative roles was a strength of the organisations, whereas retention of administrative employees who appeared to want to progress in more traditional terms was a challenge. In line with training and development opportunities available to administrators, it is possible that courses such as leadership development have the potential to encourage vertical progression, as opposed to lateral movement, which is problematic if higher positions are not available. It could therefore be suggested that this is another example of career interventions that do not necessarily complement one another, resulting in negative experiences for both individuals and organisations.

10.4.4 Employees as a Barrier to Organisational Success

Finally, many organisational representatives from both occupations suggested that in some cases employees themselves could be described as a barrier to success. For example, in both primary schools and universities it was common practice for individual employees to be approached for specific career opportunities. However, it was suggested that some employees were less willing to engage with development and were therefore reluctant to accept opportunities, which was perceived to be detrimental to individual and organisational success.

"I think there are some people who want to grow but I think we need to manage expectations. Some people need to be told to move on. They've reached their level of competency but this is not explained to them very well." [UA011i]

"One of the things we noticed was that there was not a lot of movement in the school sometimes so it was about targeting people and pushing them to move on, so then that frees up a space for someone else to move up." [PT008i]

Interestingly this perception is particularly contrasting to the personal definitions of career success reported by male primary school teachers and university administrators in this case study. Specifically, it was identified that upward advancement was undesirable to many male primary school teachers and these males reported feeling under pressure to continuously resist the targeted approach adopted by their organisation. Therefore, it would appear that these perceptions are one of the most prominent contrasts between personal definitions of success and organisational perceptions of the success of its employees, as a result of a lack of awareness of discrepancies between individual intentions and organisational strategy.

Interestingly, organisational representatives from both occupations had similar perceptions of responsibility for career development and success, with many suggesting that it was a mutual responsibility between the individual and the organisation. For example, most representatives from universities suggested that organisations are responsible for providing opportunities, and individuals are responsible for being proactive towards their development.

"I think there's a huge individual responsibility but I think a good organisation, a sensible organisation will offer opportunities, so that people who want to can develop and I think the organisation benefits from that as well, so it's a two-way thing." [UA001i]

Similarly, representatives from most primary schools felt that teachers were responsible for seeking opportunities and the school was equally responsible for providing them.

"It may be that they want to take on a different area of responsibility in the school, like a subject responsibility or they might come to us and say they think they are ready to apply for other jobs and we will support them with that, or we might suggest things

ourselves as well, so it is a mutual thing. Also, you can't develop someone who doesn't want to be developed, so it is the responsibility of both." [PT006i]

Some however, believed that the individual was solely responsible for managing their own career in relation to success, which could offer a plausible explanation for the differences in experience of career interventions between organisations.

"My personal belief is that it is up to the individual. You need to take the initiative, people cannot expect the organisation to give them a career path." [UA011i]

Where there are discrepancies between organisational and individual beliefs regarding responsibility for success and opportunities, it is possible that this could result in a mismatch of expectations. As such, differences between perceptions of success in organisations and the way in which this is potentially portrayed to individual employees could explain why some men describe negative experiences of career interventions, whilst others feel content and supported.

10.5 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter sought to address the fourth research question of the case study by exploring the career interventions available in primary schools and universities from the perspective of key organisational representatives, and comparing and contrasting the experiences of males (reported in chapter 9) with organisational perceptions of career development and success. Initial findings of this evaluation suggest that both male primary school teachers, administrators, and representatives of participants' organisations interpret career interventions or opportunities to support employees to achieve career success in a way that includes objective measurement of progress and outcomes. For example, training and development courses and objective measures of work performance, such as appraisal systems, were most frequently identified as means of organisational support. Whilst this could be a result of a lack of organisational awareness of subjective and social criteria for success, male participants also appeared to immediately refer to more traditional ways of supporting career success when asked about organisational support. Most notably, although

male university administrators highlighted the importance of success in other areas of life as key criteria, interventions to support flexible working in universities were only considered when prompted by the interviewer. Similarly, only few representatives from universities perceived flexible working systems as a mechanism to support career success and development.

Comparisons between occupations suggests that career interventions in primary schools appear to be more structured in line with the variety of career paths in primary school teaching, such as training in management or subject specialisms, leading to promotional roles in management or subject leads. It was explained that training courses leading to promotions were also supported by other interventions such as appraisal and peer observation, to monitor performance and progress. On the other hand, although a range of interventions were available to male administrators, awareness of these opportunities appeared to be limited across organisations. For example, many university representatives suggested coaching programmes were available to administrators, yet male administrators in this case study did not identify this as an intervention to support the achievement of their success.

Interestingly, organisational representatives from both occupations defined successful employees as those who made a significant contribution to the organisation and/or exceeded individual expectations. In line with this, organisational representatives identified recognition and feedback as key aspects of success for primary school teachers and administrators, and perceived interventions such as appraisal systems, staff meetings and mentoring schemes to be important mechanisms for supporting this. However, despite initial similarities with male definitions of success in this case study, both primary school teachers and university administrators emphasised the importance of informal recognition and feedback, which organisational representatives did not appear to acknowledge.

Finally, it was identified that representatives from primary schools and universities perceived a number of benefits and challenges associated with supporting the career

development and success of primary school teachers and administrators. Most notably, making an investment in employees who were willing to develop was perceived by organisational representatives to be a key benefit of the interventions in place.

In contrast, challenges of supporting the achievement of success included factors such as time and funding that were often constrained by a number of factors both internal and external to the organisations. Interestingly, some organisational representatives from both occupations suggested that employees themselves could act as a barrier to success. It would appear that where individual career intentions may have clashed with organisational perceptions of success, organisations perceived individuals to be unwilling to engage in development. Whereas individuals in this case study reported feeling pressured by their organisation to take up opportunities that were undesirable to them. This could result from a number of factors related to organisational dynamics and culture. For example, variations in perceptions of responsibility for the achievement of success were evident between different organisations, which could extend to reasons why males' experiences of organisational support to achieve career success were contradictory at times.

Overall, this evaluation presents an interesting exploration of the similarities and differences between perceptions of male primary school teachers, university administrators and organisational representatives in relation to career success and interventions, which forms an important basis for key recommendations for future research and practice, which will be acknowledged in chapter 11. A key finding of phase 2 of the research emphasises both similarities and differences between occupational contexts. In addition, males and organisational representatives reported different experiences between organisations within the same occupation, which could be related to different implementation practices.

Chapter 11

Discussion

11.1 Introduction

The following chapter seeks to highlight and interpret key findings of this case study in relation to literature to demonstrate how the research has addressed each of the study aims and research questions outlined chapter 6 (see section 6.3.1, figure 6.1). The chapter critically discusses key findings in relation to existing scholarship, with a particular focus on personal definitions of success from male primary school teachers and university administrators in relation to the gender and career success literature. Reflections on limitations of the case study are acknowledged, as well as recommendations for future research and practice. A summary of key original contributions of the research are outlined and personal reflections on the overall research process are identified.

11.2 Key Findings in Relation to Scholarship

This thesis began with a review of the literature on careers (chapter 2), career success (chapter 3) and gender differences in careers (chapter 4), which suggested that males define career success in a way that is associated with traditional career paths, in which objective indicators of success are regarded as most important. Specifically, it was concluded that the literature surrounding gender and careers does not appear to account for the influence of occupational context, in which occupations themselves may dictate a particular career path associated with criteria for success. Rather general assumptions indicate that all males define career success in relation to salary, promotions and hierarchical status, with little regard for males who do not work in high level or managerial roles in male-dominated environments.

In light of this, a key limitation of research to date was identified, in that participants included in studies that suggest males define career success via objective indicators appeared to be from specific occupational contexts, such as males in executive and managerial positions (Ng et al, 2005), often in male-dominated occupations. In comparison, it was apparent that career success of male employees in female-dominated occupations had been rarely researched, which in part provided the rationale for this case study. Specifically, Ely and Padavic (2007) argue that organisational context should be incorporated

into research designs to fully appreciate how gender operates in real work situations. Therefore, the approach adopted by this case study contributes to original outcomes as a result of going beyond generalisation of basic assumptions from one work environment to another. Instead, the interpretation of data focused on exploration of contextual factors in two female-dominated occupations in relation to personal interpretations of success, which was lacking in existing research on gender and career success. The following sections of this chapter will discuss the key findings from phase 1 and 2 of the case study to address each of the specific research questions outlined in chapter 6. At this juncture it is important to acknowledge the qualitative approach that enabled the in-depth interpretation of male definitions of success, which will be discussed in relation to findings throughout this chapter.

11.2.1 Personal, Professional, Social and Life Success

One of the most prominent original contributions of this case study relates to the first research question of the case study (phase 1), which aimed to explore personal definitions of success from males in two female-dominated occupations of primary school teaching and university administration in phase 1. The interpretation of semi-structured interviews with male primary school teachers and university administrators revealed a number of themes encompassing criteria for success that could be defined as social, subjective and objective in line with current literature (e.g. Hennequin, 2007; Heslin, 2005; Seibert, Kramer & Liden, 2001). In this respect, the case study demonstrates that in the context of two female-dominated occupations, primary school teaching and university administration, male definitions of success do not necessarily adhere to the objective male ideals suggested in the literature. In contrast to MacDermid, Lee, Buck and Williams (2001) and Segers et al (2008), male primary school teachers and university administrators described complex definitions of success including criteria related to personal, professional and social factors and other areas of life. This demonstrates that males in these occupational contexts are not solely driven by continuous vertical advancement and external rewards associated with traditional career paths. The findings of this case study therefore present important implications for gaining a better understanding of the career success of men who work in professional and non-professional female-dominated occupations.

Thematic analysis enabled the identification of success criteria for both male primary school teachers and university administrators, from which a number of commonalities and differences were identified between occupational contexts. Specifically, male employees in primary school teaching were shown to define career success in a way that was subjective but also largely intrinsic to their occupation, which is supportive of Ramaswami et al (2010) who emphasises the influence of occupational context on success, which is a key limitation of the literature on gender differences thus far. For example, criteria such as making a contribution to education, informal feedback and recognition from parents and children, and enjoyment of work in the classroom were regarded as important for success. This provides an important insight into personal perceptions of success for males in this occupational context as previous studies focusing on professions have suggested success is defined by objective measures, such as hierarchical status and salary (e.g. Kirschenbaum & Weisberg, 2002). Rather, these findings contribute to the argument that not all males, nor all professionals measure their success relative to objective criteria (Heslin, 2005), which has important implications for the way in which success is perceived, measured and assessed in certain occupations.

Specifically, these findings are supportive of Dik and Duffy (2009) who suggest that personal definitions of career success can often integrate with the values of the organisations and occupations they work for. Male primary school teachers in this case study described subjective and social criteria specific to their occupation, which is not only supportive of research that suggests context may influence associated definitions of success (Segers et al, 2008), but also of research that suggests certain public sector professions can potentially be effective in supporting subjective success (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007) associated with characteristics of protean and boundaryless career attitudes. However, consideration of support for career success from organisations is acknowledged as part of the evaluation of interventions in organisations in phase 2 of the case study in section 11.3 below.

A common theme that emerged from the interpretation of interviews indicated that both male primary school teachers and university administrators regarded social indicators of success as important to their personal definitions. Key criteria for success for male primary

school teachers included informal recognition and feedback from colleagues, parents and children. This was interpreted as social success in support of Seibert, Kramer and Liden (2001) as distinct emphasis was placed on the informal nature of recognition and feedback, which suggests the opinions of others are regarded as valuable in the social judgements male primary school teachers make in this particular occupation. Some studies suggest that daily work experience offers many opportunities for the exchange of informal feedback, of which organisations and managers may not be aware (Cunningham & Iles, 2001). However, studies such as this have focused on learning as a result of informal feedback at work, whereas males in this case study felt that feedback was important criteria for success. It has been acknowledged that the majority of what employees learn about themselves in their job is gained informally from colleagues and peers in the work environment (Tannenbaum, Beard, NcNall & Salas, 2010), which appears to apply to male primary school teachers in this case study. Nonetheless, males specifically described the value of informal feedback for confirming whether they were performing well in their role, which translated to personal feelings of success. These findings present important implications for the role of informal feedback in organisations. For example, given the informal nature of feedback exchange, organisations may not be aware of the value this has for its employees. Moreover, it is also important to consider the role of feedback as an indicator of success as well as a facilitator of learning. Interestingly, few existing studies have explored informal feedback in relation to success, yet findings appear to focus on objective indicators of success as an outcome (Cheramie, 2013). Whereas, the findings of this case study appear to suggest informal feedback is important for subjective and social achievements also. Dahling and O'Malley (2011) suggest that informal feedback can enhance effective work performance, which has the potential to benefit the achievement of success for individuals and organisations alike. Therefore, if feedback and recognition are better understood as social criteria for success, organisations may be able provide interventions that support the exchange of informal communication and feedback to facilitate the achievement of social success.

Male university administrators also referred to social indicators of success, however this related to social interaction at work as criteria for success. Specifically, male administrators emphasised success as the positive relationships they had developed with work colleagues, in which success indicators were described as working with a good team of people and developing friendships that extended to socialising with colleagues outside of work.

Workplace or professional relationships have been extensively researched in the context of social support (McGuire, 2007), social influence (Sparrowe & Liden, 2005) and relational identification (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). However, research is yet to explore positive workplace relationships in relation to success. Studies suggest that the strength of workplace relationships increase as individuals work in close proximity together, exchange more information and meet each other's expectations (Ballinger & Rockmann, 2010), which could apply to the experience of male university administrators in this case study. In terms of occupational context, interviews with male university administrators who emphasised workplace relationships in their personal definitions of success, described their work environment in which they were often in close proximity to others. Specifically, administrators in this case study often worked in open plan spaces in which getting along with colleagues and enjoying work in the company of others was seen to be an important aspect of the job. On one hand, organisational research appears to have focused on the dynamics of workplace relationships as reciprocal social exchanges, with emphasis on the inputs and outputs of individuals involved (Molm, 2003), such as needs and merits (Trefalt, 2013). However, these assumptions are simplistic in relation to the findings of this case study, in which male university administrators' experience of work relationships were interpreted to go beyond reciprocal exchanges of benefits. It could be suggested that this indicator of success is prominent in the context of university administration as males in this case study emphasise the dynamics of working as part of teams within university departments. Furthermore, the qualitative nature of the study allowed exploration of in-depth meanings of workplace relationships, in which colleagues were described as friends. This was shown to fulfil subjective feelings of enjoyment and satisfaction at work, which demonstrates overlap with subjective definitions of success.

It is apparent that social indicators of success are rarely acknowledged in the career success literature as a result of the strong focus on the relationship between objective and subjective criteria. Therefore, it can be suggested that the social indicators of success identified in this case study have important implications for the career success literature, in relation to the level of importance in which they are regarded by males in both occupational contexts. Specifically, social criteria are rarely acknowledged in current measures of success, which also has important implications for practice. For example, this may contribute to a

lack of awareness of the importance of social indicators and prevent organisations from providing mechanisms to support individuals to achieve social success.

Building upon this, a key theme that emerged from definitions of success of male university administrators suggested that life success was regarded with greater importance than career-related achievements, which has important implications for the original contribution of this research. Limited studies currently exist that explore this criteria in-depth, however this case study highlights key criteria that supports research that suggests life domains beyond work are important to consider as part of definitions of success (Parker & Chusmir, 1991). Specifically, it was apparent from the interpretation of interviews that the term 'work-life balance' held different meanings for male primary school teachers and male university administrators, in that university administrators were using the term to describe achievements unrelated to work, whereas primary school teachers were emphasising the importance of maintaining a comfortable balance between work and free time. In support of Sturges and Guest (2004), balancing work and home life was important criteria for success for both male primary school teachers and university administrators, related to their own subjective interpretations of this term. Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that occupational context could be a key influential factor on the interpretation of work-life balance, as a result of cultural practices related to balancing work and home life that manifest in primary school teaching and university administration as examples of a profession and a non-professional occupation.

In terms of the occupations in this case study, research has suggested that academic employment requires long working weeks for most full-time employees, even though there is often a perception that long breaks between terms make teaching more flexible than other careers (Gatta & Roos, 2004; Gunter & Stambach, 2003). Misra (2012) suggests that work-life issues exist for all academic employees as there are key challenges associated with balancing a professional career with other commitments. As such, it is thought that teachers face intense pressures as a result of attempts to manage a myriad of responsibilities, including teaching, mentoring and professional development (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004),

which is inherent of the occupational context. This could explain why primary school teachers in this case study view work-life balance in a way that relates to the context of their professional occupation. Bailyn, Drago & Kochan (2001) suggest that the culture of professional organisations have maintained the traditional breadwinner-homemaker model, which functions under the assumption that employees have someone to whom they can delegate household responsibilities to. These findings could therefore have important implications for the achievement and measurement of career success, particularly if existing criteria hold personal meanings that vary between individuals and occupations. Moreover, if definitions of work-life balance are also interpreted differently by organisations, employees may find themselves struggling with the changing demographics of society under this traditional work model (Bailey, 2008).

On the other hand, research in higher education resonates with studies that emphasise the challenges of work-life balance within academic culture (Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2008; Wolf-Wendell & Ward, 2006). However, studies such as these have focused on academic professionals, such as professors and university deans, whereas research that focuses on non-professional occupations within academic settings, such as academic support staff or administration specifically is lacking. Few existing studies have considered work-life balance of female administrators, in which many women found academia to be a more supportive environment for seeking balance in comparison with their experiences of other occupations (Dahlvig, 2013). Other studies however, have explored the concept of life satisfaction amongst employees, which could contribute to the understanding of personal interpretations of work-life balance in this case study. For example, as part of a European survey of full-time employees, it was found that deviations from desired hours of work was related to a reduction in overall life satisfaction (Başlevent & Kirmanoğlu, 2014). This could suggest that interpretation of work-life balance plays a key role in the evaluation of life satisfaction and success. In this case study, it could be possible that working hours in university administration already provided an appropriate balance between work and free time to achieve success in other areas of life, which could explain why male university administrators interpreted work-life balance in relation to success in other areas of life. In

support of this, Filiz (2014) found a significant difference between job

and life satisfaction reported by employees working in academia, which was highly

dependent upon variables such as department and job title. Moreover, in relation to

administrative employees specifically, a recent evaluation of life satisfaction amongst

employees in secondary schools found that school administrators reported significantly

higher life satisfaction than teachers (Özyürek, Gümüş & Doğan, 2012). These findings could

help to explain the differences in perceptions of work-life balance as a potential result of

occupational context, which could also have important implications for the measurement of

success. For example, it has been suggested that a dichotomous definition of work-life

balance should be re-conceptualised in light of changes to career paths and patterns of work

over time (Fochtman, 2011). Individuals therefore should be able to articulate experience of

work and personal lives, not in conflict or separate, but as integrated (Gregory & Milner,

2009).

Findings of this case study could suggest that generic measures of success may not

therefore be suitable for specific contexts, as questionnaire survey items may be interpreted

differently by individuals depending on their occupation, with little capacity to identify this.

The qualitative methodology adopted in this case study enabled identification of these

differences in interpretation of work-life balance across contexts. Moreover, it was

established that life success was important criteria for male university administrators,

however this term is not often assessed as part of existing measures.

Another key theme of success that emerged from male primary school teachers, suggested

that gender was important for success in relation to both social and professional

achievements. This included being perceived as a positive male role model for primary

school children and increased opportunities for career advancement, dependent upon their

career intentions. Many male primary school teachers in the case study described success as

the perception of themselves as positive role models for primary school children. Relative to

the ongoing debate surrounding male role models in primary schools, findings of this case

study present an interesting perspective from male teachers themselves that overlaps with social indicators of success related to feelings of making a positive contribution to education. A large body of literature views organisational motivations to increase the proportion of male teachers in primary schools in a negative light, particularly in relation to the suggestion that male teachers provide positive, work-oriented role models for boys specifically (Francis & Skelton, 2001). Such perceptions of gender in schools have long been challenged by research that suggests strategies that target recruitment of male teachers to provide boys with role models are underpinned by sex role socialisation (Skelton, 2003). In other words, many researchers have argued that organisational policies surrounding role models for children should not rely on theories that propose masculinity and femininity are located solely within male and female bodies respectively (Connell, 2009). In contrast to this, male primary school teachers in this case study emphasised how they felt they were positive role models to all primary school children, as opposed to just boys. Particularly where males perceived children to have had a poor upbringing. In this respect, males saw themselves as positive examples for children who had poor experience of males or even absence of males in their life. Although males perceived their gender to be advantageous for success related to informal recognition as a positive role model, motivations for this were not interpreted to be at the detriment of female teachers work, which contradicts masculinity research by Andrews and Wæreness (2011) who suggest that males and females adopt gendered strategies to maximise opportunities and rewards for themselves at the expense of others. It was apparent from the case study that male teachers valued the feedback and recognition from children and parents that provided them with their role model status, in order to achieve personal success. It was not evident from the case study that males perceived themselves to be exerting power over female teachers in this respect, which does not support claims that male role models potentially cast aspersions on work being done by female teachers and cause harm to girls and gender relations in general (Mills, Martino & Lingard, 2004).

Interestingly, objective indicators defined by the literature were not entirely ruled out as criteria for success by male primary school teachers and university administrators. However, criteria for success of this nature was described as professional achievements in the case

study as the interpretation suggested that objective criteria held a variety of personal meanings for males that were contrasting to assumptions about hierarchical advancement and financial gain being important for male success in the literature (e.g. MacDermid, Lee, Buck & Williams, 2001). This has important implications for the body of literature that suggests males define success in a certain way (e.g. Ng et al, 2005), but also for careers literature that suggests indicators of success associated with a traditional career path are no longer valid in the current economic climate (e.g. Sullivan, 1999). For example, males in both occupations emphasised the importance of achieving financial security rather than increasing financial gain, as this was perceived to be important to be able to afford to live comfortably, rather than aspiring to afford luxury. Whilst increased financial gain was not an aspiration of males in the case study, it was also acknowledged that primary school teaching and university administration were not associated with opportunities to achieve large salaries.

Other professional achievements were also referred to by some male primary school teachers, such as hierarchical progression. In comparison with university administration, the professional structure in primary school teaching appeared to contribute to perceptions of hierarchical progression as criteria for success for some males, in relation to opportunities for mobility within the career path. On the other hand, promotions or hierarchical progression were described as a rare opportunity in university administration. Interestingly, there were contrasting understandings of hierarchies at occupational and organisational level for some male university administrators. For example, some considered a promotion to an Administrative Officer, Supervisor or Manager role as a significant professional achievement. However some male university administrators perceived hierarchical advancement in terms of the university as a whole. Therefore in terms of the hierarchy of universities, the career intentions of male administrators did not include becoming a Lecturer, Department Head or Dean/Chancellor, in which case hierarchical position was either not of interest or not realistically available to male university administrators who appeared to have this understanding.

Despite some differences between subjective interpretations of criteria, findings of the case study indicate that male primary school teachers and university administrators had similar definitions related to objective success. In particular, the occupational context appears to have lead to different experiences of whether or not these criteria were achievable, which will be considered further as part of the evaluation of career interventions in section 11.3 of this chapter. Bonet (2014) suggests that there are several reasons why there may be differences in promotional opportunities between workplaces that support more modern career paths and those that remain traditional, which could explain the differences in understandings of organisational hierarchies of primary school teaching and university administration. For example, Sammarra, Profili and Innocenti (2013) found that inter-organisational mobility via promotional opportunities was related to the achievement of objective success for employees in professional occupations rather than non-professional occupations. Whilst these findings support the belief that the shape and structure of hierarchies are key factors in the availability of promotional or advancement opportunities for employees (Lepak & Snell, 2002), this does not necessarily account for the similarities in the objective criteria (e.g. financial security, career advancement and professional development) of both male primary school teachers in a professional context and university administrators in a non-professional context.

It could be argued therefore that this case study builds upon findings of research that suggests objective success is important to some males (e.g. Ng at al, 2005), as the qualitative nature of this study has shown that individual definitions vary depending on the occupational context (i.e. both primary school teachers and university administrators aspiring to achieve financial security as opposed to an increasingly high salary). Therefore, objective criteria may be better explained as professional achievements to encompass the different ways in which this criteria is interpreted and assessed across different occupational contexts.

Overall, research question 1 has been addressed by acknowledging key findings relating to definitions of success of male primary school teachers and university administrators, which largely contrast assumptions that male success is predominantly related to traditional

objective criteria. In particular, males in this case study often described similar criteria for success, such as social, personal and professional achievements, that were interpreted differently from the literature in line with their occupational context. Key differences between definitions of success in this case study and existing literature include a strong emphasis on informal interactions with colleagues and service users, feelings of making a contribution, enjoyment, satisfaction and happiness at work, and achieving financial security and experience of advancement in line with personal aspirations. These findings therefore add a more in-depth understanding of male success in contrast to the prominence given to the importance of objective success for males in the literature.

Moreover, whilst the literature confirms that indicators of career success are empirically distinct (Ng et al, 2005), some studies suggest that criteria for career success are positively related (Judge et al, 1995), which could extend to the findings of this case study. It was identified during the interpretation of interviews that criteria for success defined by the literature often overlapped, such as the example of social success achieved via friendships with administrative colleagues and how this appeared to translate to feelings of enjoyment, happiness and satisfaction at work. Furthermore, professional achievements at work, including a salary that translated to financial security, and opportunities for promotion, were also related to feelings of personal achievement. It could therefore be argued that distinct criteria for success identified in the literature may not effectively encompass the complexity of meanings these hold for individuals, as this study identified themes of personal, professional, social and life achievements that included a variety of indicators that appeared to be related. Therefore, labelling criteria for success as objective, subjective or social may not be useful for understanding what is important to individuals or how success is achieved, as this view encourages a perception that criteria should be considered as separate from one another. Implications for a change in definitions of criteria extends to the measurement of success, which traditionally adopts a quantitative approach. If criteria are not clearly distinct as previous literature suggests, then current measures may not identify this effectively.

11.2.2 Motivations to Enter Primary School Teaching and University Administration

In response to research question 2 of the case study (phase 1), exploration of the motivations and career histories of male primary school teachers and university administrators provided an important basis for understanding the reasons for entering both occupations in relation to personal definitions of success. Motivations to enter both occupations were explored qualitatively from an individual perspective, which resulted in a number of themes that make an important contribution to existing models and theories of male's entry into female-dominated occupations.

Occupational differences were identified in relation to reasons for entry into primary school teaching and university administration, which could in part be explained as resulting from differences in career paths and structure. For example, primary school teaching as a professional occupation requires specific qualifications and experience, whereas requirements related to education and prior experience varied by organisation in relation to university administration as a non-professional occupation.

It was apparent from interviews that most primary school teachers referred to a lifelong aspiration to pursue this occupation, as a result of personal interest from childhood experience or inspiration from a close personal connection to a role model working in this occupation. These findings appear to be supportive of current literature that suggests identification with role models is a critical element of the career decision-making process (Gibson, 2004). However, previous research on the influence of role models on occupational choice has been conducted within specific occupational contexts, such as females entering male-dominated occupations (e.g. Quimby & DeSantis, 2006), with little focus on males entering female-dominated occupations. Studies have suggested that a lack of female role models can act as a barrier for women to enter male-dominated occupations (Frome, Alfeld, Eccles & Barber, 2006), which could extend to contexts in which men are considered the token gender. It could also be argued that there are certain characteristics related to decision-making to enter primary school teaching as a professional occupation, such as the

model of occupational choice developed by Eccles, Barber and Jozefowicz (as cited in Swann, Langlois & Gilbert, 1999). For example, it is thought that achievement-related beliefs and gender-related beliefs are linked to the influence of role models to enter certain occupations. Therefore, the model predicts that individuals are likely to enter occupations that they believe they can be competent and achieve success in, which involves social comparisons between themselves and their role models, as well as self-evaluation of abilities and expectations for success.

In this case study, most primary school teachers had undertaken teacher training in the form of an undergraduate degree or postgraduate certificate of education, and rarely had experience of other occupations prior to entry. This could suggest that role models prevented negative perceptions of entering primary school teaching as a non-traditional occupation when initial career decision-making took place.

In line with literature that explains male's reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations, male primary school teachers who were influenced by childhood experience or a significant role model actively pursued a career in teaching, which supports Simpson's (2005) seekers category of men who choose to enter female-dominated occupations. This research therefore contributes a detailed account of the factors that lead to the decision of some males to seek out primary school teaching as a career, which are not acknowledged specifically by this model. It is possible therefore, that male's definitions of success were influenced by the achievements of role models in the context of primary school teaching. For example, the emphasis on becoming a positive male role model for young children, or feeling like they had made a contribution to teaching could have resulted from observing these characteristics in their role model.

On the other hand, a small number of males who did not refer to the influence of a role model in their career decision-making reported experiences of other occupations or areas of study prior to entering primary school teaching. As such, other influential factors included

the desire to pursue teaching as a result of a positive experience of working with young people as part of a previous role that yielded low satisfaction overall. Similarly, whilst this does provide initial support for Simpson (2005), who suggested some men enter female-dominated occupations as a result of job histories with low satisfaction, this category implies that males will have 'settled' for their current role in order to escape their previous experience. On the contrary, male primary school teachers in this case study described pro-active behaviours in relation to seeking opportunities to undertake teaching qualifications to enter this profession specifically, after positive experiences of working with young people.

It was apparent from the accounts of male university administrators that their previous experience of work prior to their current role was more varied than that of male primary school teachers. Therefore, whilst the categories of seekers, finders and settlers did apply to some males, intricate personal and contextual factors contributing to reasons for entry into university administration provided important insight into male decision-making that is not necessarily acknowledged by Simpson's (2005) model. The most striking finding in relation to this is the complex nature of career-decision making, which contrasts Simpson's (2005) notion that choices are passive when males had not sought out to enter university administration as their first choice of career. Interestingly, in some cases reasons for entry into university administration varied by the context of the department. In line with definitions of success for example, male university administrators working in finance departments often entered their occupation to gain experience of a financial context specifically, in order to use their role as a stepping stone to a financial career. It could be argued that these motivations appear to align with a more traditional view of careers and success associated with financial contexts (Smith-Ruig, 2008). These findings could also contribute to research that emphasises the metaphor of males entering female-dominated occupations via a revolving door and returning to male-dominated occupations after a short period of time (Jacobs, 1993). However, this case study emphasises individual motivations and contextual factors in such circumstances, in which males planned to exit university administration once they had gained sufficient experience to pursue upward advancement,

as opposed to the influence of social pressures as a man to leave the gender segregated environment.

Other males in more general administrative roles had been influenced by a number of other factors, including adverse or unexpected life events (including redundancy and physical injury) that prevented them from continuing in their previous career. In addition, some males had developed an interest in administration from other positive work experience, and some males were attracted to the occupational context of university administration specifically, as a result of positive perceptions of development opportunities available at universities and convenience/location of the job.

Overall, these findings suggest that existing models and theories to explain men's reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations could be developed further to account for complex factors, such personal influences and attraction to occupational context, in career decision-making of men who enter female-dominated occupations. The findings are therefore supportive of Lupton (2006) who suggests that male's reasons for entry are often complex and contradictory, which most theories to explain this behaviour do not account for. Interestingly, although males were aware of their gender-segregated work environments, the influence of gender was not discussed in relation to reasons for entry. However, this detailed exploration of the career histories and motivations of male primary school teachers and university administrators, gave context to the understanding of male's experiences in both occupations and provided an important basis for the evaluation of career interventions in male's organisations.

11.2.3 Males' Experiences of the Occupational Context in relation to the Achievement of Success

In order to address the third research question of the case study (phase 1), key findings emerged from semi-structured interviews that were supportive of the literature that

suggest males have contrasting experiences in female-dominated occupations (e.g. Williams, 1992; Lupton, 2006). Themes emerged that identified key challenges and benefits of working in primary school teaching and university administration, in relation to the achievement of success in each occupational context. In some cases for example, males described positive experience that appeared to support the achievement of success, whereas it also appeared that some males described motivations to enter primary school teaching and university administration as a result of personal expectations, which have since changed as a result of experience within both occupations.

Themes describing the experiences of primary school teachers and university administrators included reference to organisational dynamics that supported informal social exchange and the development of relationships at work, opportunities for personal and professional development, as well as more specific factors that related to differences between occupational contexts. For example, in primary school teaching, Ofsted inspections that assess national expectations of children's performance and teaching quality were interpreted by some males as a means of supporting professional achievements, but perceived by others as a challenge of the job and a hindrance to success if professional achievements were not regarded with importance. Similarly, male university administrators who were motivated to enter their occupation in line with expectations of opportunities to develop in line with their definition of success, reported differences in the availability and variety of opportunities for professional development between organisations, which lead to positive and negative experiences if expectations were met or not. In line with Millward (2005), these findings support the notion that some individuals have the ability to shape the opportunities that are available to suit their personal development. In doing so, most males in this case study were able to achieve success on a continuous basis, as their work provided opportunities for challenge and self-fulfilment on both a formal and informal basis.

Interestingly, the pattern of both positive and negative experiences was identified amongst most themes, which suggested the work environment was interpreted differently in line with personal definitions of success. Therefore, whilst some males felt organisations

248

supported career development effectively, other males reported negative experiences where personal expectations were not met by organisations, which resonates with research on willingness to engage in career development in line with personal definitions of success (Chang & Feng, 2014; Kim, 2005).

It was also apparent that the underlying theme of gender began to emerge in relation to the experience of working in the contexts of primary school teaching and university administration as female-dominated occupations. In particular, it was evident that some males perceived their gender to be advantageous for certain professional opportunities, in line with associated definitions of success. It was acknowledged in the review of the literature on gender and careers in chapter 4 that female-dominated occupations are often undervalued (Blau & Kahn, 2007; England, Herbert, Stanek, Reid, & McCreary, 1994; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993), but for some males, increased visibility to managers and perceptions of male managerial characteristics were at the forefront of motivations to enter. Perceptions of males in this case study suggested that gender could be a valuable asset within the occupation of primary school teaching specifically, as being male had the potential to be advantageous for certain opportunities, in line with the glass escalator phenomenon (Williams, 1992). For example, males who aspired to become Head Teachers described gendered strategies in order to achieve this in a short period of time as a result of the occupation being female-dominated. This could contribute to Witz's (1990) work on the gendered nature of professions, in which power is exercised in a way that is favourable for the dominant group. In this case study, although males are not the dominant group in terms of their number, it is possible that masculine qualities associated with management roles lead to opportunities and rewards for males in this context. Similarly, some male university administrators also perceived gender-related advantages in relation to professional achievements, however in support of Witz (1990) it was widely acknowledged that opportunities for promotion to higher positions were perceived to be regularly available to male primary school teachers in comparison with university administrators due to differences in the professional structures of the occupations.

Other gender-related advantages included the perception that certain areas of teaching were advantageous for males, such as PE and IT, which were not necessarily related to hierarchical progression. Therefore, whilst professional achievements were important to some males, hierarchical progression was undesirable to many others as managerial roles were associated with undesirable responsibilities, such as limited opportunities to teach and interact with children. As such, some males demonstrated an awareness of the glass escalator, but described this as a hindrance to their personal definitions of success, as increased management responsibilities and fewer opportunities to teach were perceived to have had a significant impact on the achievement of other criteria for success, such as the enjoyment and satisfaction of classroom related duties.

This case study therefore contributes to literature on the glass escalator phenomenon in relation to males who enter primary school teaching and university administration. However, the case study suggests that the glass escalator phenomenon is not attractive to all males who enter female-dominated occupations, particularly if they do not necessarily define success in this way. Furthermore, the glass escalator phenomenon appeared to have more of a negative impact where males experienced pressure from their organisations to accept opportunities that did not align with their career intentions. These findings therefore have potentially important implications for the context of primary school teaching, in relation to research that seeks to identify how to attract males to the profession (e.g. Cross & Bagilhole, 2002). On one hand, the profession appears to support males who are motivated to achieve promotions and increased responsibility in line with a traditional career path, however there appears to be a lack of consideration for males who enter the profession but do not aspire to pursue a linear career path. Mahoney, Hextall and Menter (2004) advocate that the introduction of performance management systems in the profession represents a move towards masculinisation of teaching as both an activity and an organisational structure. Whereas this approach towards targeting males for management roles does not appear to support research that argues primary school teaching is lacking male teachers as role models in the classroom (Drudy, 2008; McGrath & Sinclair, 2013).

It could also be suggested that occupational context has an influence on the glass escalator phenomenon, in that this case study shows that males were targeted for regular promotional opportunities as part of the career path in primary school teaching. In comparison, male university administrators suggested promotional opportunities were less common, which could explain why they rarely emphasised perceptions of gender advantage in relation to motivations to enter their occupation. On the contrary, amongst perceptions of gender in primary school teaching and university administration, some males believed that female colleagues were often identified for specific opportunities at the detriment of male members of staff. For example, male primary school teachers in this case study suggested females were favoured for early years teaching roles, and some male university administrators felt that women were given flexibility in their roles to suit personal circumstances, which was perceived to be unfair. In contrast to the opportunities associated with management roles, these findings provide support for the feminisation of primary school teaching and university administration, in that feminine values appeared to be favourable for opportunities in early years and for supporting more flexible, protean career paths (Hakim, 2006). Such feelings of unfairness at work may relate to a breach of the psychological contract (e.g. Yang, Johnson, Zhang, Spector & Xu, 2013), whereby expectations about gender in relation to success in primary school teaching and university administration may not have been met during their experience of respective environments. This could extend to understanding why some males felt disadvantaged, such as those who aspired to develop in teaching or administrative roles, but felt pressured to pursue managerial ones. Moreover, the perception of increased flexibility for females in certain roles contributed to contradictory accounts of those who supported the glass escalator phenomenon but refuted perceived advantages for female colleagues.

In light of these findings, it was found that positive or negative experiences in primary school teaching and university administration appeared to occur where individual and organisational definitions of success were either supportive or contrasting of one another, and where opportunities were associated with either masculine or feminine values, which is supportive of existing research that acknowledges the interplay between these factors (e.g.

Hennequin, 2007; Seibert & Kramer, 2001). However, scope for understanding how success is achieved in light of this complex interplay is limited. From an individual perspective, it was identified that males' experiences of the occupational context often contrasted personal definitions of success, due to the fluid nature of success identified by the qualitative approach. As a result, many males defined the achievement of success as ongoing process, due to the nature of their work. For example, males in primary school teaching emphasised that success could be achieved in relation to informal feedback, recognition, job performance and enjoyment of work, but each academic year was associated with a new set of experiences, introducing different benefits and challenges on a regular basis.

Overall, findings related to individual experience in primary school teaching and university administration as female-dominated occupations could suggest that general assumptions about male success and masculinity in the careers literature have greatly influenced organisations, resulting in negative experiences for some males. It could be argued that literature on success rarely accounts for occupational context and individual motivations, which limits its ability to inform organisations in terms of what is important to individuals in order to support them to achieve it. Therefore, it appears that male perceptions of the work environment in relation to how occupations and organisations support career success, share similar complexities and contradictions that emerged from reasons for entry into these occupations. Following consideration of career development and interventions in relation to individual perspectives outlined in chapter 5, the next section will encompass an evaluation of career interventions with reference to expectations of organisations included in the case study.

11.2.4 Evaluation of Career Interventions in Primary Schools and Universities

The literature suggests that changes to organisations over time lead to the establishment of modern career paths, in response to restructuring, de-layering and downsizing (Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005). As such, organisational research concludes that psychological

contracts between employees and employers have changed in a way that gives prominence to individuals self-managing their careers (Hall, 2002), as opposed to a dependence on organisational support. However, findings of phase 2 of this case study suggest that individual and organisational expectations in primary school teaching and university administration in relation to success are complex and contrasting based on a number of key themes that emerged.

Key findings of phase 2 addressed the fourth and final research question of the case study, which aimed to explore the career interventions available in males' employing organisations, and whether or not they were effective in supporting males to achieve success as they defined it. Overall, interventions identified from organisations for the achievement of success demonstrated support for Wils, Guérin and Bernard's (1993) direct and indirect career development interventions, in that primary schools and universities offered a range of opportunities that related to individual needs, organisational needs and policy requirements.

Interestingly, both individuals and organisations in this case study identified career interventions that measure and support success objectively, despite males emphasising success as a fluid concept that encompassed a multitude of definitions described as social, personal and professional achievements. This supports claims that individual differences are often overlooked in organisational career development (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Furthermore, although males emphasised the importance of informal aspects of the work environment that contributed to the achievement of success, perceptions of organisational support commonly included interventions such as training and development by means of attending courses and workshops; objective measurement of work performance; and support mechanisms for the individual such as mentoring and coaching.

As a result of this, organisational and individual definitions of success were similar on occasions, however the interventions associated with supporting success were often objective measures of work performance, in contrast to informal mechanisms emphasised by males. Research on informal feedback and social interaction within organisations appears

to be quite limited, but recent studies show that employees are proactive in seeking feedback during day-to-day interactions at work, which is contrasting to perceptions that employees adopt a passive approach and wait for feedback from annual performance appraisals (Grant & Ashford, 2008; Van der Rijt, 2012). This suggests that organisations need to change their focus from isolated events in which formal objective measures of success are implemented, in order to recognise and utilise informal mechanisms that may already be in place, to support the achievement of individual success.

Whilst some researchers purport that career success is now a key priority for both individuals and organisations (Kim, 2005), it could be argued that organisations in this case study were diverse in their approaches to support the achievement of success, which contradicts studies that suggest organisations now pay more attention to individuals' definitions and experiences of success as a result (e.g. Coetzee, Bergh & Schreuder, 2010). In light of some commonalities across the themes relating to the effectiveness of career interventions, it is possible that the organisational structure and communication channels within primary schools and universities included in this case study were key influential factors on the communication of career interventions to the intended recipients (Kim & Mueller, 2011). Hoogervorst, van der Flier and Koopman (2004) emphasised the consequences of poor communication within organisations on employee behaviour, which has important implications for employees who enter an occupation with a set of expectations related to their motivations to achieve success. In this case study, it was apparent that sources initiating communication and the medium used were not always consistent. For example in university administration, career interventions were implemented by personnel and human resource departments as well as department managers. Therefore it is possible that perceived opportunities reflects differences in communication channels within as well as between organisations lead to a lack of awareness of opportunities amongst some males. Findings of research by Kozlowski and Klein (2000) suggest that even when organisations attempt to adopt an individual-focused approach to career interventions, contextual factors that influence individual behaviour are often not accounted for, which could extend to explaining the lack of awareness or value of some individual-orientated interventions. Therefore, a lack of understanding of the availability of specific opportunities to administrative roles particularly was evident. For

example, coaching programmes were identified as career interventions by universities, but male university administrators did appear to be aware that coaching was available as a means of supporting their achievement of success. Coaching in particular has been shown to be an effective individual-orientated intervention for supporting the achievement of goals linked to personal and organisational success (Locke, 2008). Therefore organisations should consider how opportunities are communicated to reinforce awareness amongst employees, to fulfil the significant role that Baruch (2006) suggests all organisations should fulfil in terms of being a supportive enabler and developer of its human assets. Moreover, this approach could extend to prevent breaches in psychological contracts between individuals and organisations, to ensure expectations are met from both perspectives (London, 1988).

Similarly, organisational representatives did not always recognise mechanisms that aid work-life balance were not always recognised as career interventions that support the achievement of success. This is because males emphasised the importance of work-life balance and life success, whereas organisational definitions of success did not encompass this criteria. Studies have shown the importance of organisations acknowledging the experience of work and personal life as an integrated activity, rather than in conflict or separate (Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher & Pruitt, 2002). Differences in occupational context were apparent from male experiences of primary school teaching and university administration in that the primary school context provided less flexibility with working hours than university administration. However, universities did not appear to be aware of the benefit that flexible working systems were having in relation to the success of its male employees. Therefore, it is suggested that organisations need to recognise the value of work-life balance for the achievement of success in order to foster an integrated perception that considers work and personal life as equally valued activities (Bailyn, Drago & Kochan, 2001). Fochtman (2011) suggests organisations who adopt policies such as flexible working and leave should create a culture in which employees are encouraged to make use of these interventions.

The way in which opportunities were communicated could also have been influenced by differences between organisational and individual perceptions of success. Therefore, in contrast to research that suggests organisations are paying increasing attention to individual

definitions of success (Kim, 2005), it was apparent from the case study that organisations largely associated success with overarching organisational strategies, including making an outstanding contribution to the organisation or exceeding organisational expectations in some way, which was evident in both occupational contexts. In contrast, it could be seen from personal definitions of success that males were motivated to enter both occupations based on definitions that included criteria described as social, subjective and objective by the literature (Ng et al, 2005). However, the professional and non-professional context of primary school teaching and university administration supported contrasting career paths, which further suggests that occupational assumptions about individual success are inaccurate. For example, primary schools in this case study appeared to be organised around a traditional/linear career path, which suggests there is a need for employees to define success in a similar way in order to be supported (Segers et al, 2008). For example, the Department for Education (2014) describe successful teachers as those who progress faster on the basis of annual appraisals and associated salary increases. Whereas, male primary school teachers were not all motivated to enter the occupation to achieve linear career progression, which resulted in negative perceptions of employees by organisations who interpreted resistance to opportunities for promotion as an unwillingness to develop in the profession. These findings therefore have important implications for organisations, as misconceptions of employees as barriers to success have the potential to be detrimental for both individuals and organisations in relation to the psychological contract (Nadin & Williams, 2012; Ng, Feldman & Butts, 2014). Therefore, it is evident that some interventions, such as promotional opportunities, can in fact hinder the achievement of success if individuals appear to be unwilling to engage in opportunities that are in fact contrasting to their career intentions.

Overall, it can be concluded that career interventions identified in the case study were considerably varied in relation to their effectiveness for supporting the achievement of men's definitions of success, which is supportive of research on multilevel models of career development (Gelso, Nutt Williams & Fretz, 2014; Kim, 2005; Wils, Guérin & Bernard, 1993). In particular, individual and organisational definitions of success were not always complementary, resulting in some males finding organisational interventions unhelpful for achieving career success. However, although career interventions were often objective

measures of performance and progression, in some cases male primary school teachers and university administrators appeared to be able to shape their experiences of interventions to fulfil their own personal definitions of success, for example emphasising informal mechanisms of support that organisations did not appear to be aware of.

Research suggests that traditional views of how individual career development occurs will change over time (Baruch, 2006). However in-depth qualitative exploration of the achievement of personal definitions of success in the context of primary school teaching and university administration as female-dominated occupations appears to show organisations adopting multilevel career interventions, yet support remains heavily focused on organisational strategy. Thus, as a result of the qualitative nature of the research, the case study contributes to the understanding of organisational dynamics in delivering career interventions, providing a valuable contribution to various disciplines and perspectives on careers in the literature (Baruch, 2006).

In conclusion, significant discoveries of this case study therefore demonstrate that (i) the career success of males in the context of two female-dominated occupations does not necessarily adhere to assumptions about male preferences for objective career success in the literature, as males from both occupations referred to the importance of personal, professional and social criteria. In response to the literature, this case study presents a reconceptualised framework of career success that illustrates the complexity of individual meanings beyond categories of objective and subjective criteria. Secondly, (ii) the achievement of success is a complex and continuous individual process that is not necessarily acknowledged adequately by traditional questionnaire-based measures of success. Interestingly, (iii) the notion of gender in definitions of success and motivations to enter primary school teaching and university administration was considerably varied and complex, which lends to current theories on the glass escalator and revolving door metaphor, in that some but not all males were motivated by perceived advantages of being male to achieve success. Once more, another key finding of the case study suggests that (iv) the occupational context in which individuals are situated can influence definitions and experience of success. In fact, occupational context, rather than perceived gender advantage, was commonly referred to in relation to motivations to enter primary school

teaching and university administration. Finally, (v) as individual and organisational definitions of career success were conflicting at times, career interventions did not always complement the achievement of success. Rather, males referred to the benefits of informal organisational mechanisms to support their achievement of success, which organisations did not appear to be aware of.

These findings have important implications for occupations that are associated with specific career paths. For example, the linear career path associated with primary school teaching suggests that individuals who enter must define success in a specific way, when in fact some males whose definitions of success do not align to this career path had been able to extract aspects that were beneficial from formal interventions to support their own achievement of success. Despite this, these males had experienced pressure from organisations to accept opportunities that were not consistent with their career intentions, which identified breaches in individual and organisational psychological contracts. A prominent discovery was the value of informal mechanisms within organisations that were important to the achievement of success of most males. It is therefore suggested that this is a challenge to be met at the organisational level, to support individuals to develop their own careers, irrespective of gender. As such, organisations should take account of individual motivations as part of a supportive rather than directive role, in addition to the clear focus on organisational strategies and goals.

11.4 Reflections on Potential Limitations of the Research

From a general perspective it is possible that the case study was influenced by a multitude of factors related to the researcher, participants and the research environment in line with the nature of a qualitative design. Factors such as motivations to take part, experience, background, personality, age, and even personal appearances have the potential to influence the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, as well as the settings in which the research interviews took place. With this in mind, it is clear that the unique discussions which took place in the context of the research will have been influenced to an extent by the life experiences of the individuals involved. Thus it is also possible that certain information may have been withheld. Indeed, it is therefore important to acknowledge that

replication of the interviews would not possible. In particular, the fluid nature of career success identified in this case study would suggest that current definitions of career success may change over time as a result of the continuous process in which it is achieved.

Other limitations of the research are associated with the self-report semi-structured interview method adopted in the case study. An important observation relates to the reliance on the accuracy of participants' recall of past events and the honesty of responses, which may have influenced the findings of the case study.

In addition, the sampling technique and sample size may also contribute to limitations of this research. The purposive sample of male primary school teachers and university administrators that were sought to take part were from organisations based in the West Midlands County of the UK. It is possible therefore that potential regional differences were not accounted for, but this does provide the basis for future research beyond this specific context. Access to participants was challenging at times, due to the limited number of males in both occupations. Although the technique of sampling was consistent with guidance on qualitative research, the samples are small in comparison with quantitative research that aims to encompass a representative group of individuals. Moreover, participants included in the case study were invited from public sector organisations, which does not account for perspectives of private sector organisations. Similarly, information regarding career interventions was not sought from universities and primary schools who did not have any male employees.

11.5 Recommendations for Research and Practice

On the basis of in-depth qualitative definitions of success identified from male primary school teachers and university administrators in this case study, it could be argued that the way in which career success has been traditionally measured and supported may not be suitable within specific occupational contexts. In light of these findings, existing measures that are largely based on the objective and subjective categories of success outlined in the careers literature, may not enable individuals to fully articulate their interpretations of

criteria that are important to them, given the complex themes of personal, professional and social and life success that emerged from this case study. It is therefore suggested that the use of generic questionnaire-based surveys may not be the most effective way to assess criteria that are important to individuals. Moreover, it could be that this approach and lack of qualitative exploration of career success has resulted in this categorisation of objective and subjective success, which limits the individual expression of important meanings of success that could be supported by organisations. Subsequent association of objective criteria with males and subjective criteria with females may also be a key outcome of this approach. In response to research that has specifically highlighted the need for qualitative exploration of career success (Dries, 2011; Gunz & Heslin, 2005; Hennequin, 2007; Heslin, 2005), this case study has provided insight into the complex nature of success for males in two female-dominated occupations as an example of how assumptions about gender in the careers literature are not applicable to all occupational contexts. On this basis, it is also argued that the qualitative approach in this case study identified definitions of success that do not conform to clear cut objective and subjective categories. Therefore, this methodology is recommended for extending exploration of individual meanings of success in other occupational contexts to develop a revised evidence-base for researchers and practitioners to better understand the nature of success. Future research should therefore seek to explore a wider range of occupations, to further explore the reconceptualization of career success on the basis of this study, with a particular view that career may form one small part of overall life success for some individuals. Furthermore, longitudinal research to revisit participants of this case study would be beneficial to explore how definitions of career success may change over time as a result of the complex and continuous process in which it is achieved.

It has been suggested that research on the meanings attributed to the career success may not be directly applicable to practice (Aryee, Chay & Chew, 1994). However, it is argued that the framework of success in this case study may help organisations to design and implement career interventions that enable individuals to self-manage their own careers. Most importantly, research that seeks to reconceptualise career success may provide a valuable evidence-base for the way in which organisations define successful employees. Organisations included in this case study shared the perspective that development and

success was the responsibility of both individuals and organisations. However, in line with multi-level career development research (Gelso, Nutt Williams & Fretz, 2014; Wils, Guérin & Bernard, 1993) career interventions appeared to be implemented for organisational purposes, which were not always supportive of individual career intentions. As such, the findings of this case study could suggest that individual-orientated interventions such as coaching could be beneficial for enabling individuals to articulate personal definitions of success, and for organisations to gain a better understanding of how their employees could be supported in line with their own strategies. Coaching programmes within organisations have been described as an effective way in which individuals can become empowered in their roles, which will also contribute to organisational success (Western, 2012). Therefore, it is recommended that organisations included in this case study consider the implementation and evaluation of a coaching provision. Specifically, universities with existing and established coaching programmes should seek to communicate these opportunities to administrative employees effectively to ensure individuals are aware of this support mechanism.

Moreover, organisations may benefit from considering the informal mechanisms that appear to support the achievement of this success, in the design of new career interventions. For example, Boxall, Haynes and Freeman (2007) suggest that organisations should provide systems that promote informal employee voice, which will enhance trust, job satisfaction and commitment. Marchington and Suter (2013) further emphasise the importance of informality at work, as it is often through social interaction that individuals are more likely to hear about workplace development and opportunities, as well as providing a platform to develop valuable relationships with work colleagues (Shore, Taylor, Coyle-Shapiro, & Tetrick, 2004). It is therefore suggested that organisations such as primary schools and universities consider supporting valuable informal exchanges by providing opportunities or environments for individuals to interact face-to-face. University administrators appeared to benefit from this specifically as a result of the open plan office space in which administrative teams were based. One possibility to support informal communication in organisations may therefore be to promote informal meetings of groups of employees to encourage both work-related and personal interaction.

This case study has given insight into the criteria that is important to male primary school teachers and university administrators in occupations that are considered to be female-dominated. Whilst it has been important to explore the definitions of male success in order to critique the literature and evaluate career interventions that support the achievement of personal objectives, it is important to highlight that recommendations for practice are not solely focused on specific groups of employees. Career interventions, such as a coaching provision, should be inclusive of all individuals rather than targeted towards specific groups, to ensure career success is supported effectively in relation to personal definitions, rather than in line with assumptions about masculine and feminine ideology in conflict with work roles (Sobiraj, Rigotti, Weseler, & Mohr, 2014). In doing so, attempts to challenge gender stereotypical assumptions about success can be supported by better understanding what is important to individuals within different occupational contexts.

11.6 Summary of Original Contributions of this Research

Issues raised in the literature review lead to the development of key research questions of this case study, to address how career success is defined and achieved by males in female-dominated occupations, in light of the lack of focus on occupational context and generic assumptions about gender differences in career choices and success (see figure 5.2). The following summary will outline the original contributions of this case study in relation to each of the four research questions in turn.

The first original contribution of this case study provides a critique of these general assumptions about male success, as a result of the emergence of complex themes surrounding personal, professional, social and life success. Not only do these findings contrast assumptions about male definitions of success, but also suggests a reconceptualisation of success via themes of personal, professional, social and life achievements, beyond the categories of objective or subjective criteria (see figure 11.1).

Figure 11.1 A framework of career success for male primary school teachers and university administrators
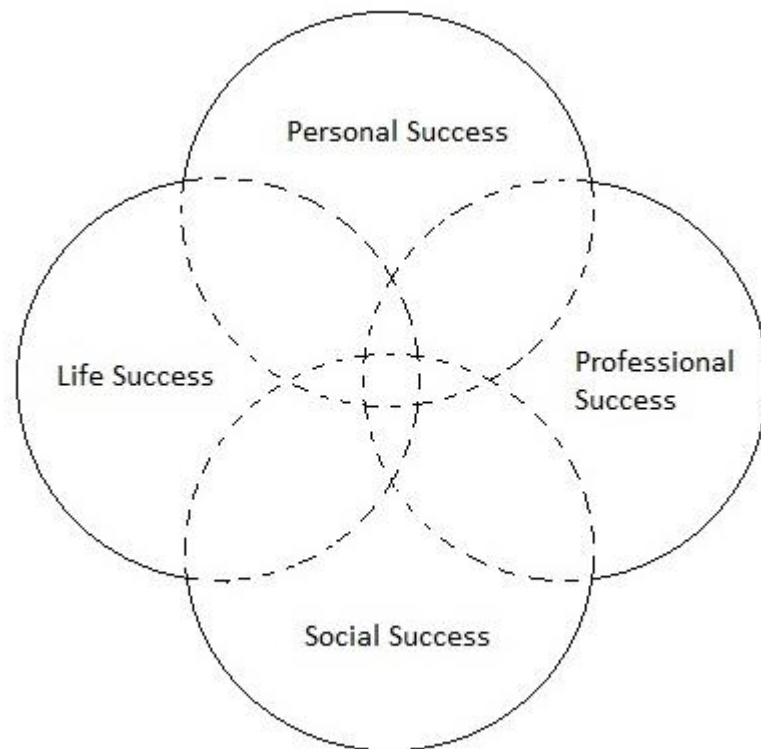
The second original contribution is the complex insight into the motivations that influenced male primary school teachers and university administrators to enter female-dominated occupations. Study findings show that not all males enter female-dominated occupations on a short-term basis via a revolving door or as a result of passive career decision-making (Bradley, 1993; Jacobs, 1993; Price-Glynn & Rakovski, 2012; Simpson, 2005; Williams & Villemez, 1993). It is argued that negative connotations associated with assumptions about male entry into female-dominated occupations can be damaging on a number of levels. For example, the research provides evidence that contributes to the body of literature on reasons for entry into female-dominated occupations that suggests males who are not motivated by the glass escalator encounter negative career experiences once established in their roles as a result of pressure from organisations to pursue particular career opportunities or areas of work in line with gender assumptions.

The third original contribution of the case study refers to experiences of males' in primary school teaching and university administration in relation to their achievement of success. A key discovery emphasised the fluid nature of career success, in that many males described achievement of success as an ongoing process. This has important implications for the measurement and evaluation of career success, as current approaches focus that on categorising individuals by objective and subjective criteria is not effective for acknowledging the complex meanings criteria have for different individuals. It is therefore argued that multi-level interventions, such as coaching, rather than questionnaire surveys are an important investment for organisations to bridge the gap between personal and organisational needs.

The fourth original contribution refers to the evaluation of career interventions, in that the case study contributes to current literature on organisational support that has been criticised for ignoring meaningful individual differences and neglecting organisational factors that influence individual behaviour (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). More recently, the careers literature emphasises that the organisational role in supporting the achievement of success has changed (Smith-Ruig, 2008). Indeed, the majority of organisations included in the case study shared a common view that responsibility for career development and success should be a joint effort. However, career interventions in place appeared to be focused on supporting the achievement of organisational goals as opposed to individual success. Despite this, some males described their experience of extracting aspects of interventions that were beneficial to their definitions of success. But most males described the benefits of informal organisational factors, such as informal feedback and social interaction with managers and colleagues that ultimately supported the achievement of success, which has important implications for future research and practice. This case study therefore refutes research that suggests organisations are no longer responsible for career development in light of changes to career paths over time (De Vos et al, 2011; Kossek et al, 1998). Whilst it is agreed that individuals should be proactive in seeking opportunities, the case study also supports the view that organisations are an important support mechanism for its employees (Baruch, 2006).

A fifth and final original contribution is a response to recommendations from the literature (e.g. Dries, 2011; Gunz & Heslin, 2005; Hennequin, 2007; Heslin, 2005) to utilise qualitative methods to explore career success. The case study design enabled the identification of complex definitions of male success. It was apparent from this approach that criteria for success included in existing measures and labelled as objective or subjective held a variety of different meanings for individual males. Most notably, these meanings appeared to be attributed to differences in occupational context, such as the interpretation of work-life balance in line with opportunities for flexible working within primary school teaching and university administration. This case study therefore provides the basis for future research to further develop the reconceptualisation of personal, professional, social and life success in a wider occupational context.

Summary

1. Male definitions of success in the context of one professional and non-professional female-dominated occupation relate to complex themes of personal, professional, social and life success in contrast to literature that suggests males regard objective criteria as the most important.

2. Male motivations to enter primary school teaching and university administration in relation to success included complex and contradictory *proactive* choices, in line with the influence of role models and personal motivations related to occupational context.

3. Male primary school teachers and university administrators emphasised that their experience of the achievement of success was a continuous process, which has important implications for the measurement of success.

4. Evaluation of career interventions available to male primary school teachers and university administrators suggested that formal interventions supported success in some cases, but informal factors such as feedback from colleagues and service users and the opportunity to socialise with colleagues made a significant contribution to the achievement of personal definitions of success.

5. The qualitative approach adopted in the case study provides a detailed insight into the experiences of male's achievement of success within the context of primary

school teaching and university administration in response to a call for more qualitative methods in recent career success literature.

11.7 Personal Reflections on the Research

I have gained valuable knowledge of the complex ways in which success is defined and achieved in a specific occupational context, by adopting an alternative method of study to the topic of career success. I have learnt that success and achievement is a highly personal experience that cannot be adequately defined by categories of criteria that limit individuals from expanding on complex personal meanings. As a result, general assumptions about the success of males and females can have such significant implications for a person's career journey, if career interventions are not available to support personal, professional, social and life success.

The process of this research has in itself been an important career intervention for me that has enabled me to achieve my own personal definitions of success. Throughout the case study I have reviewed and reassessed my goals on a continuous basis, resulting in the development and revision of timescales to work towards. In light of the change in my mode of study at the end of my second year as a full-time research student, achieving my objectives, meeting deadlines and managing the pressures placed upon me required organisation, time-management, coordination and strong efficiency.

As part of the research process I have also continuously sought feedback on my work and my progress from my Director of Studies and supervisory team, which has enabled me to develop both personally and professionally. I have also submitted themes of my work to a variety of conferences (see appendix 6), within my own field of occupational psychology and other disciplines such as sociology and business. Oral presentations and poster sessions have aided my communication skills greatly, as well as providing the opportunity to experience responding to questions from colleagues and gaining feedback from a variety of perspectives.

From conducting this case study, I have learned a lot about myself in relation to discovering strengths and weaknesses of my own approach to research. Specifically, the case study gave me the opportunity to utilise my inquisitive nature to learn new theories, practice methods of data collection and analysis, and encouraged me to be reflective on my involvement in the research. When I developed my research questions from the brief I was presented with, some of my initial thoughts reflected enthusiasm to draw together key personal interests I had developed previously, including personal development, success and gender. Despite initial apprehension of potential challenges I envisaged in relation to the interactions I would have with male participants as a female researcher, building relationships with a number of organisations that resulted in the conduct of such valuable interviews with male primary school teachers and university administrators, enabled me to demonstrate and develop my skills as a qualitative researcher. Particularly in building rapport with individuals to create a safe and confidential environment in which to have meaningful discussion that has contributed so greatly to the findings of my research.

References

Abele, A.E., & Spurk, D. (2009). How do objective and subjective career success interrelate over time? *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. 82, 803-824.

Ackah, C., & Heaton, N. (2004). The reality of "new" careers for men and for women. *Journal of European Industrial Training*. 28 (2/3/4), 141-158.

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organizations. *Gender and Society*. 4 (2), 139-158.

Acker, J. (2012). Gendered organizations and intersectionality: problems and possibilities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*. 31 (3), 214-224.

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

Alimo-Metcalfe, B. (1995). An investigation of female and male constructs of leadership and empowerment. *Women in Management Review*. 10 (2), 3-8.

Alvesson, M., & Billing, Y.D. (2009). *Understanding Gender and Organizations*. London: Sage.

Andrews, L.M., Bullock-Yowell, E., Dahlen, E.R., & Nicholson, B.C. (2014). Can perfectionism affect career development? Exploring career thoughts and self-efficacy. *Journal of Counselling & Development*. 92, 270-279.

Andrews, T.M., & Wæreness, K. (2011). Deprofessionalization of a female occupation: challenges for the sociology of professions. *Current Sociology*. 59 (1), 42-58.

Arthur, M. (1994). The boundaryless career. *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*. 15 (4), 7-22.

Arthur, M.B., Hall, M.B., & Lawrence, B.S. (1989). *Handbook of Career Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arthur, M.B., Khapova, S.N., & Wilderom, C.P.M. (2005). Career success in a boundaryless career world. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. 26, 177-202.

Arthur, M.B., & Rousseau, D.M. (2001). *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aryee, S., Chay, Y.W., & Chew, J. (1994). An investigation of the predictors and outcomes of career commitment in three career stages. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 44, 1-16.

Ashraf, M. (2007). Factors affecting female employment in male-dominated occupations: evidence from the 1990 and 2000 census data. *Contemporary Economic Policy*. 25 (1), 119-130.

Association of University Administrators (2015). *History of AUA*. Retrieved from http://www.aua.ac.uk/About.aspx

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative Research.* 1 (3), 385-405.

Bagilhole, B., & 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.

Bailey, J.M. (2008). Work and life balance: community college and occupational deans. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*. 32, 778-792.

Bailyn, L., Drago, R., & Kochan, T.A. (2001). Integrating work and family life: A holistic approach. Retrieved from, http://web.mit.edu/workplacecenter/docs/WorkFamily.pdf.

Ballinger, G.A., & Rockmann, K.W. (2010). Chutes versus ladders: Anchoring events and a punctuated-equilibrium perspective on social exchange relationships. *Academy of Management Review.* 35, 373-391.

Ballout, H.I. (2008). Work-family conflict and career success: the effects of domain-specific determinants. *Journal of Management Development*. 27 (5), 437-466.

Barnett, B.R., & Bradley, L. (2007). The impact of organisational support for career development on career satisfaction. *Career Development International*. 12 (7), 617-636.

Bartunek, J., & Seo, M. (2002). Qualitative research can add new meanings to quantitative research. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*. 23, 237-242.

Baruch, Y. (2004a) *Managing Careers, Theory and Practice*. London: Prentice Hall.

Baruch, Y. (2004b). Transforming careers: from linear to multidirectional career paths: organizational and individual perspectives. *Career Development International*. 9 (1), 58-73.

Baruch, Y. (2006). Career development in organizations and beyond: balancing traditional and contemporary viewpoints. *Human Resource Management Review*. 16, 125-138.

Baum, J.A.C, Cabrese, J., & Silverman, B.S. (2000). Don't go it alone: alliance network composition and startups' performance in Canadian biotechnology. *Strategic Management Journal*. 21, 267-291.

Baunach, D.M. (2002). Trends in occupational sex segregation and inequality from 1950 to 1990. *Social Science Research*. 31, 77-98.

Başlevent, C., & Kirmanoğlu, H. (2014). The impact of deviations from desired hours of work on the life satisfaction of employees. *Social Indicators Research*. 118 (1), 33-43.

Benson, G., Levenson, A., & Boudreau, J. (2006). *Informal Developmental Experiences and Career Success: A Case Study of Qualitative Differences in Work Experience*. Los Angeles CA: Center for Effective Organisations.

Betz, N.E., Harmon, L.W., & Borgen, F.H. (1996). The relationship of self-efficacy for the Holland themes to gender, occupational group membership and vocational interests. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*. 43, 90-98.

Betz, N.E., Klein, K.L., & Taylor, K.M. (1996). Evaluation of a short form of the career decision-making self-efficacy scale. *Journal of Career Assessment.* 4, 47-57.

Bielby, W.T., & Baron, J.N. (1986). Sex segregation within occupations. *Occupations and Labour Markets*. 76 (2), 43-47.

Bizzi, L. (2009). The dark side of social networks: career success and organisational demise. Academy of Management Annual Meeting Proceedings.

Blackburn, R.M. (2009). *Vertical and horizontal gender segregation: cross-national comparison and analysis*. Full Research Report ESRC End of Award Report. Swindon: ESRC.

Blackburn, R.M., & Jarman, J. (2005). Gendered occupations: exploring the relationship between gender segregation and inequality. *GeNet Working Paper No. 5*. Retrieved 14 November 2013 from http://citesource.trincoll.edu/apa/apaworkingpaper.pdf.

Blau, F.D., & Kahn, L.M. (2007). The gender pay gap: have women gone as far as they can? *Academy of Management Perspectives*. 21 (1), 7-23.

Blustein, D. L., Chaves, A. P., Diemer, M. A., Gallagher, L.A., Marshall, K.G., Sirin, S., & Bhati, K.S. (2002). Voices of the forgotten half: The role of social class in the school to-work transition. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*. 49, 311-323.

Blythe, W.A.L. (1965*). English Primary Education: A Sociological Description: Volume 11 Background.* London: Routledge.

Boehm, J.K., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2008). Does happiness promote career success? *Journal of Career Assessment*. 16, 101-116.

Bonet, R. (2014). High-involvement work practices and the opportunities for promotion in the organisation. *Industrial Relations*. 53 (2), 295-324.

Boudreau, J.W., Boswell, W.R., & Judge, T.A. (2001). Effects of personality on executive career success in the United States and Europe. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 58, 53-81.

Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Thematic Analysis and Code Development, Transforming Qualitative Information.* London: Sage.

Boxall, P., Haynes, P., & Freeman, R. (2007). *What Workers Say: Employee Voice in the Anglo-American Workplace*. New York, US: Cornell University Press.

Bozionelos, N. (2006). Mentoring and expressive network resources: their relationship with career success and emotional exhaustion among Hellenes employees involved in emotion work. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. 17 (2), 362-378.

Bradley, H. (1993). Across the great divide: the entry of men into women's jobs, in: Williams, C.L. (Ed.) *Doing Women's Work: Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. London: Sage.

Bradley, L., Brown, K., & Dower, J. (2009). Career progression in the public sector: gender differences in career success. *International Journal of Employment Studies*. 17 (2), 102-134.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 3, 77-101.

Briscoe, L.R., & Hall, D.T. (2006a). The interplay of the boundaryless and protean career: combinations and implications. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 69 (1), 4-18.

Briscoe, L.R., & Hall, D.T. (2006b). Special section on boundaryless and protean careers: next steps in conceptualizing and measuring boundaryless and protean careers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 69, 1-3.

Briscoe, L.R., Hall, D.T., & Frautschy DeMuth, R.L. (2006). Protean and boundaryless careers: an empirical exploration. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 69, 30-47.

British Psychological Society (BPS) (2009). *Code of Ethics and Conduct*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.

Britton, D.M. (2000). The epistemology of the gendered organization. *Gender and Society*. 14 (3), 418-434.

Brocklehurst, M. (2003). *Self and place: a critique of the boundaryless career*. Paper presented at the Critical Management Studies conference, University of Lancaster.

Brown, K. (1995). Out of the pink collar ghetto: restructuring and equity. *International Journal of Employment Studies*. 3 (2), 135-144.

Bruckmüller, S., & Branscombe, N. R. (2010). The glass cliff: when and why women are selected as leaders in crisis contexts. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. 49, 433-451.

Buelens, M., & Van Den Broeck, H. (2007). An analysis of differences in work motivation between public and private sector organizations. *Public Administration Review*. 67 (1), 65-74.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social Constructionism*. East Sussex: Routledge.

Cabrera, E.F. (2009). Protean organisations reshaping work and careers to retain female talent. *Career Development International*. 14 (2), 186-201.

Cappelli, P. (2000). A market-driven approach to retaining talent. *Harvard Business Review*. 78 (1), 103-111.

Cappelli, P. (2004). Why do employers pay for college? *Journal of Econometrics*. 121, 213-241.

Carlsson, M. (2011). Does hiring discrimination cause gender segregation in the Swedish labour market? *Feminist Economics*. 17 (3), 71-102.

Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (2011). Assessing good qualitative research in the work psychology field: a response to the commentaries. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. 84, 666-668.

Chang, H-T., & Feng, C-Y. (2014). Individual management and counselling as moderators in achieving career competencies and success. *Social Behaviour and Personality*. 42 (5), 869-880.

Charles, M. (2003). Deciphering sex segregation, vertical and horizontal inequalities in ten national labour markets. *Acta Sociologica*. 46 (4), 267-287.

Chartrand, J.M., & Rose, M.L. (1996). Career interventions for at-risk populations: incorporating social cognitive influences. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 44 (4), 341-353.

Chauvin, I.A., Miller, M.J., & Eaton, K. (2011). The application of Holland's theory to a nonprofessional occupation. *Individual Differences Research*. 9 (4), 231-237.

Cheramie, R. (2013). An examination of feedback-seeking behaviours, the feedback source and career success. *Career Development International*. 18 (7), 712-731.

Cheramie, R.A., Sturman, M.C., & Walsh, K. (2007). Executive career management: switching organizations and the boundaryless career. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 71, 359-374.

Chusmir, L.H. (1990). Men who make nontraditional career choices. *Journal of Counselling and Development*. 69, 11-16.

Clark, S.C. (2001). Work cultures and work/family balance. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 58, 348-365.

Clark-Carter, D. (2008). *Quantitative Psychological Research*. East Sussex: Psychology Press.

Clarke, M. (2009). Plodders, pragmatists, visionaries and opportunists: career patterns and employability. *Career Development International*. 14 (1), 8-28.

Cockburn, C. (1988). The gendering of jobs: workplace relations and the reproduction of sex segregation. In Walby, S. (Eds.), *Gender Segregation at Work*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Coetzee, M., Bergh, Z., & Schreuder, D. (2010). The influence of career orientations on subjective work experiences. *SA Journal of Human Resource Management*. 8 (1), 279-292.

Cohen, P., & Huffman, M. (2003). Individuals, jobs, and labour markets: the devaluation of women's work. *American Sociological Review.* 68 (3), 443–63.

Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (1996). *Men as Managers and Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Management*. London: Sage.

Connell, R.W. (2005). *Masculinities (second edition)*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R.W. (2009). *Gender (second edition)*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cook, P. (2006). Breaking the barriers to career progression [career planning]. *Engineering Management.* 16 (2), 31-33.

Creswell, J. W. & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*. 39 (3), 124-131.

Cross, S., & Bagilhole, B. (2002). Girls' jobs for the boys? Men, masculinity and non-traditional occupations. *Gender, Work and Organization*. 9 (2), 204-226.

Crowley-Henry, M. (2007). The protean career. *International Studies of Management & Organization*. 37 (3), 44-64.

Cunningham, P., & Iles, P. (2001). Managing learning climates in a financial services organisation. *Journal of Management Development*. 21 (6), 477–492.

Dachler, P. (1997). Does the distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods make sense? *Organization Studies*. 18, 709-724.

Dann, S. (1995). Gender differences in self-perceived success. *Women in Management Review*. 10, 11-18.

De Janasz, S.C., & Forret, M.L. (2008). Learning the art of networking: a critical skill for enhancing social capital and career success. *Journal of Management Education*. 32 (5), 629-650.

De Vos, A., De Hauw, S., & Van der Heijden, B. (2011). Competency development and career success: The mediating role of employability. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 79, 438-477.

De Vos, A., & Soens, N. (2008). Protean attitudes and career success: the mediating role of self-management. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 73, 449-456.

Demaiter, E.I., & Adams, T.L. (2009). "I really didn't have any problems with the male-female thing until…" successful women's experiences in IT organizations. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. 34 (1), 31-53.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). *The Handbook of Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.

Department of Education (2014). *Get into teaching*. Retrieved from http://www.education.gov.uk/get-into-teaching/about-teaching/salary/pay-and-benefits

Dhalvig, J.E. (2013). A narrative study of women leading within the council for Christian colleges & universities. *Christian Higher Education*. 12 (1/2), 93-109.

Diener, E., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*. 49, 71-75.

Dik, B.J., & Duffy, R.D. (2009). Calling and vocation at work: definitions and prospects for research and practice. *The Counselling Psychologist*. 37 (3), 424-450.

Dodson, T.A., & Borders, L.D. (2006). Men in traditional and nontraditional careers: gender role attitudes, gender role conflict, and job satisfaction. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 54, 283-296.

Dries, N. (2011). The meaning of career success: avoiding reification through a closer inspection of historical, cultural and ideological contexts. *Career Development International*. 16 (4), 364-384.

Dries, N., Pepermans, R., & Carlier, O. (2008). Career success: constructing a multidimensional model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 73, 254-267.

Drudy, S. (2008). Gender balance/gender bias: the teaching profession and the impact of feminisation. *Gender and Education*. 20 (4), 309-323.

Drudy, S., Martin, M., Woods, M. & O'Flynn, J. (2005). *Men in the Classroom: Gender Imbalance in Teaching*. London: Routledge.

Dyke, L.S., & Murphy, S.A. (2006). How we define success: a Qualitative study of what matters most to women and men. *Sex Roles. 55*(5/6), 357-371.

Eby, L.T., Butts, M., & Lockwood, A. (2003). Predictors of success in the era of a boundaryless career. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. 24, 689-708.

Eccles, J.S., Barber, B., & Jozefowicz, D. (1999). Linking gender to educational, occupational, and recreational choices: applying Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices. In W.B. Swann, J.H. Langlois, & L.A., Gilbert. (Eds.), *Sexism and Stereotypes in Modern Society* (153-192). Washington DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Edwards, C., Robinson, O., Welchman, R., & Woodall, J. (1999). Lost opportunities? Organisational restructing and women managers. *Human Resource Management Journal*. 9 (1), 55-65.

Elder, N.C., & Miller, W.L. (1995). Reading and evaluating qualitative research studies. *The Journal of Family Practice.* 41 (3), 279-285.

Ely, R.J., & Padavic, I. (2007). A feminist analysis of organisational research of sex differences. *Academy of Management Review*. 32, 1121-1143.

Emslie, C., & Hunt, K. (2009). 'Live to work' or 'work to live'? a qualitative study of gender and work-life balance among men and women in mid-life. *Gender, Work & Organization*. 16 (1), 151-172.

England, P. (2005). Emerging theories in care work. *Annual Review of Sociology.* 31 (1), 331–99.

England, P., Herbert, M.S., Stanek, B., Reid, L.L., & McCreary, L. (1994). The gendered valuation of occupations and skills: earnings in 1980 census occupations. *Social Forces.* 73, 65-99.

Ergeneli, A., Ilsev, A., & Karapinar, P.B. (2010). Work-family conflict and job satisfaction relationship: the roles of gender and interpretive habits. *Gender, Work & Organization*. 17 (6), 679-695.

Farndale, E., & Kelliher, C. (2013). Implementing performance appraisal: exploring the employee experience. *Human Resource Management*. 52 (6), 879-897.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: a hybrid approach of hybrid and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 5 (1), 1-11.

Filiz, Z. (2014). An analysis of the levels of job satisfaction and life satisfaction of the academic staff. *Social Indicators Research*. 116 (3), 793-808.

Fisher, C.B., & Vacanti-Shova, K. (2012). The responsible conduct of psychological research: an overview of ethical principles, APA ethics code standards and federal regulations. In Knapp, S.J., Gottlieb, M.C., Handelsman, M.M. *APA Handbook of Ethics in Psychology, Vol 2: Practice, Teaching and Research.* (335-369) Washington: American Psychological Association.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case study research. *Qualitative Inquiry.* 12 (2), 219-245.

Fochtman, M.M. (2011). Mid-career women student affairs administrators with young children: negotiating life, like clockwork. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences.* 72 (1A), 94.

Francis, B., & Skelton, C. (2001). Men teachers and the construction of masculinity in the classroom. *Sex Education*. 1, 1-17.

Friedman, S.D., & Greenhaus, J.H. (2000). *Work and Family - Allies or Enemies?: What Happens When Business Professionals Confront Life Choices*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Frome, P.M., Alfeld, C.J., Eccles, J.S., & Barber, B.L. (2008). Is the desire for a family-flexible job keeping women out of male-dominated occupations? In Watt, H.M.G., Eccles, J.S. (Eds.) *Gender and Occupational Outcomes: Longitudinal Assessments of Individual, Social and Cultural Influences*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Gatta, M.L., & Roos. P.L. (2004). Balancing without a net in academia: integrating family and work lives. *Equal Opportunities International*. 23, 3-5.

Gattiker, U.E., & Larwood, L. (1986). Subjective career success: a study of managers and support personnel. *Journal of Business and Psychology*. 1 (2), 78-94.

Gaucher, D., Friesen, J., & Kay, A.C. (2011). Evidence that gendered wording in job advertisements exists and sustains gender inequality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 101 (1), 109-128.

Gelso, C.J., Nutt Williams, E., & Fretz, B.R. (2014). *Counselling Psychology (3ʳᵈ Edition).* Washington DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Gerber, M., Wittekind, A., Grote, G., & Staffelbach, B. (2009). Exploring different types of career orientation: a latent class analysis approach. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 75, 303-318.

Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2001). Creating and recreating gender order in organisations. *Journal of World Business*. 36 (3), 245-259.

Gibson, D.E. (2004). Role models in career development: new directions for theory and research. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 65, 134-15.

Glass, J. (1990). The impact of occupational segregation on working conditions. *Social Forces*. 68 (3), 779-796.

Goffee, R., & Jones, G. (2000). Career community, and social architecture: an exploration of concepts. In Peiperl, M., Arthur, M.B., Goffee, R., Morris, T. (Eds.), *Career Frontiers: New Conceptions of Working Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gottfredson, L. S. (2006). Circumscription and compromise. In Greenhaus, J.H. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Career Development.* (650-664). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Grant, A.M., & Ashford, S.J. (2008). The dynamics of proactivity at work. *Research in Organizational Behaviour*. 28, 3-34.

Greenhaus, J.H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W.M. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experiences, job performance evaluations, and career outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*. 33, 64-86.

Gregory, A., & Milner, S. (2009). Editorial: work-life balance: a matter of choice? *Gender, Work and Organisation*. 16 (1), 1-13.

Gunter, R., & Stambach, A. (2003). As balancing act and as game: how women and men science faculty experience the promotion process. *Gender Issues*. 21, 24-42.

Gunz, H., Evans, M., & Jalland, M. (2000). Career boundaries in the 'boundaryless' world. In Peiperl, M., Arthure, M.B., Goffee, R., Morris, T. (Eds.), *Career Frontiers: New Conceptions of Working Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hakim, C. (2006). Women, careers and work-life preferences. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*. 34 (3), 279-294.

Hall, D.T. (1996). Protean careers of the twenty-first century. *The Academy of Management Executive.* 10 (4), 8-16.

Hall, D.T. (2002). *Careers In and Out of Organizations*. London: Sage.

Hall, D.T (2004). The protean career: a quarter-century journey. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 65 (1), 1-13.

Hall, D.T., Lee, M.D., Kossek, E.E., & Heras, M.L. (2012). Pursuing career success while sustaining personal and family well-being: a study of reduced-load professionals over time. *Journal of Social Issues*. 68 (4), 741-765.

Hall, D.T., & Mirvis, P.H. (1995). The new career contract: developing the whole person at midlife and beyond. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 47, 269-289.

Hargreaves, L., Cunningham, M., Everton, T., Hansen, A., Hopper, B., McIntyre, D., … Wilson, L. (2006). *The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession: Views from Inside and Outside the Profession (Research Report RR755)*. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Hartman, R., & Betz, N.E. (2007). The five factor model and career self-efficacy. *Journal of Career Assessment.* 15, 145-161.

Haslam, S.A., & Ryan, M.K. (2008). The road to the glass cliff: differences in the perceived suitability of men and women for leadership positions in succeeding and failing organisations. *Leadership Quarterly*. 19 (5), 530-546.

Hayes, R. (1986). Men's decisions to enter or avoid non-traditional occupations. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 35 (2), 89-101.

He, C., & Xiaoping, W. (2006). Social changes and occupational gender inequality. *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*. 38 (4), 37-53.

Helgeson, V.S. (2012). *Psychology of Gender (fourth edition).* London: Pearson.

Hennequin, E. (2007). What "career success" means to blue-collar workers. *Career Development International.* 12 (6), 565-581.

Heslin, P.A. (2005). Conceptualizing and evaluating career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*. 26, 113-136.

Hesse-Biber, S.N. (2007). *Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hirschi, A., & Freund, P.A. (2014). Career engagement: investigating intraindividual predictors of weekly fluctuations in proactive career behaviours. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 62, 5-20.

Hodes Research Group (2005). Men in nursing study. *Hodes Research*. 1–138.

Hogan, R., Chamorro-Premuzic, T., & Kaiser, R.B. (2013). Employability and career success: bridging the gap between theory and reality. *Industrial & Organisational Psychology*. 6 (1), 3-16.

Holland, J. (1985). *Making Vocational Choices: A Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments.* Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Holland, J. (1996). Exploring careers with a typology: what we have learned and some new directions. *American Psychologist*. 51 (4), 397-406.

Holland, J. (1997). *Making Vocational Choices, 3rd Edition*. Florida, US: Psychological Assessment Research Inc.

Holloway, I., & Todres, L. (2003). The status of method: flexibility, consistency and coherence. *Qualitative Research*. 3, 345-357.

Holstein, J. & Gubrium, J. (1997). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hoogervorst, J., van der Flier, H., & Koopman, P. (2004). Implicit communication in organisations, the impact of culture, structure and management practices on employee behaviour. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. 19 (3), 288-311.

Houston, D.J. (2000). Public-service motivation: a multivariate test. *Journal of Public Administration Research & Theory*. 10 (4), 713-715.

Howitt, D. (2010). *Introduction to Qualitative Methods in Psychology.* Essex: Pearson.

Huffman, M.L., & Cohen, P.N. (2004). Occupational segregation and the gender gap in workplace authority: national versus local labour markets. *Sociological Forum*. 19 (1), 121-147.

Hull, K.E., & Nelson, R.L. (2000). Assimilation, choice or constraint? Testing theories of gender differences in the careers of lawyers. *Social Forces*. 79 (1), 229-264.

Huppatz, K., & Goodwin, S. (2013). Masculinised jobs, feminised jobs and men's 'gender capital' experiences: understanding occupational segregation in Australia. *Journal of Sociology*. 49 (2-3), 291-308.

Jacobs, J. (1993). Men in female-dominated fields: trends and turnovers. In Williams, C.L. (Ed.) *Doing Women's Work: Men in Nontraditional Occupations.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Jacobs, J.E., Chhin, C.S., & Bleeker, M.M. (2006). Enduring links: parents' expectations and their young adult children's gender-typed occupational choices. *Educational Research and Evaluation.* 12, 395-407.

Jacobs, J., & Winslow, S. (2004). Overworked faculty: job stresses and family demands. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 596, 104-129.

Jacobsen, J.P. (2007). *The Economics of Gender (Third Edition*). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Jome, L.M., & Tokar, D.M. (1998). Dimensions of masculinity and major choice traditionality. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 52, 120-134.

Joseph, D., Boh, W.F., Ang, S., & Slaughter, S.A. (2012). The career paths less (or more) travelled: a sequence analysis of IT career histories, mobility patterns, and career success. *MIS Quarterly*. 36 (2), 427-452.

Jost, J., & Hunyady, O. (2002). The psychology of system justification and the palliative function of ideology. *European Review of Social Psychology*. 13, 111-153.

Judge, T., Cable, D.M., Boudreau, J.W., & Bretz, R.D. (1994). An empirical investigation of the predictors of executive career success. *Centre for Advanced Human Resource Studies Working Paper Series.* 233, 1-39.

Judge, T. A., Cable, D. M., Boudreau, J. W., & Bretz, R. D. (1995). An empirical investigation of the predictors of executive career success. *Personnel Psychology.* 48, 485-519.

Judge, T.A., & Hurst, C. (2007). Capitalizing one's advantages: role of core self-evaluations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 92, 1212-1227.

Kaasa, A., & Parts, E. (2008). Individual-level determinants of social capital in Europe: differences between country groups. *Acta Sociologica*. 51, 145-168.

Kannan, R. (2007). Career management and development: an emerging paradigm. *NHRD Career Management.* 1 (4), 6-9.

Kanter, R.M. (1993). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: BasicBooks.

Karunanayake, D., & Nuata, M.M. (2004). The relationship between race and students' identified career role models and perceived role model influence. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 52 (3), 225-234.

Kay, A.C., Gaucher, D., Peach, J.M., Laurin, K., Friesen, J., Zanna, M.P., & Spencer, S.J. (2009). Inequality, discrimination, and the power of the status quo: direct evidence for a motivation to see the way things are as the way should be. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 97, 421-434.

Kelan, E.K. (2010). Gender logic and (un)doing gender at work. *Gender, Work & Organization*. 17 (2), 174-194.

Kim, N. (2005). Organizational interventions influencing employee career development preferred by different career success orientations. *International Journal of Training and Development*. 9 (1), 47-61.

Kim, S-W., & Mueller, C.W. (2011). Occupational and organisational commitment in different occupational contexts: the case of South Korea. *Work and Occupations*. 38 (1), 3-36.

Kirchmeyer, C. (1998). Determinants of managerial career success: evidence and explanation of male/female differences. *Journal of Management*. 24 (6), 673-692.

Kirschenbaum, A., & Weisberg, J. (2002). Employee's turnover intentions and job destination choices. *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*. 23 (1), 109-125.

Krishnan, L., & Kamalanabhan, T.J. (2013). Entrepreneurial success and life satisfaction among women entrepreneurs in micro enterprises. *South Asian Journal of Management*. 20 (2), 40-63.

King, Z., Burke, S., & Pemberton, J. (2005). The 'bounded' career: An empirical study of human capital, career mobility and employment outcomes in a mediated labour market. *Human Relations*. 58 (8), 981-1007.

Korvajärvi, P. (1998). Reproducing gendered hierarchies in everyday work: contradictions in an employment office. *Gender, Work & Organization*. 5 (1), 154-177.

Kossek, E.E., Roberts, K., Fisher, S., & DeMarr, B. (1998). Career self-management: a quasi-experimental assessment of the effects of a training intervention. *Personnel Psychology*. 51, 935-962.

Kozlowski, S.W.J., & Klein, K.J. (2000). Multilevel Theory, Research and Methods in Organizations: Foundations, Extensions, and New Directions. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Kummerow, J.M. (2000) *New Directions in Career Planning and the Workplace*. California, US: Davies-Black Publishing.

Labour Force Survey (2010). Retrieved from
http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/product.asp?vlnk=14248

Lawrence, B. S., & Tolbert, P. S. (2007). Organizational demography and individual careers: structure, norms, and outcomes [Electronic version]. In Gunz, H., Peiperl, M. (Eds.), *Handbook of Career Studies* (p399-421). California: Sage.

Lemkau, J.P. (1983). Women in male-dominated professions; distinguishing personality and background characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 8 (2), 144-165.

Lent, R.W., & Brown, S.D. (1996). Social cognitive approach to career development: an overview. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 44 (4), 310-321.

Lepak, D.P., & Snell, S.A. (2002). Examining the human resource architecture: the relationships among human capital, employment and human resource configurations. *Journal of Management.* 28 (4), 517-543.

Levinson, D.J. (1986). A conception of adult development. *American Psychologist*. 41 (1), 3-13.

Lewis, S., Smithson, J., & Kugelberg, C. (2002). 'Into work: job insecurity and changing psychological contracts'. in Brannen, J., Lewis, S., Nilsen, A., Smithson, J. (eds). *Young Europeans, Work and Family*. London: Routledge.

Lewis, R., & Zibarras, L. (2013). *Work and Occupational Psychology, Integrating Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

Liebig, B., & Sansonetti, S. (2004). Career paths. *Current Sociology.* 52 (3), 371-406.

Locke, A. (2008). Development coaching: bridge to organisational success. *Creative Nursing*. 14 (3), 102-110.

Loscocco, K.A. (1997). Work-family linkages among self-employed women and men. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 50 (2), 204-226.

Lundberg, U., Mardberg, B., & Frankenhaeuser, M. (1994). The total workload of male and female white collar workers as related to age, occupational level, and number of children. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*. 35 (4), 315-327.

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.

Luzzo, D., & McWhirter, E. (2001). Sex and ethnic differences in the perception of educational and career-related barriers and levels of coping efficacy. *Journal of Counselling& Development.* 79, 61-67.

MacDermid, S.M., Lee, M.D., Buck, M.L., & Williams, M.L. (2001). Alternate work arrangements among professionals and managers: rethinking career development and success. *Journal of Management Development.* 20 (4), 305-317.

Magnusson, C. (2009). Gender, occupational prestige, and wages: A test of devaluation theory. *European Sociological Review.* 25 (1), 87–101.

Maguire, H. (2002). Psychological contracts: are they still relevant? *Career Development International*. 7 (3), 167-180.

Mahony, P., Hextall, I., & Menter, I. (2004). Threshold assessment and performance management: modernizing or masculinizing teaching in England? *Gender and Education*. 16 (2), 131-149.

Mallon, M., & Cohen, L. (2001). Time for a change? Women's accounts of the move from organizational careers to self employment. *British Journal of Management.* 12, 217-230.

Marmot, M. (1998). Improvement of social environment to improve health. *Lancet*. 351, 57-60.

Marchington, M., & Suter, J. (2013). Where informality really matters: patterns of employee involvement and participation (EIP) in a non-union firm. *Industrial Relations*. 52 (S1), 284-313.

Mau, W.C. (2003). Factors that influence persistence in science and engineering career aspirations. *Career Development Quarterly*. 51, 234-243.

Maume, D.J. (1999). Glass ceilings and glass escalators: occupational segregation and race and sex differences in managerial promotions. *Work and Occupations*. 26 (4), 483-509.

McDonald, P., Brown, K., & Bradley, L. (2005). Have traditional career paths given way to protean ones?: evidence from senior managers in the Australian public sector. *Career Development International.* 10 (2), 109-129.

McDonald, K.S., & Hite, L.M. (2008). The next generation of career success: implications for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*. 10, 86-103.

McGrath, K., & Sinclair, M. (2013). More male primary school teachers? Social benefits for boys and girls. *Gender and Education*. 25 (5), 531-547.

McGuire, G.M. (2007). Intimate work, a typology of the social support that workers provide to their network members. *Work and Occupations.* 34, 125-147.

McKenna, E. (2012). *Business Psychology and Organizational Behaviour*. East Sussex: Psychology Press.

McKenley, J. (2004). A rich resource: the career development of black and minority ethnic teachers. *Education Review*. 18 (1), 56-61.

McLean, H.M., & Kalin, R. (1994). Congruence between self-image and occupational stereotypes in students entering gender-dominated occupations. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*. 26 (1), 142-162.

McLeod, S.A. (2008). *Erik Erikson*. Retrieved from http://www.simplypsychology.org/Erik-Erikson.html.

McQueen, R.A., & Knussen, C. (2006). *Introduction to Research Methods and Statistics in Psychology.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Melamed, T. (1996). Career success: an assessment of a gender-specific model. *Journal of Organizational and Occupational Psychology*. 69, 217-242.

Mendez, L.M.R., & Crawford, K.M. (2002). Gender-role stereotyping and career aspirations: a comparison of gifted early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Secondary Gifted Education*. 13, 96-107.

Meulder, D., Plasman, R., Rigo, A., & O'Dorchai, S. (2010). *Topic Report Horizontal and Vertical Segregation, A Meta-analysis of Gender and Science Research*. Retrieved 17 September 2013 from http://genderedinnovations.stanford.edu/images/TR1_Segregation.pdf

Miller, L., Neathey, F., Pollard, E., & Hill, D. (2004). *Occupational segregation, gender gaps and skill gaps*. Brighton: EOC Working Paper 15.

Miller, M.J., & Bass, C. (2003). Application of Holland's theory to a nonprofessional occupation. *Journal of Employment Counselling*. 40, 17-23.

Miller, M.J., Scaggs, W.J., & Wells, D. (2006). The relevancy of Holland's theory to a nonprofessional occupation. *Journal of Employment Counselling*. 43, 62-69.

Mills, M., Martino, W., & Lingard, B. (2004). Attracting, recruiting and retaining male teachers: policy issues in the male teacher debate. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. 25 (3), 355-369.

Millward, L. (2005). *Understanding Occupational & Organizational Psychology.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Molm, L.D. (2003). Theoretical comparisons of forms of exchange. *Sociological Theory*. 21, 1-17.

Munasinghe, L. (2006). Expectations matter: job prospects and turnover dynamics. *Labour Economics*. 13 (5), 589-609.

Murrell, A.J., Frieze, I.H., & Frost, J.L. (1991). Aspiring to careers in male and female-dominated professions, a study of black and white college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 15, 103-126.

Nadin, S.J., & Williams, C.C. (2012). Psychological contract violation beyond an employees' perspective, the perspective of employers. *Employee Relations.* 34 (2), 110-125.

Newton, N. (2010). The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research: strengths and weaknesses. *Exploring Qualitative Methods*. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semi-structured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses

Nikunen, M. (2012). Changing university work, freedom, flexibility and family. *Studies in Higher Education*. 37 (6), 713-729.

Ng, T.W.H., Eby, L.T., Sorensen, K.L., & Feldman, D.C. (2005). Predictors of objective and subjective career success: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology*. 58, 367-408.

Ng, T.W.H., & Feldman, D.C. (2010). Human capital and objective indicators of career success: the mediating effects of cognitive ability and conscientiousness. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. 83, 207-235.

Ng, T.W.H., Feldman, D.C., & Butts, M.M. (2014). Psychological contract breaches and employee voice behaviour: the moderating effects of changes in social

relationships. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*. 23 (4), 537-553.

Nutley, S., & Mudd, J. (2005). Has the glass cliff replaced the glass ceiling for women employed in the public sector? *Public Money & Management*. 25 (1), 3-4.

O'Donovan-Polten, S. (2002). *The scales of success: constructions of life-career success of eminent men and women lawyers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Oksanen, T., Kawachi, I., Kouvonen, A., Takao, S., Etsuji, S., Virtanen, E., … Jussi, V. (2013). Workplace determinants of social capital: cross-sectional and longitudinal evidence from a Finnish cohort study. *PLOS ONE*. 8 (6), 1-7.

Oksanen, T., Kivimäki, M., Kawachi, I., Subramanian, S.V., Takao, S., Etsuji, S., … Jussi, V. (2011). Workplace social capital and all-cause mortality: a prospective cohort study of 28,043 public sector employees. *American Journal of Public Health*. 101, 1742-1748.

Olsen, W., & Walby, S. (2004). *Modelling Gender Pay Gaps.* Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.

Olson, D.A., & Shultz, K.S. (2013). Employability and career success: the need for comprehensive definitions of career success. *Industrial and Organisational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*. 6 (1), 17-20.

Özyürek, A., Gümüş, H., & Doğan, S. (2012). Examination of burnout and life satisfaction levels of teachers and school administrators. *International Journal of Human Sciences*. 9 (2), 892-904.

Park, D. (1996). Gender role, decision style and leadership style. *Women in Management Review.* 11 (8), 13-17.

Park, Y. (2010). The predictors of subjective career success: an empirical study of employee development in a Korean financial company. *International Journal of Training and Development.* 14 (1), 1-15.

Parker, B., & Chusmir, L.H. (1991). Motivation needs and their relationship to life success. *Human Relations*. 44 (12), 1201-1212.

Parker, B., & Chusmir, L.H. (1992). Development and validation of a life-success measures scale. *Psychological Reports*. 70 (2), 627-638.

Parkin, F. (1979). *Marxism and Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique*. London: Tavistock.

Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. London: Sage Publications Inc.

Patton, W. (2013). *Conceptualising Women's Working Lives: Moving the Boundaries of Discourse.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Price-Glynn, K., & Rakovski, C. (2012). Who rides the glass escalator? Gender, race and nationality in the national nursing assistant study. *Work, Employment and Society*. 26 (5), 699-715.

Pringle, J.K., & Mallon, M. (2003). Challenges for the boundaryless career odyssey. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. 14 (5), 839-853.

Probert, B. (1992). Award restructuring and clerical work: skills, training and careers in a feminised occupation. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*. 34 (2), 436-454.

Quesenberry, J.L., & Trauth, E.M. (2012). The (dis)placement of women in the IT workforce: an investigation of individual career values and organisational interventions. *Information Systems Journal*. 22, 457-473.

Quimby, J.L., & DeSantis, A. (2006). The influence of role models on women's career choices. *The Career Development Quarterly. 54, 297-306.*

Raabe, B., Frese, M., & Beehr, T.A. (2007). Action regulation theory and career self-management. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour. 70, 297-311.*

Ramaswami, A., Dreher, G., Bretz, R., & Wiethoff, C. (2010). Gender, mentoring and career success: the importance of organisational context. *Personnel Psychology. 63, 385-405.*

Reitman, F., & Schneer, J.A. (2003). The promised path: A longitudinal study of managerial careers. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. 18 (1), 60-75.

Riddell, S., Tett, L., Ducklin, A., Stafford, A., Winterton, M., Burns, C., & Ferrie, J. (2006). The gender balance of the teaching workforce in Scotland: What's the problem? *Scottish Educational Review*. 38 (1), 73-92.

Rogelberg, S.G. (2007). *Handbook of Research Methods in Industrial and Organizational Psychology.* Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Ryan, M.K., & Haslam, S.A. (2007). The glass cliff: exploring the dynamics surrounding the appointment of women to precarious leadership positions. *Academy of Management Review*. 32 (2), 549-572.

Ryan, M.K., Haslam, S.A., & Kulich, C. (2010). Politics and the glass cliff: evidence that women are preferentially selected to contest hard-to-win seats. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 34 (1), 56-64.

Salmela-Aro, K., & Nurmi, J-E. (2007). Self-esteem during university studies predicts career characteristics 10 years later. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 70, 463-477.

Sammarra, A., Profili, S., & Innocenti, L. (2013). Do external careers pay-off for both managers and professionals? The effect of inter-organisational mobility on objective career success. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. 24 (13), 2490-2511.

Sampson, J.P., McClain, M-C., Musch, E., & Reardon, R.C. (2012). Variables affecting readiness to benefit from career interventions. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 61, 98-109.

Sargent, P. (2000). Real men or real teachers? Contradictions in the lives of men elementary teachers. *Men and Masculinities*. 2 (4), 410–433.

Sargent, L.D., & Domberger, S.R. (2007). Exploring the development of a protean career orientation: values and image violations. *Career Development International*. 12 (6), 545-564.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2003). *Research Methods for Business Students*. Buckinghamshire: Prentice Hall.

Savickas, M.L. (2012). Life design: a paradigm for career intervention in the 21st century. *Journal of Counselling & Development*. 90, 13-19.

Scase, R., & Goffee, R. (1989). *Reluctant Managers: Their Work and Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Schein, E.H. (1993). *Career Anchors: Discovering Your Real Values*. San Diego: Pfieffer and Co.

Segers, J., Inceoglu, I., Vloeberghs, D., Bartram, D., & Henderick, E. (2008). Protean and boundaryless careers: A study on potential motivators. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 73, 212-230.

Seibert, S.E., & Kraimer, M.L. (2001). The five-factor model of personality and career success. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 58, 1-12.

Seibert, S.E., Kraimer, M.L., & Liden, R.C. (2001). A social capital theory of career success. *Academy of Management Journal*. 44 (2), 219-237.

Shore, L., Taylor, S., Coyle-Shapiro, J., & Tetrick, L. (2004). *The Employment Relationship: Examining Psychological and Contextual Perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shultz, K.S., & Wang, M. (2011). Psychological perspectives on the changing nature of retirement. *American Psychologist*. 66 (3), 170-179.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Simpson, R. (2005). Men in non-traditional occupations: career entry, career orientation and experience of role strain. *Gender, Work & Organization.* 12 (4), 363-380.

Skelton, C. (2003). Male primary teachers and perceptions of masculinity. *Educational Review*. 55 (2), 195-209.

Skuratowicz, E., & Hunter, L. (2004). Where do women's jobs come from? job resegregation in an American bank. *Work and Occupations*. 31 (1), 73-110.

Sluss, D.M., & Ashforth, B.E. (2007). Relational identity and identification: Defining ourselves through work relationships. *Academy of Management Review.* 32, 9-32.

Smith, R.A. (2012). Money, benefits and power: a test of the glass ceiling and glass escalator hypotheses. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 639 (1), 149-172.

Smith, S. (2013). Working hard with gender, gendered labour for women in male dominated occupations of manual trades and information technology (IT). *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*. 32 (6), 592-603.

Smith-Ruig, T. (2008). Making sense of careers through the lens of a path metaphor. *Career Development International*. 13 (1), 20-32.

Sobiraj, S., Rigotti, T., Weseler, D., & Mohr, G. (2014). Masculinity ideology and psychological strain: considering men's social stressors in female-dominated occupations. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity.* Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0035706.

Sochalski, J. (2002). Trends: nursing shortage redux: turning the corner on an enduring problem. *Health Affairs*. 21 (5), 16.

Sparrowe, R.T., & Liden, R.C. (2005). Two routes to influence: Integrating leader-member exchange and social network perspectives. *Administrative Science Quarterly.* 50, 505-535.

Sparrowe, R.T., Liden, R.C., Wayne, S.J., & Kraimer, M.L. (2001). Social networks and the performance of individuals and groups. *Academy of Management Journal*. 44 (2), 316-325.

Stanley, B., Sieber, J.E., & Melton, G.B. (1996). *Research Ethics: A Psychological Approach.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Stead, G.B. (2004). Culture and career psychology: a social constructionist perspective. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 64 (3), 389-406.

Stumpf, S.A., & Tymon, W.G. (2012). The effects of objective career success on subsequent subjective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 81 (3), 345-353.

Sturges, J. (1999). What it means to succeed: personal conceptions of career success held by male and female managers at different ages. *British Journal of Management*. 10 (3), 239-252.

Sturges, J., & Guest, D. (2004). Working to live or living to work? Work/life balance early in the career. *Human Resource Management Journal*. 14 (4), 5-20.

Sullivan, S.E. (1999). The changing nature of careers: a review and research agenda. *Journal of Management*. 25 (3), 457-484.

Sullivan, S.E., & Arthur, M.B. (2006). The evolution of the boundaryless career concept: examining physical and psychological mobility. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 69 (1), 19-29.

Sullivan, S.E., & Baruch, Y. (2009). Advances in career theory and research: a critical review and agenda for future exploration. *Journal of Management*. 35 (6), 1542-1571.

Sullivan, S.E., Carden, W.A., & Martin, D.F. (1998). Careers in the next millennium: directions for future research. *Human Resource Management Review*. 8, 165-185.

Sullivan, S.E., & Mainiero, L. (2008). Using the kaleidoscope career model to understand the changing patterns of women's careers: designing HRD programs that attract and retain women. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*. 10 (1), 32-49.

Super, D.E. (1957). *The Psychology of Careers*. New York: Harper & Row.

Super, D.E. (1980). A life span, life space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 13, 282–298.

Super, D.E., & Hall, D.T. (1978). Career development: exploration and planning. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 29, 333-372.

Sutherland, V.J., & Davidson, M.J. (1996). Managing diversity: using an equal opportunities audit to maximise career potential and opportunities in a UK bank. *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology*. 5 (4), 559-582.

Symon, G., Buehring, A., Johnson, P., & Cassell, C. (2008). Positioning qualitative research as resistance to the institutionalization of the academic labour process. *Organization Studies*. 29 (10), 1315-1336.

Tannenbaum, S.I., Beard, R.L., McNall, L.A., & Salas, E. (2010). Informal learning and development in organizations. In Kozlowski, S.W.J, Salas, E. (Eds.), *Learning, training, and development in organizations* (pp. 303–331). New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Thompson, C.A., Beauvais, L.L., & Lyness, K.S. (1999). When work–family benefits are not enough: the influence of work–family culture on benefit utilization, organizational attachment, and work family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 54, 392–415.

Thomson, C.A., Kopelman, R.E., & Schriescheim, C.A. (1992). Putting all eggs in one basket: a comparison of commitment and satisfaction among self- and organisationally employed men. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 77 (5), 738-743.

Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (1993). The gender and race composition of jobs and the male/female, white/black pay gaps. *Social Forces*. 72 (1), 45-76.

Trefalt, Š. (2013). Between you and me: setting work-nonwork boundaries in the context of workplace relationships. *Academy of Management Journal*. 56 (6), 1802-1829.

UK National Contact Point (2014). Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 September 2005 on the Recognition of Professional Qualifications. Retrieved from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CONSLEG:2005L0036:20110324:EN:PDF

Valcour, P.M., & Tolbert, P.S. (2003). Gender, family and career in the era of boundarylessness: determinants and effects of intra- and inter-organizational mobility. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. 14 (5), 768-787.

Vigodo-Gadot, E., & Grimland, S. (2008). Values and career choice at the beginning of the MBA educational process. *Career Development International*. 13 (4), 333-345.

Visagie, S., & Koekemoer, E. (2014). What it means to succeed: personal perceptions of career success held by senior managers. *South African Journal of Business Management*. 45 (1), 43-54.

Wallace, J.E. (1995). Organisational and professional commitment in professional and nonprofessional organisations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 40 (2), 228-255.

Waltz, G.R. (1982). *Career Development in Organisations*. Washington DC, US: National Institute of Education.

Wang, M., Henkens, K., & van Solinge, H. (2011). Retirement adjustment, a review of theoretical and empirical advancements. *American Psychologist*. 66 (3), 204-213.

Weber, M. (1968). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. New York: Bedminster Press.

Western, S. (2012). *Coaching and Mentoring, a Critical Text*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Whitmarsh, L., Brown, D., Cooper, J., Hawkins-Rogers. Y., & Wentworth, D.K. (2007). Choices and challenges: a qualitative exploration of professional women's career patterns. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 55 (3), 225-236.

Whitmarsh, L., & Wentworth, D.K. (2012). Gender similarity or gender difference? Contemporary women's and men's career patterns. *The Career Development Quarterly*. 60, 47-64.

Wiese, B.S., Freund, A.M., & Baltes, P.B. (2002). Subjective career success and emotional well-being: longitudinal predictive power of selection, optimization, and compensation. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour. 60,* 321-335.

Wiess, H.M. (2002). Deconstructing job satisfaction: separating evaluations, beliefs and affective experiences. *Human Resource Management Review*. 12, 173-194.

Wiggins, C., Bowman, S.Y. (2000). Career success and life satisfaction for female and male healthcare managers. *Hospital Topics*. 78 (3), 5-10.

Wilensky, H.L. (1961). Careers, lifestyles, and social integration. *International Social Science Journal.* 12 (4), 553–558.

Williams, C. (1992). The glass escalator: hidden advantages for men in the "female" professions. *Social Problems*. 39 (3), 253-267.

Williams, C. (1993). *Doing "Women's Work" Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Williams, L.S., & Villemez, W.J. (1993). Seekers and finders: male entry and exit in female-dominated jobs. In Williams, C.L. (Ed.) *Doing Women's Work: Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Wils, T., Guérin, G., & Bernard, R. (1993). Career systems as a configuration of career management activities. International Journal of Career Management. 5 (2), 11-15.

Witz, A. (1990). Patriarchy and professions: the gendered politics of occupational closure. *Sociology*. 24 (4), 675-690.

Wolf-Wendell, L., & Ward, K.A. (2006). Academic motherhood: managing complex roles in research universities. *Review of Higher Education*. 27, 233-257.

Wolfinger, N.H., Mason, M.A., & Goulden, M. (2008). Problems in the pipeline: gender, marriage and fertility in the ivory tower. *Journal of Higher Education*. 79, 388-405.

Wolff, H-G., & Moser, K. (2009). Effects of networking on career success: a longitudinal study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 94 (1), 196.

Woodfield, R. (2007). *What Women Want from Work: Gender and Occupational Choice in the 21st Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J.E. (2001). Crafting a job: revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of Management Review*. 26, 179-201.

Xu, Y. (2008). Men in nursing: origin, career path, and benefits to nursing as a profession. *Home Health Care Management Practice.* 21 (1), 72-73.

Yang, L-Q., Johnson, R., Zhang, X., Spector, P., & Xu, S. (2013). Relations of interpersonal unfairness with counterproductive work behaviour: the moderating role of employee self-identity. *Journal of Business & Psychology*. 28 (2), 189-202.

Yin, R.K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. London: Sage.

Zaleska, K.J., & de Menezes, L.M. (2007). Human resource development practices and their association with employee attitudes: between traditional and new careers. *Human Relations.* 60 (7), 987-1018.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Request for gatekeeper permission

University of Worcester

Dear xxxx,

My name is Kazia and I am a PhD student at Worcester Business School, University of Worcester, supervised by Dr Catharine Ross. I am currently in my first year of study and my research topic is in the area of careers. Specifically my work is focused on exploring career success of males who work in female-dominated occupations (such as Administration, where male employees are often a minority group). In order to do this I hope to conduct semi-structured interviews with male employees to explore how they define career success in these particular occupations.

I wanted to bring my research to your attention at this stage to ask for your permission to invite some of the male employees who work in administrative roles at your organisation to take part in my research later on this year.

I would be very grateful for your support with my research, and I shall look forward to hearing from you shortly.

Kind regards,

Kazia Solowiej

PhD Student
Worcester Business School
University of Worcester

Appendix 2: Invitation to potential participants to take part in semi-structured interviews

Dear Colleague,

As part of my PhD research I would like to invite you to participate in an informal discussion / semi-structured interview about career success in your work, and what it means to you. Career success has been defined in many ways, for example level of salary, maintaining a work-life balance, enjoyment and satisfaction at work, to name a few. However the majority of research conducted so far has not explored career success in specific occupations.

By taking part in a short, informal discussion the information you provide will help me to gain an understanding of how career success is defined in your occupation, and how you hope to or have achieved it. This will allow me to explore new definitions of career success and to make recommendations for updating current methods of measuring career success. Any information discussed will be kept entirely anonymous and confidential.

If you would be happy to take part in an informal discussion / semi-structured interview, please contact me on 01905 54 2046 or email me at k.solowiej@worc.ac.uk to arrange a convenient time and date. I would be very grateful for your help with my research.

Thank you for your time.

Kind regards,

Kazia Solowiej

PhD Student
Worcester Business School
University of Worcester

Appendix 3: Interview schedule (phase 1)

Semi-structured Interview for Male Primary School Teachers and University Administrators:

As you know, you have been invited to take part in this interview as part of my PhD research. This interview is designed to explore your perceptions of career success and your experience of working in a female-dominated occupation. The information you provide will help me to gain an understanding of how you define career success, how you hope to achieve it or how you have already achieved it. The information from this interview will be used to explore new definitions of career success and to make recommendations for ways of measuring and supporting career success. The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes, however all information discussed in this interview will be kept completely anonymous. At a later stage, anonymous examples of quotations from your interview may be used in the project report, but your identity and organisation will be protected. You do have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time. Should you wish to contact me after the interview, I will provide you with a participant number so that your information can be identified and removed from the study, whilst maintaining your anonymity.

Are you still happy to take part in the interview? Do you have any questions before we begin?

Demographic information

1. Talk to me about your current post?
2. How long have you been working in your current post?
3. Why did you choose to work in your current occupation?
   a. How did you get here?
   b. Talk me through your career to date

Career

1. Do you have a career plan or path that you hope to follow?
2. Do you have any specific career goals?
3. What is your current level of education?
   a. Has this helped or will this help you to achieve your career goals?
4. Is your current role important to your overall career goals?

Career success

1. What does career success mean to you?
2. How would you define career success personally?
3. What are your criteria for success?
4. How do you plan to achieve career success in your current occupation, or do you feel that you have achieved career success already?

5. Do you feel that your definition(s) of success is different or similar to your colleagues?

Challenges / benefits

6. What is your experience of being a male employee in a female-dominated occupation?
   a. Has this helped or hindered you in achieving career success?
   b. Has this had an impact on your perception of career success?
7. Can you think of any challenges or barriers you might face in achieving career success in your occupation?
   a. Do you think you will be able to overcome these? (how?)
8. Can you think of any benefits or things that may help you to achieve career success in your current occupation?

Organisational support

9. Do you know if your current organisation offers any support to help employees to achieve career success?

   a. Have you ever used any of the facilities or career support on offer in your organisation?

   b. Did this help or hinder you to achieve career success?

10. Is there a career path in place in your organisation (i.e. do you have to follow a certain path or achieve certain qualifications/levels in order to progress?)

That concludes the questions I have for you today. Thank you very much for taking part, do you have any questions before we end the interview?

Appendix 4: Interview schedule (phase 2)

Semi-structured Interview for organisational representatives:

As you know, you have been invited to take part in this interview as part of my PhD research. This interview is designed to explore career support and interventions that are available in your organisation. The information you provide will help me to gain an understanding of how your organisation may define success for employees and what mechanisms may be in place to help them achieve this. The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes, however all information discussed in this interview will be kept completely anonymous. At a later stage, anonymous examples of quotations from your interview may be used in the project report, but your identity and organisation will be protected. You do have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time. Should you wish to contact me after the interview, I will provide you with a participant number so that your information can be identified and removed from the study, whilst maintaining your anonymity.

Are you still happy to take part in the interview? Do you have any questions before we begin?

1. What is your/your department's role in this organisation?

2. How do you think your organisation defines careers?

3. Do you think career development is the responsibility of the organisation or the individual?

4. How do you/do you think this organisation would define a successful employee?

5. What do you/does your department do to support employees in their career in this organisation?

- Do you know why do you have this specific selection of activities/opportunities for employees?

6. Do you have career support activities/opportunities for administrative employees specifically?

- Do you think these activities may help teachers/administrators to achieve career success?

7. How do employees access these opportunities/activities?

8. Do you follow-up or evaluate the impact/effectiveness of the career opportunities/activities?

9. Can you think of any challenges this organisation may have faced in terms of the career support it has to offer employees?

10. What would you say the main/key benefits are of the career support this organisation has to offer?

11. Is there anything you'd like to see this organisation doing to support employees in their careers that it doesn't already do?

That concludes the questions I have for you today. Thank you very much for taking part, do you have any questions before we end the interview?

Appendix 5: Summary of codes extracted from interview transcripts

Career Success of Male Primary School Teachers	
Themes	**Codes**
1. Informal Recognition and Feedback	Positive feedback from parents and children Recognition from SLT/Head Recognition in cards from parents and children 'Thank you' cards from parents and children Praise from others Positive feedback from parents Recognition for good work Having a good reputation
2. Personal Achievements at Work	Enjoying work = success Wanting to go back to work each day Being happy at work = success Enjoyment of work Satisfaction at work Having free time Happy feelings towards teaching Work-life balance important for family commitments
3. Professional Achievements at Work	Hierarchical progression = success Becoming a Head Teacher Progression of responsibilities over time Progression to Deputy then to Head Achieving financial security Graded peer observations = success Improvement on classroom performance Achievement of Senior Leadership position School Ofsted rating = success Frequent mobility to gain experience Gaining experience of different schools
4. Making a Contribution to Education	Sense of contribution felt Success reflected in children's attitudes Children enjoying their education Doing your best to promote learning Feeling like you've done something good Having a positive impact on the children Achievement of children's good behaviour Feeling like I've done my best Having happy confident children
5. Success for Male Teachers	Positive male role model for children

	Males as role models for young children
	Hierarchical progression faster for males
	Being male advantageous for success
	Success for males at interview
	Pressure for males to accept opportunities
	Males targeted for extra responsibilities = hindrance to success

Career Success of Male University Administrators	
Themes	**Codes**
1. Life Success	Having a happy home life
	Working to live not living to work
	Achievements in personal life
	Balancing work and life = success
	Enjoying hobbies outside work
	Success reflected in achievements of family members
	Achieving a combination of good work and home life
2. Social Achievements at Work	Recognition from peers
	Helping others = success
	Gaining respect from colleagues
	Helping others to develop
	Building a good reputation
	Good friendships with colleagues
	Enjoying time with colleagues
	Getting on well with colleagues
	Recognition of good work from managers
3. Personal Achievements at Work	Feeling a sense of achievement
	Enjoyment of work
	Ability to apply skills and talents
	Happiness at work
	Working to my strengths = success
	Job satisfaction = success
	Making a contribution at work
	Feeling happy at work
4. Professional Achievements at Work	Financial rewards = success
	Achieving financial security
	Good job performance, productivity
	Financial security = success
	Taking on responsibilities
	Continuing professional development
	Day to day productivity
	Achieving measurable goals
	Achievement of professional qualifications
	Advancing to new challenging positions

	Having promotional opportunities

Career History and Motivations of Male Primary School Teachers	
Themes	Codes
1. **Lifelong Aspiration to Teach Primary**	Always wanted to teach primary Experiences during childhood lead to aspiration to teach Influence from parents as role model teachers Inspiration from others to become a teacher
2. **Interaction with Children, a Highlight of Previous Jobs with Low Satisfaction**	Enjoyment of teaching Enjoyment of working with young people Positive interaction with children in a boring job Previous experience gave inspiration to teach
3. **'Ending up' as a Teacher**	Stumbled into teaching and gained great satisfaction from it Economic climate impacted previous career plans Ended up as a teacher Unable to pursue original career plans

Career History and Motivations of Male University Administrators	
Themes	Codes
1. **Seeking Entry into University Administration**	History of administrative roles Accepted full-time post after temping Sought administrative role after university education Influence of family and friends working in administration Positive past experience of administration lead to career change
2. **'Coming Across' a Career in University Administration**	Came across administrative role whilst job searching Interest in working with young people Positive opportunities associated with university environment Appeal of university environment
3. **'Settling' for a Career in University Administration**	Negative past experience of sales environment Dissatisfaction in previous role

	Convenience of location of university
	Entering administration following redundancy
	Inability to pursue original career plans
	'Fell into' administrative role
4. University Administration as a Stepping Stone	Experience of financial administration as a stepping stone
	Administration as a stepping stone to another career

Perceptions of Challenges and Benefits of Primary School and University Workplaces for Achieving Success

Themes	Codes
1. Social Benefits of Primary Schools and Universities	Opportunities to interact with colleagues
	Friendly environment helps to develop teams
	Platform for socialising outside of work
	Positive relationships with mentors in schools
	Workplace enables development of positive reputation
	Good relationships with colleagues
	Support from colleagues
	Knowledge sharing and learning from colleagues
2. Support for Personal and Professional Development	Universities promote professional development
	University ethos relates to development
	Gaining valuable experience from current role
	Managers encouraging of promotion
	Managers supportive of development
	Opportunities to undertake training and qualifications
	Supportive appraisal system
	Larger schools associated with greater opportunities
	Supportive SLT
3. Gender-related Advantages and Disadvantages of the Work Environment	Schools seek male role models
	Subject responsibilities for males
	Increased promotional opportunities for males
	Increased visibility of males for promotions
	IT and PE are male responsibilities
	Different role expectations for males and females

	Unsupported promotional opportunities for males
	Difficulties socialising with female colleagues
	Females favoured for early years roles
	Dislike being the only man in the school
	Conflict with female colleagues
	Little in common with female colleagues
	Role flexibility for females but not males?
4. Challenges and Benefits of the Occupational Contexts	Children's performance and teaching quality meaningful for success
	Ofsted rating useful indicator of success
	Lesson planning is time consuming = hindrance to success
	Often inspection not a true reflection of good performance
	Lack of clear career path in administration = fewer promotional opportunities
	Development opportunities limited to generic skills training
	Good variety and availability of university courses
	University support to undertake first degree
	Competition for promotional opportunities
	Limited funding for opportunities
	Budget cuts = less availability of opportunities

Evaluation of Career Interventions and Success	
Themes	**Codes**
Organisational perceptions of success	Successful employees go above and beyond
	Fulfilment of job description
	Help to achieve organisational goals
	Staff who are flexible
	Staff who develop in their roles
	Teachers who take on wider responsibilities
	Staff who achieve targets
	Individuals who make a significant contribution
	Demonstration of behavioural expectations
	Contribution to the achievement of mission statement
	Achievement of children's learning targets

Organisational Representative's Perceptions of Career Interventions	Career interventions = positive investment
	Career interventions result in content staff
	Promotion of skill development
	Skilled and knowledgeable teams
	Value of different skills and experience
	Builds confidence amongst staff
	Builds strong teams
	Promotes challenge
	Promotion of friendly environment
	Development opportunities promote social interaction
	Wealth of knowledge across teams
	Good quality opportunities
	Variety of courses and qualifications
	Job rotation in finance, useful for experience
	Opportunities promote satisfaction and motivation
	Financial barriers
	Some employees are unwilling to develop
	Time constraints to undertake training
	Limited time to reflect on learning
	Limited opportunities for administrative promotions
	Staff study for free
	Lack of consistent approach to flexible working across university departments
	Department/manager discretional decisions open to interpretation
	Time constraints prevent engagement with development
	Retention of administrators problematic – limited opportunity to progress
	Reluctance to take on extra responsibilities

Appendix 6: List of publications

Solowiej, K. (2014). Experiences of participating in an occupational themed symposium; a case study of males in two female-dominated occupations, are organisational interventions helping or hindering males to achieve career success as they define it? *OP Matters*. 21, 42-43.

Solowiej, K. (2013). Career success of males in female-dominated occupations. *OP Matters*. 20, 52-54.

Solowiej, K., Ross, C., Francis-Smythe, J., & Steele, C. (2014). Understanding career success from employee and organisational perspectives: A case study of males in two female-dominated occupations. *Proceedings of the BPS Division of Occupational Psychology (DOP) Annual Conference 2014*, Brighton.

Solowiej, K., Ross, C., Francis-Smythe, J, & Steele, C. (2013). A case study of males in two female-dominated occupations; are organisational interventions helping or hindering males to achieve career success as they define it? *Proceedings of the 28th PsyPAG Annual Conference*, Lancaster.

Solowiej, K., Ross, C., Francis-Smythe, J., & Steele, C. (2012). Career success of males in two female-dominated occupations. *Proceedings of the 27th PsyPAG 27th Annual Conference*, Newcastle.

Solowiej, K., Ross, C., Francis-Smythe, J., & Steele, C. (2012). A case study of career success: male employees in female-dominated occupations. *Proceedings of the Gender, Work & Organizations Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference*, Keele.

Solowiej, K., Ross, C., Francis-Smythe, J., & Steele, C. (2012). Career success of males in two public sector, female-dominated occupations. *Proceedings of the BPS Annual Conference*, London.