

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE
SENIOR MANAGEMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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Synopsis

It is becoming increasingly recognised that women are not represented in the senior management area of secondary schools in the proportion that their numbers warrant. Government, local authorities and professional associations have drawn attention to the fact and have put forward suggestions, and in some areas have set schemes in motion, to increase female participation in the education service at this level.

It is the purpose of this study to try to discover the reasons for women's under-representation in the higher echelons of secondary school management. Many secondary sources have been used to provide the historical and sociological background, in an effort to assess the effect of sex stereotyping, co-education and early socialisation on the aspirations of women in their careers.

The empirical research has been provided by the views, obtained by questionnaire and interview, of 120 teachers of Scale 3 status and above from four urban comprehensive schools. In examining their views on factors affecting promotion and on leadership ideology it has been possible to link theory with practice and to assess the difference between men and women in their attitudes, in their qualifications, in their aspirations, and in their success, and to provide both explanations for the present situation and to consider possible solutions. It has been found that there are many causes, which interact and affect individual women in different ways when in pursuit of a career.

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CHAPTER 1

Influences on Women's Role in Schools

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CHAPTER 1

Influences on Women's Role in Schools

1:1 Introduction

The two aspects of the position of women in the senior management of secondary schools to be considered in this study are:

- i) The relatively small number of women occupying senior posts.
- ii) The concept of a woman's role in "senior management".

For the purpose of this study, "senior management" is taken to mean those members of school staffs whose salaries are assessed on the Head Teacher, Deputy Head Teacher and Senior Teacher categories of the Burnham Scale. Although the salary scale of Deputy Head includes the post of senior Master and Senior Mistress, the position of the Senior Teacher does not have such a clearly defined area of responsibility and is sometimes used for an intermediary administrative or pastoral position, (a Head of School, for example in a large comprehensive school), sometimes for specific administrative duties, such as examination secretary, sometimes for academic responsibilities such as Director of Studies, a Faculty Head or a Head of a large department. In many cases the attainment of one of these positions is seen as an important step towards a Headship: certainly very few Head Teachers are appointed without having experience of at least one of the roles of Senior Teacher and Deputy Head.

In considering, therefore, the small number of women occupying secondary headships, it is necessary to consider how

far women have progressed along the structure towards headship - how far back in the career stage it is necessary to look to discover why so few women reach the top managerial role. For certainly there are very few women holding secondary headships.

In fact over the past twenty years the number of secondary headships occupied by women has fallen from 25% to 16%. These are the figures that emerged from an enquiry conducted by the Women's National Commission into how secondary schools meet the needs of female students within schools, and in relation to their future prospects in employment. Eighty six local authorities responded to the enquiry, eight of which had no women headteachers at all, and twenty nine less than 10% women headteachers. It was suggested by the commission that the decline may be attributed to the diminishing number of single sex schools, because a woman is not very likely to be appointed to a headship of a mixed secondary school, whereas a man is now considered more frequently for the headship of an all girls' school. The local authorities attribute the decline in the proportion of women headteachers to a lack of ambition, the mobility difficulty of those with families and the fact that many women interrupt their careers to have children. However one third of women teachers are unmarried, and therefore the problem would appear to be more fundamental than these superficial observations.

There is also perhaps the false image of the role of women in schools, which can be said to be directly linked to cultural norms

"Name the feminine job and there will be a way to work

in the old accepted pattern of support, nurture and skill at managing emotions which is held to be traditionally typical of women" (Janeway 1971 p 153)

The accepted senior role of women in school management is frequently the pastoral care of girls. Richardson (1973) found,

"The need to separate out the caring side from the non-caring, or result-seeking side shows itself, this time in the form of distinguishing between the pastoral functions and the curricular functions of the teacher by splitting off 'pastoral care' and 'curricular provision' and creating an organisation structure that implies some kind of dichotomy between the two". (p 14-15)

This type of organisation has frequently resulted in women obtaining promotion by adopting a stereotyped role. However, although the initial prospects are favourable, the long term career opportunities are not established, because as Deem (1978) in her appraisal of Richardson's study of Nailsea School writes,

"Whereas the head of a school was seen to play a paternal role towards the pupils, the senior mistress was allocated responsibility for pastoral care - a role which might make further career development difficult". (p 112)

Is it possible that this particular emphasis on female abilities could account for the disproportionate distribution of male and female positions in management in secondary schools? Is this assessed imbalance of authority-type posts a crucial indicator to female pupils in schools that women

occupy less dominant roles in society? Is it, too, possible that this has hidden repercussions in their socialization, and they therefore emerge as people without the necessary ambition and the desire to accept authority and responsibility? This could be a factor in what is seen as the present day problem of the lack of women in senior management in secondary schools.

A survey recently conducted by the I.L.E.A. into the problem of the distribution of secondary headships revealed that although there are almost equal numbers of men and women secondary teachers in the I.L.E.A. 60% of headteachers, 57% of deputy headteachers and 66% of senior teachers are male. This imbalance is less than in the country as a whole. A further study followed in London in which the appointments to secondary senior posts were monitored over a year in search of reasons for this imbalance. It was found that the situation did not alter in spite of positive policy decisions to counteract it, because although women did proportionately well when applying for senior posts, the actual number of applications was relatively small. The I.L.E.A. attempted to extend the research by means of a questionnaire. This was distributed to both men and women and was aimed to discover the background personal factors, which governed the decisions to submit applications for headships.

Although the findings from this survey were not sufficiently conclusive to provide a satisfactory explanation of the apparent reluctance of women to apply for senior management posts, it did reveal a number of influential factors which are categorised under headings dealing with in-service training for management, promotion disadvantage of

part-time and time-sharing teachers, the reluctance to forsake classroom teaching and the whole selection procedure which many felt is heavily weighted against the female candidate, even if overt discrimination is not apparent. Even this summary goes much further in search of an answer than the Women's National Council's enquiry, and its authors recognise that "some of the factors affecting teachers' answers to the questionnaires stem from the social and economic circumstances within which the educational system operates and as such are effectively beyond the scope of any Authority action". (I.L.E.A. Survey 1983)

In addition to its findings, this I.L.E.A. survey shows that at least one leading education authority is aware and concerned that a potential resource of human ability is not being developed and utilised. In seeking for an explanation for the relative reluctance of women to apply for promotion generally, the survey helps to explain why there are fewer women with the experience and confidence to apply for secondary headteacher posts. My study will attempt, using selected case study schools in the West Midlands, to assess the position of women throughout the senior management field. In order to broaden these findings it is first necessary to examine the historical and socio-cultural background to gender divisions within teaching.

1:2 Evolution of Female Education

Many female writers have documented the inequalities which they see, for example Byrne (1978) says "We simply cannot accept that more women choose to have less education than men and to work in less skilled and lower

paid jobs." (p 219)

It would be difficult to attribute this situation to free unbiased selection provided by uninhibited educational choice and informed vocation practices. It is possible that,

"if women are in this position it is not because they feel they have freely chosen it from a range of options presented to them in education, but because education has played a major part in persuading them that this is where they should be."

(Spender 1980 p 25)

Some would consider it extremely unlikely that if women were presented with an alternative this situation would continue to exist, based as it is, on popular belief in gender inequalities developed within the historical context of mass education.

"The development of mass education in England and Wales since the beginning of the 19th Century has been marked by three crucial divisions: social class, ability and sex." (Deem 1978. p1)

Educational opportunities developed more slowly for women than for men, but a detailed study of the evolution of female education does reveal greater controversy in its philosophy and content than the above quotation implying clear cut divisions suggests. One possible explanation of the imbalance of males and females in positions of policy making and control would be to attribute it to this time discrepancy model which would suggest that as the educational impact of female potential was not conceived and exploited simultaneously with that of the male so the

situation will be resolved in the future. This has already been discounted in educational management by the fact that the number of females in positions of policy making in educational management is decreasing. However it would appear appropriate to examine the historical development of education as it affected males and females as this will at least illuminate the contrasting views of the aims of female education as it was developing.

Much criticism has been levelled by recent writers at the curriculum available for girls, claiming that it was based on the societal belief that education should prepare girls solely for a sex stereotyped domestic life. Whilst this was undoubtedly true of the curriculum of the elementary schools in the 19th Century, either the board school or voluntary school, a curriculum perpetuated by the closed career circuit of pupil, pupil-teacher, training college student, teacher, the growing concern at this very narrowness of experience led to the broadening of the career paths for intending elementary school teachers. By 1900, pupil-teacher centres, often attached to secondary schools, provided a more liberal education, and with the introduction of new regulations in 1907, the secondary school became the normal route to college for elementary as well as secondary school teachers.

Thus it is not the very narrow curriculum of the elementary school that concerns my study, but the curriculum of the expanding secondary schools which provided the route for entry to teaching and the other professions. The opportunities provided in this way were still restricted to a small number of girls, as indeed they were only available

to a minority of boys, and the general views of girls' education, anchored as they were in 'preparation for marriage and motherhood' must have exerted some influence even within the more academic atmosphere of the secondary school. However it is not this aspect of the provision of education for girls that will be pursued, because it is the expansion of educational opportunity which is relevant to this study. It is obvious however that the two perspectives are not clearly isolated in the evolution of education, and these dimensions would still appear to have implications in the prospects of career women in education today.

The beginnings of female education as opposed to schooling were slow, and the view that it followed a neat and well defined pattern for all women is open to dispute, because the gender division is intricately woven into the class system in its historical context. The examination of these two structures will probably provide some explanation of the situation of women and their position in society today. It has been suggested that the problem lies in the subtle and covert methods of suppression within schools, but this cannot be easily identified or isolated, because,

"Sex differentiation is not the fault of the teacher or the curriculum, or the composition of the staff hierarchy, or the ethos of the school, or the home, or wider society: it arises as a result of the fusion of these elements. If sexism in education is to be eliminated, whole patriarchal social order and ideology which legitimates it must be confronted."

(Sarah 1980 p.162)

This patriarchal social order and ideology have been historically transmitted and need to be examined in relation to the interacting political and economic climates in order to assess their effect on education.

The educational system has evolved within the framework of these structures. Schooling cannot take place in a vacuum, for "It is not the consciousness of men which determines their social being, but rather their social being which determines their consciousness" (Marx translation 1904). It is also important to consider how far schooling is able to initiate social change or is simply able to reflect it. Certainly during the second half of the 19th Century there was a significant change in the secondary education for girls, because during the first half it had been virtually non-existent. By the middle of the century, some attempt had been made to ensure that governesses had achieved an acceptable standard of education. The secretary of the Benevolent Institute of Governesses, Rev. David Laing was so appalled by the incompetence of governesses that he proposed examinations for them, and in 1848 founded Queens College in Harley Street to provide the courses. Although the standard of this institution was more akin to those of the later secondary schools than to anything more ambitious, it began to establish standards required for prospective teachers, albeit at a very restricted level. However the establishment of Bedford College in 1849, the opening of the Cambridge Locals to girls in 1865, soon to be followed by those of Durham, Edinburgh and Oxford, the new special Cambridge Higher local examination in 1869 and the new general examination for women in London in the same year

provided some opportunities for girls and women to obtain similar qualifications to those becoming increasingly available to boys and men.

The provision of these opportunities became one of the main aims of Miss Buss, one of the pioneers of girls' education, who after attending lectures at the Benevolent Institute of Governesses, strove to enable girls, irrespective of class or religion, to obtain these academic qualifications. This was an aim considerably at variance with the contemporary societal norms. More common were the situations described by the Taunton Commission in their report in 1868: it appeared to them that, "It is only when the endowed school loses its classical character and sinks to the condition of a village school that it opens its doors to admit girls" (Taunton LX p.197), and "Whenever education is worth anything, they are altogether excluded" (Taunton LX p.199).

The Taunton Report, followed as it was by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, (The Magna Carta of Girls' Education, as it has been called), the activities of the Girls' Public Day School Company, the foundation of proprietary schools like Cheltenham Ladies' College and the North London Collegiate school saw a marked expansion in the education of girls at secondary level - the level where qualifications could lead to professional careers. By the time of the Bryce Report in 1895 - the commission itself had women members - facilities for girls education had improved substantially. As a result, women were being admitted to Universities, although often on a restricted basis; training colleges for the training of women teachers

were well established and amongst the professional bodies of teachers were to be found The Association of Head Mistresses, founded in 1874 and the Association of Assistant Mistresses founded ten years later.

There was, at this early stage, disagreement as to the most suitable curriculum for girls' schools. Even the views of the most famous of the early pioneers differed in their expectations for girls' education. Both Miss Buss and Miss Beale were educated at Queen's College, but Miss Buss insisted on a rigorously academic curriculum leading to academic success in subjects often regarded as masculine preserves, a view reflected in the realms of Higher Education by Emily Davies, the founder of Girton College. Miss Beale, at Cheltenham saw her aim as the provision of a suitable education for upper class ladies requiring a different, more overtly feminine curriculum. Miss Clough at Newnham College reflected this philosophy by pressing for separate examinations for women.

Although, therefore in some areas there was a belief that girls required a totally different type of education from boys, it would be difficult to argue that the influence of this view was significant in curtailing the opportunities for all females within the educational system. Indeed it would appear that, as secondary education for girls expanded, it was generally accepted that the curriculum should be parallel to that available for boys. It can be acknowledged that some single sex schools did provide an education for girls, which was not radically different from that available to their male peers.

In fact one of the major achievements of Queen's

College London was its curriculum,

"one of the most extraordinary in 19th Century England. Lectures or classes from which girls could choose included Modern Languages, Mechanics, Geography with Geology, English Literature, Botany, Chemistry, Philosophy, Political Economy; and other subjects were added later". (Gordon 1954 p 147)

There was an opportunity for girls to be equipped for an independent life style. Schools like the North London Collegiate and Queen's College London were amongst the first girls' schools to introduce Mathematics and Science to the curriculum. This may be attributed to its coincidence with the growing importance attached to examinations; the criterion of the educability of girls was seen in their capacity to pass examinations and seemed to offer a "motive for girls to study and for their parents to keep them at school" (Board of Education Report 1923). There had been advocates for female education, such as George Butler of Liverpool, who in 1867 said that society, "Cannot afford to leave one half of its members uneducated" or the Taunton Commissioners, who considered that there was a large number of unmarried middle class women, who had to be prepared to earn a living. By 1912 a higher proportion of girls were staying at school beyond the age of 16 than boys (Board of Education Statistics 1912-1913).

Whether due to philosophical conviction or expediency it is evident that in the girls' secondary schools the academic traditions followed the views of Miss Buss and Miss Davies and examination success was seen as a route to higher education. The route was widening with the availability of University places, which were less restricted by gender or

creed. There appears to be evidence, in spite of the limited science facilities that the provision for similar educational opportunities as those available for men could have been established for academic women as early as the beginning of the 20th Century. "Most single-sex schools for girls were founded in the 19th Century for daughters of the bourgeoisie with the purpose of offering girls a comparable education to boys and one which would provide them with a basis of an independent life style" (Deem, 1978 p 7). In the girls' grammar and direct grant schools much stress was placed on the academic education of girls. "Opportunities were obviously restricted, and this restriction certainly dispels the myth of female classlessness, which blurred or covered over the differences of educational provision for girls of different social classes" (Arnot 1983 p 71). In the early days of mass education the object of educating the people was to teach them morality, enjoyment and comfort in the station of life in which the great mass of them were destined to remain: educational provision was deliberately restrictive in content for many, but this was not directed to gender inequality but to class distinction. In spite of prejudice in relation to gender and opposition directed to class stratification Miss Buss and Miss Davies made a definite impact and scored great success in the area of expansion of educational opportunities for girls and women.

However, in contrast to the pioneering spirit of these women in pursuit of equality in the provision of educational experience for their gender, a prominent male educationist stated in 1948 that, "Equal opportunity became synonymous

with imitation and this has persisted despite a great deal of criticism to the present day." (Newsom 1948) Newsom rejects the idea that girls and boys should study a similar curriculum and prefers a curriculum that is considered, "equal but different." He expounded the view that girls' education should reflect the fact that,

"Women possess certain particular needs based on their particular psychology, physiology and their social and economic position - The fundamental common experience is the fact that to do this successfully requires the proper development of many talents." (Newsom 1948 p 110)

Having demarcated the division between different needs of males and females he then leads onto the problem of co-education.

"As far as the children are concerned there is no satisfactory evidence from which to deduce whether co-education is more generally suitable than segregation. It is a matter of opinion rather than exact knowledge." (Newsom 1948 p 158)

He concludes that,

"If there were any possibility of the main contention of this book becoming operative, that the planning of girls' education according to their needs instead of slavishly copying the education of their brothers, there would be an additional reason for temporary segregation. It is all very difficult."

(Newsom 1948 p 159)

Does this indicate that almost one hundred years later

that the curricular pendulum had swung back to a position nearer to the philosophy of Miss Beale than Miss Buss?

At the North Collegiate, where Miss Buss was appointed at the age of twenty three as headmistress, the philosophy inherent in school practices was that girls were as intellectually able as boys. She adopted the curriculum used in boys' schools, introduced the prefectorial system and emphasized the virtue of competition in work and sport. Miss Beale, Principal of Cheltenham Ladies College, developed teaching techniques and a curriculum which she considered appropriate to girls. She was opposed to competitive sport and thought girls should be prepared for future family responsibilities. These two perspectives still appear to be a cause for dispute today despite the widespread acceptance that educational and employment opportunities should be equal.

Many claims however suggest that segregated education embodies an outmoded view that different educational provision is necessary for boys and girls, whereas co-education supports the philosophy of equality of opportunity. The following is the view put forward by the National Union of Teachers in support of co-education. It is a policy statement issued in 1975, "The Union recognises that the origins of separate education for boys and girls lie in the history and evolution of education. Schools traditionally educated boys and girls in ways which were intended to prepare them for quite different and distinct roles in society".

(N.U.T. 1975) Newsom however recommended, 'planning girls' education according to their needs instead of slavishly copying the education of their brothers'. (Newsom 1948)

The educational experts do not appear to agree on the interpretation of past provision. It is not surprising therefore that co-education remains a controversial issue.

1.3) The Debate For and Against Co-education.

The problems inherent in the gender and class structures were illustrated by the controversy connected with co-education, which existed during the 19th Century and still continues today. The problem of whether girls and boys benefit or are disadvantaged by co-education has not been resolved.

"The issue of whether to support single sex or co-educational schools is broader than the current feminist concern of attempting to help girls study science subjects, to help them compete as equals with boys, or to help girls enter university and male occupations. It is an issue which involves analysing the differences between class-based notions of education in the state and private sector and the re-production of socio-sexual division of labour under capitalism". (Arnot 1983 p 70)

This illustrates the complexity of the problem of understanding the interplay between class relations and gender relations, because class distinctions cloud its uniformity. It is however possible to reveal a dominant gender code in some types of education, which could be said covertly to reproduce the dominant bourgeois gender relations, but for different historical periods and different types of schooling it can be said that the transmission varied according to the period and type of institution. Both class and gender can be considered to be structures of power and therefore they

involve control by some people over others. There is a dynamic interaction with a historical basis, which appears to be responsible for the production of tensions, contradictions and changes. The results cannot always be assessed as progressive in the area of female educational opportunities, for they include problems of the curriculum, segregation or co-education and the expansion or contraction of the opportunities for women in the policy making arena of education. It is essential for details of this study that the historical implications upon the present day situation are examined, because co-education could be isolated as a vital factor in the diminishing opportunities for women to influence policy in the education for girls. This could subsequently be responsible for producing its own limiting and restricting implications for women teachers.

By the middle of the 19th Century many co-educational schools were established for children of the working classes. In 1850 there were about 1,500 certificated teachers of whom one third were women, and with the passing of the 1870 Education Act, a state system of national elementary schools became established, bringing together not just the fragmented system of educational provision, but also the principles of class and gender differentiation and control which had characterised the voluntary school run by the bourgeoisie for the working classes. "The expansion of state schooling after 1870 relied on large numbers of untrained supplementary teachers and further 'feminised' the teaching force".

(Purvis 1981 p 129) This does not necessarily mean that the profession or teaching force as it is referred to was

completely diluted by these females, because,

"The 1861 figures for recruitment of 1st year teacher apprentices showed the girls to be in a clear majority and this despite the claim that inspectors were much stricter in their selection of female candidates, who were required to supply evidence that their homes were decent and respectable, and their parents moral and respectable citizens. A school mistress lived in a rent free house and could earn around £60 a year while her male colleague was able to command a salary approaching £100 a year". (Turner 1974 p 68)

This suggests that in 1861 the female teacher needed to be at least equal to her male counterpart, and was paid substantially less. Historically women provided a cheap supply of labour in the teaching profession, and the question can still be asked if this does not still obtain today within a structured pay system. The expansion of co-education as a method of organisation appears to have resulted in a contraction in the career opportunities for women, certainly for the role of headship.

As the 20th Century began the concept of co-education became more popular, and the Bryce Commission recommended in 1895 that more endowed and proprietary schools should be co-educational. The United States was cited as an example of a flourishing co-educational system.

"This system has been tried with so much success in other countries and to some extent in Great Britain itself, that we feel sure its use may be extended without fear of any undesirable consequences, and

probably with some special advantages for the formation of character and general stimulus to intellectual activity." (Bryce Commission 1895 p 285)

The development of co-educational schools had been spasmodic in the 19th Century, and was frequently determined by the location of the school, or the social clientele of the pupils. Single sex schools were likely to flourish in the towns, while mixed schools were needed in the scattered populations of the rural areas. The growth of the secondary schools involved the financial necessity of providing larger schools where women teachers tended to be excluded from headships and the teaching of male adolescents. (David 1980)

Co-education is now seen by many as enlightened, progressive and compatible with ideas of sexual equality. It had been infrequently developed in academic and middle class schools as a deliberate ideal. The first educationists to express the case for co-education were the teachers of the progressive school movement. J.H.Badley, founder headmaster of Bedales saw co-education as an integral part of the school's basic belief in balance and wholeness with emotional and physical health being fostered together with intellectual vigour, and in 1898 Bedales admitted girls. In this way Bedales occupies a special place in the construction of the case for co-education. In 1923 Badley claimed that it was the first school to apply the principle of co-education throughout the whole range of the school years. A more detailed view of the development of Bedales as a co-educational school is provided by reports of H.M.Is. In their report for 1902 the inspectors stated that Bedales, which contained

91 boys and 15 girls was "not a 'mixed school', but more a boys' school where girls' are admitted". (Public Records Office 1902 E.D.109) In 1911 they criticised the inadequate accommodation for girls and women teachers and added that, "both in number and ability, the mistresses are overweighted by the masters: This is in some ways disadvantageous to the girls". (Public Records Office 1911 E.D.109) By 1927 the numbers of girls and boys were more or less equal, but on the regular staff there were seventeen men and only nine women. The women tended to teach the younger children. Differences in attainment were noted; "Girls tended to show superiority in Languages, Literature and History: the boys in Mathematics, Science and Geography." (Platt and Platt 1919 in Woods p 40)

By 1919 there were still only 224 out of the 1080 secondary schools recognised as efficient, which had become co-educational. This was recorded in the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education 1923 on the Differentiation of the Curriculum for boys and girls respectively in secondary schools. It also contained a number of recommendations which could be considered sympathetic to contemporary ideas on curriculum. It suggested, "Equal quantities of Mathematics for both sexes, and that girls should learn Elementary Physics and devote more time to the analysis and understanding of the works of literature. Girls might learn Woodwork and boys Domestic Science." It recognised the important differences in temperament and emotion and attributed them to training and tradition.

The Consultative Committee 1923 was indeed significant

to the position of women in educational management, because it collected the views of teachers, mainly women, about mixed schools. The women argued that mixed schools were in fact boys' schools with girls in them, that women teachers and girls had no choice to get involved in running the school; that girls were shy in the presence of boys, and that girls in girls schools reached a higher standard than in co-educational schools. Many women teachers were in favour of single sex schools and supported curricular differences for boys and girls. In this form of educational provision they could hope for a career and a share in the decision making.

However the movement for co-education was strong and was linked by Badley to a veneration of the family and its adoption as the model which the progressive educationists sought to emulate, such as, "The teaching of boys and girls together is the natural plan, following the lead of the family." (Hereford in Woods 1903 p 60) The family model adopted by the supporters of co-education required that the staff of co-educational schools be mixed and this was seen to have positive advantages. However they were not unaware that in attempting to reproduce the conditions of the family life they were also reproducing an unequal division of labour. This was seen by some as a temporary problem as perfect equality of opportunity for headships was bound to follow. With the growth in mutual understanding between men and women who had been educated together, for, "Women must be prepared to sacrifice their own interests in the advance of the common good." (Woods 1903 p 134)

educationists, who feel that girls are often discriminated

Antagonists of co-education, such as women teachers in girls schools, rejected the family model. The Association of Headmistresses debated the issue of co-education at its conference in 1905. At the conference Miss Berger of Swansea County School argued that the curriculum of co-educational schools was "unlikely to be the best for girls". Co-education was good for boys, but girls suffered as girls were not prepared to ask questions when boys were present." (Price and Glendary 1975 p 69) In co-educational schools it was considered that girls were apt to resign "initiative and leadership to boys". In 1923 the optimism of Woods was not appreciated by her critics in the Association of Headmistresses, who were able to point out that there were only three women headteachers of mixed schools on the Board of Education's grant list. (Board of Education 1923 p 154) Later in 1930 Dorothy Brock recounted that the Prime Minister's Committee on the Classics of 1918 was composed of eighteen men and two women. "At intervals" she recalled, the Committee "changed the word boys in the report to pupils, and the committee made the most valiant attempt to remember that girls existed and to imagine what they looked like." (Brock 1930 p 29)

The debate still continues, because the introduction of the comprehensive school has been accompanied by a greater move towards co-education. However numerous studies, experiments and reports over the last ten years have questioned whether co-education during the secondary phase of education necessarily provides the equality of educational opportunity for both sexes. In particular the provision for female pupils is questioned by many educationists, who feel that girls are often discriminated

against both by the manifest curriculum itself and more disastrously by the hidden curriculum. A male writer on co-education envisaged "comprehensive schools with headmasters, while women take the secondary place as senior mistress." (Dale 1969 p 189) Dale attributes to boys "the drive" needed for success, whereas for a girl, "The comparative submissiveness and shyness may be a factor in her more retiring and less physically active life, less desire for dominance, less inclination to accept posts of higher responsibility." (p 8) He continues that in the social order, maybe nature intended men to be the leader and women to provide the stability, and therefore mixed sex education is socially advantageous because this is what it encouraged. His assumptions are indeed controversial, but these observations do raise the following questions. Is this the message that education transmits to girls: that they are not so important as boys, and does it therefore undermine their self confidence and lower their esteem? Does their experience during their years of education socialise them into the acceptance of the 'senior mistress' role in educational management, even if they dare to aspire to this level of ambition?

Certainly the extension of co-education does not seem to have been accompanied by any advance in appointments for women in the teaching profession. In fact it has led to fewer headships for women. Financial advantage - it is cheaper to provide one school than two - has been put forward as one of the factors which encouraged local authorities to adopt a policy of co-education. The decline in the numbers

of women in senior posts in the last twenty years could perhaps be linked with the introduction of equal pay as a result of which there was no financial advantage to authorities to appoint women to these positions. More recently the effects of sex discrimination legislation may have had an unexpected effect: a letter to the Times Educational Supplement claims that one result of this has been, in one part of the country at least, to enable 'Senior Mistress' to be converted to 'Senior Master' posts. (T.E.S. 13.7.84) Is it possible that these two measures introduced to benefit women may have the opposite effect? This possibility coupled with curriculum contraction in public education, necessitated by economic recession and population decline appears to outweigh the hope for improvement in the position of women teachers in educational management at the present time. The I.L.E.A. appears to be the only education authority to employ a positive policy towards recruiting able women for positions in educational management. The I.L.E.A. and Brent have appointed women as equal opportunity officers to help to develop equal opportunities for boys and girls in schools and to organise in-service training courses for teachers. It is evident too that a small minority of educationists and researchers are expressing a growing concern for the career opportunities of girls and women. There is a developing awareness that these problems which appear to prevent women from seeking and fulfilling their true potential could be sustained through the inequalities within the educational system, and they need to be identified and corrected early in the experience of females.

The Bryce Commission, in its report in 1895, considered that there was "one alleged drawback to mixed schools namely, the loss to girls of not having the influence of a headmistress. The principals of mixed schools are generally men, but there seems to be no reason why a woman who has the necessary capacity, knowledge and organising power should not be regarded as equally eligible for the position" (Bryce 1895 Ip 160) The disadvantages of co-education, both to girls' socialisation and to the career structure of women, recognised in 1895 have not been tackled seriously since.

1:4 Gender and Professional Status

The relative proportion of men and women: of single women and married women: of female heads and male heads have varied over time in response to government policies, wars, population trends and economic circumstances. For example, "the 'Payment by results' system of the 1862 Revised Code led to reductions in educational spending, teacher training and teacher status and was followed by an exodus of men from the occupation". (Acker 1983 p 130) The word occupation appears to be linked with the historical perspective in which it is placed. Teaching would today be referred to as a semi-profession or a profession. Attributes which distinguish a profession from an occupation are good academic entrance qualifications, length of training, the complexity and uniqueness of the skills and knowledge, and the quality of the experience upon the individual when entrance to the chosen profession is gained.

Teaching, as a profession can be said to have had a

long and not continuously progressive fight to achieve status. As the quotation from **Acker** recognises, lack of status and female gender are frequently linked - reduction in status led to the exodus of men. Long training is expensive and this would have been an impediment to drastic measures taken to cope with unexpected situations. An example of this was the emergency training of teachers in 1945 after the Second World War. The basic school certificate passes were not required and the length of training was less than the normal two years. However some writers saw this as an improvement upon the situation as it had previously existed. With two thirds of those trained under the emergency training scheme being men, the balance shifted towards men, and, "The profession shed its mass of cheap untrained labour as the proportion of women in the old elementary sector (plus secondary modern) dropped from 75% in 1900 to 65% in 1954". (. Tropp 1957 p 262)

Even the full training course of 2 years was soon to be considered inadequate, and after 1960 the course was extended to 3 years. The graduate from the university course was considered qualified to teach upon graduation until the post graduate education certificate became compulsory in 1973; even then science graduates were exempt from this regulation. A greater number of arts than science graduates enter the profession so the correlation between girls' lack of interest in Mathematics and Science with the deficiency of opportunities for females is not likely to be significant. Career opportunities and status are frequently linked to the quality of entry qualifications to a profession and the duration of

the training. The public image of teaching is therefore likely to be adversely affected if the majority of the practitioners have received a limited higher education both in duration and content, and if the initial entry qualifications are not equal to those of other professions.

It is not surprising that organisations representing teachers have been active in campaigning for a more professional status, the raising of entry qualifications and the exclusion of unqualified teachers from employment. The entry qualifications now include 2 'A' levels and a compulsory pass at 'C' level in English and Mathematics. The three years B.Ed. course and the four years B.Ed.Honours course have now established the eventual all graduate profession. An emphasis on the social status and career opportunities afforded to the teaching profession would appear to be important in relation to the recruitment of able students. A survey designed to identify the position of teaching in the hierarchy of professions/occupations was conducted in 1969 with undergraduates in England&Wales, who were interested in teaching. The questionnaire listed twelve professions/occupations and students were asked to place them in order of status. Teaching came below doctor, lawyer, civil engineer and architect, but above librarian, office supervisor, bank teller, foreman in industry, salesman and skilled worker. In the categorisation of these professions/occupations there was a significant conformity in the identification of status, although women took a more favourable view of teaching than men. (Kelsall and Kelsall 1969) It remains to be seen whether the raising of

the qualifications threshold will be advantageous to women or not. On the one hand it should lift teaching from its status as a semi-profession, but on the other it might mean a more prestigious and attractive career for men and hence increase the competition.

American writers too, offer the same low status for the teaching profession at present. It is suggested that it is not only the high proportion of women which gives, 'the negative consequences for teaching', but the bureaucratic nature of the work context which is considered to be compatible with women's traditional characteristics which include submissiveness, acceptance of authority, lack of ambition, and nurturance. (Leggatt 1970) Semi-professions named in the 'Semi-professions and their Organisation', are school teaching, social work, nursing and librarianship. All are highly feminised (Etzioni 1969), and women are more willing than men to accept the bureaucratic controls imposed upon them in semi-professional organisations, and less likely to seek a genuinely professional status. (Simpson & Simpson 1969) This type of observation does little to enhance the image of the profession or the progression of women within it. However from the mid-seventies greater concentration appears to have been directed into career opportunities with a growing awareness of gender divisions in teaching careers, and the interacting influences of sex, age and marital status on teacher involvement have been examined. (Lortie 1975) Lortie concludes that fewer women in their twenties, married or single, become deeply involved with teaching, as they are

'hedging their bets' to cover contingencies related to other aspects of their lives. The older married women are deeply serious about their work, and the older single women are deeply interested in their work, but are not so satisfied by it. He does not equate the low professional status with the number of women, but he does observe that careers in teaching work out well for those with, "less than full commitment", from which they paradoxically gain a kind of autonomy.

British studies too have been interested in career structures and sex differentiated opportunities have been examined. Lacey considers that the career structure favours men, and that they dominate the higher posts. He explores the manner in which teachers are socialised into orientations to teaching, but he does not question different experience for men and women and their effect on career aspirations.

(Lacey 1977) Another comprehensive study of teachers' careers shows that men are promoted more quickly and to better positions than women. The researchers attribute the imbalance to the lower aspirations of women. (Hilsum and Start 1974) The latest study of teachers' careers, within a symbolic interactionist framework develops the concept of 'career maps'. The conclusion drawn is that more senior positions go to males, and the reason is that females do not apply. (Lyons 1981) He does however concede that promotions for women are concentrated in stereotypically female areas, and that many young women interviewed were dissatisfied with this career structure.

It is not only within the profession that gender

divisions have become apparent. They have also been an issue within teacher politics and unionisation. Initially in the 19th Century secondary school teachers had separate unions for male and female teachers. In 1870 the union of various elementary school teachers' associations took place. They formed themselves into the National Union of Elementary School Teachers. As they expanded they dropped the qualifying "elementary" (Armytage 1964): Today the National Union of Teachers have virtually two thirds female membership, but there is usually a predominance of males on the executive committee. Indeed a special conference was called in 1983 to consider equal opportunities: its recommendations covered the whole area of professional and union matters including the provision of special opportunities to enable women to take an active and responsible part in the affairs of the Union. (T.E.S. 11.3.83) The National Association of Schoolmasters grew out of a split within the National Union of Teachers over the issue of equal pay for women. The argument was that any union which attempted to represent both male and female members could not succeed, because the two groups represented conflicting interests. Men, it was argued, saw teaching as a career and expected an income comparable to that of a similar profession, while women saw teaching as an adequately paid job and not a career. However equal pay in the terms of the same money for a particular position on the salary scale was introduced in 1954 and fully implemented over a seven year period by 1961, but this does not mean that women have been able to achieve as much in career terms as men.

1:5 Culture, Curriculum and Pedagogy

"It has been implicitly recognised for some time that teaching, because it recruits large numbers of women and because it has so many internal divisions is, therefore, a profession which differs from the professions such as medicine or law, it is highly bureaucratic, has low status, little autonomy over clients or practice of the occupation and no definite knowledge base". (Deem 1978 p 109)

Deem's appraisal summarises all the issues which have been discussed above, but her last claim, 'no definite knowledge base' leads on to the more subtle and covert question of what constitutes the selected 'school knowledge', especially the effects of the gender division of subject areas and the selection, organisation and distribution of what is defined as relevant knowledge. The contention that the hierarchy of knowledge is a social construct reflecting the hierarchies of power is relevant for the maintenance of sexual stratification as for economic stratification. The former has not produced as much interest as the economic stratification but evidence does suggest that the curriculum is designed within 'The male as norm' framework, which leaves the female as the deficient group. This can be compared to the deficit models of the working class where their subordinate status is attributed to what Young suggests is through the stratification of knowledge that 'educational success' and 'failure' is defined. He condemns the unrelatedness of academic curricula, which refers to the extent to which they are 'at odds' with daily life and

common experience . (Young 1971) Certainly the curriculum has been increasingly identified as one of the major, "regulators of the structure of experience". (Bernstein 1971)

Much analysis of the impact of curriculum organisation upon the formation of gender identities and relations has concentrated on the forms that those 'experimental bases' take. (Walker et al 1983) An area for consideration appears to be access to the curriculum, for the elements and techniques of culture are theoretically universally available through education, but limitations permeated through the social and gender divisions deny its transmission to all groups, for "Schools have many subtle ways of indicating to children which aspects of culture they are supposed to absorb - and which they are not - whether by means of streaming pupils by ability, counselling, subject choice on the basis of class, sex or ability or some other manner". (Deem 1978 p 22)

Two concepts are frequently used to analyse the manner in which males and females are socialised - sexism and stereotyping of role. However these are culture-based and vary in their application from one society to another. When considering cultural hegemony it is important to accept that the dominant culture is non-monolithic and not uni-dimensional. There is a range of possibilities and the control operated is not direct, but rests on the acceptance within the consciousness of individuals. The problems which emerge from a theory of a dominant culture is that the area between socially determined action and individual freedom is almost insignificant, because as Stenhouse (1967) contends, if we see

culture as the sole factor shaping the behaviour and thinking of individuals and education as the main transmitter of culture, then education itself becomes nothing more than a process of indoctrination. A range of possibilities certainly exist, but it is much easier to accept what is culturally and ideologically expected rather than to oppose it, therefore although there is an element of choice, the negotiable area for females would still appear to be narrow.

The curriculum both manifest and hidden is central to the idea of cultural reproduction. There are obviously much wider issues, but many of the conditions for change would appear to be linked to the curriculum. Recently there has been a greater emphasis on the necessity to change the selection, distribution and availability of resources in education in order to redress some of the gender inequalities which prevail. This is now being actively pursued in order to assess the possible link not only between girls' under-achievement in some subjects, but also in the projected expectations and self image of these young women. This emphasis that the style of pedagogy also has implications on the socialising process of pupils. "The girls' belief that good teaching and learning consists of writing notes and copying things from the board as opposed to discussing things and thinking them through". (Furlong 1977 p 180) supports research studies on classroom interaction which provide evidence that girls are, "reinforced for silence, for neatness and for conformity". (Frazier & Sadker 1973 p 93) Is it possible that initially the process of

learning is underdeveloped in girls and the techniques of divergent thinking are thwarted?

Within the classroom individual teachers have many different methods of projecting their educational aims, but the pedagogy of an individual teacher is restricted by his or her own education, and the ethos of the school.

The curriculum can be seen as an embodiment of a selected culture which has been introduced during the evolution of society. In this way women have become the victims and the agents of the culture, for they reproduce what they have experienced as pupils. This becomes a continuous process of the transmission of values within schools which perpetuates the male definition of the knowledge base.

Can it therefore be possible that education is benign and neutral or do educational institutions provide a universalistic way of viewing the world which distorts and limits the development of women? While it has been argued that the teaching profession is regarded as low in status, because it has usually been a 'female profession'; examination of the curriculum can be said to demonstrate that teaching may in fact be a 'masculine' domain with male definitions of what constitutes science, history, politics and other subjects. Neither is the teaching profession free from the male definitions of efficient school management, and the nearer this moves towards the industrial image the greater the male influence becomes. "There was and is a deliberate and continuing effort to move the school's administration and management from that of a cottage industry or small factory to that of a modern corporation".

(National Conference of Women in Educational Policy Making 1975) This group argued that the more streamlined the managerial structure has become, the fewer are women leaders. It is the historical development of the managerial mystique which has created boundaries which exclude women. Therefore as the schools become larger and more of a business, those chosen for administrative positions are men.

The organisation of education by men in the interests of men and at the expense of women has been a consideration for many years and is still relevant today. "97% of the government of education is male, and this is no accident".

(Byrne 1978) "Though women's participation in the educational process at all levels has increased in this country this participation remains within marked boundaries. Among the most important of these boundaries I would argue, is that which reserves to men the control of the policy and decision making apparatus of the educational system".

(Smith 1978 p 289) Smith acknowledges an increase of women's participation in the educational process, but this involvement is not progressive but arbitrary as the historical development illustrates. "Where women have headed secondary schools, they have usually been girls' schools. The move towards co-education in state schools has reduced the proportion of head teachers who are women".

(Trown & Needham 1981 p 41) However it can be argued that men have decided what education will consist of, and women, who seek only equal entry to the system simply seek equal rights to the education which men have designed to serve men.

For women, equality can only be synonymous with equal control of education, and this means that fair representation of women in educational management, both in schools and at higher levels, is necessary in order to establish a more egalitarian society.

If this can be achieved it will be these female representatives who will be in a position to influence policy in education; to develop their own style, and to safeguard the equality of provision of educational resources for males and females. If indeed they fail to identify themselves and female perspectives their elevation will have been in vain, for

"where some women have entered the power structure they have been required to depend on male approval and support for their positions, and this has been one of the reasons that they have frequently 'toed the male line'; rather than develop their own. Because of this, women even in positions of power do not ordinarily represent women's perspectives. They are those who have passed through this vigorous filter and they are those whose work and style of conduct have met the approval of the judges who are largely men. And in any case they are very few". (Smith 1978 p 289)

1:6 Conclusion

Explanations for the current position of women in the management of teaching must clearly look to historical factors. However, this overview has indicated that it is not merely a question of time-lag which inhibits women's participation. We have seen controversy, not consensus, about women's education throughout the whole period of state education. We have seen views expressed at least sixty

years ago that co-education leads to differential subject achievement, different classroom interactions, and different opportunities for women teachers. There have emerged certain paradoxes and pendulums which influence female careers in teaching. One is this question of co-education, which in theory should provide greater equality, but in practice may relegate both female pupils and female teachers to secondary roles. Secondly, as in many other occupations, equal pay and sex discrimination legislation may have had unforeseen and adverse effects in the appointment of women and the identification of senior positions. A third paradox is that although women numerically dominate the teaching profession, the manifest and hidden curriculum serve to convey masculine definitions of the world and to promote male achievement. A final irony is the increasing 'professionalisation' of teaching, which through raised entry qualifications and more 'systematic' managerial techniques may make teaching itself a more masculinised and competitive career domain.

It is clearly crucial, however, to identify how teachers actually perceive themselves and their careers within these structural constraints, and to explore what current model can be drawn up to illuminate the position with regard to senior management, and this is the aim of the present study.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

2-1 Promotion opportunities in schools.

The changes in secondary education and the introduction of the comprehensive school have produced a wider and more diversified career structure for teachers with more opportunities for promotion, but with fewer headships available. Recently there has been a contraction within the education service due to falling rolls and economic constraints. The possible consequence of this has been greater adherence to the common core curriculum with consequently fewer opportunities for career advancement in some subject areas. However there is a range of career goals available and the opportunity to become a head of department or a head of year can become either an end in itself or a stage in the career development of individual teachers. This would appear to give opportunities and choice to members of the profession in their search for job satisfaction and a career structure. This structure is clearly available, but whether it is fully perceived by teachers and particularly whether it is perceived with equal clarity by men and women is a question to be considered. The significance of gender in the identification of role is also an important dimension. "A schooling system that claims to offer its pupils to develop their talents and help towards self-determination in their adult lives might be expected to have a career structure that demonstrates these virtues, one in which there was equality of the sexes in positions of influence and leadership and no sex stereotyping of roles" (Marland 1982 p 42)

2-2 The Schools in the Survey.

To examine the opportunities for career advancement for women and the role of women in senior management, one hundred and twenty holders of Scale 3 posts and above, both men and women, from four large mixed urban comprehensive schools, were interviewed and invited to complete questionnaires. Two of the schools were 11-16 schools whilst the other two had retained their VIIth form: all were different in their design facilities and internal organisation.

School A had been formed nine years ago by the amalgamation of adjacent grammar and secondary modern schools: the buildings of both schools are in current use and close proximity enables easy communication through the school grounds. The two deputy heads, one male and one female, and the senior mistress are responsible for the academic, pastoral and administrative structure respectively and each is assisted by a teacher on the senior teacher scale, who teaches between 2/3 and 3/4 of a timetable. In addition teachers on Scale 4 act as year tutors with the day to day pastoral/ disciplinary responsibilities for their year.

School B is the result of two amalgamations. Twelve years ago neighbouring grammar and secondary modern schools were joined to form a large comprehensive school. A year ago this school was joined with a small comprehensive (ex secondary modern) school, and although at present the two sites are in use it is expected that the effect of falling rolls will very quickly enable the school to be accommodated on the one site. The three deputy heads rotate their

responsibilities: the senior teachers originally appointed to heads of school positions are now responsible for specific administrative tasks, whilst day-to-day pastoral/disciplinary responsibilities rest with the year tutors (Scale 4) and their deputies (Scale 3), who all share a very large office which is therefore permanently "manned" and acts as a "nerve centre" for the school.

School C is a long established purpose built comprehensive school. The two male deputies are responsible for administration and curriculum respectively whilst the senior mistress fulfils the traditional role with some added responsibilities. This traditional role is frequently associated with the sole female in the hierarchy, which is the position in this school. The role definition includes the 'caring' aspects of a sex stereotyped role such as girls' and female staff welfare, hospitality for visitors, organisation of refreshments, liason with canteen and student grants. Pastoral and disciplinary responsibilities rest with the three heads of school - upper, middle, lower, - holding senior teacher posts, and their assistants (senior master and senior mistress). The head of upper school includes the Vlth form in his responsibilities.

School D is based on a purpose built community school, which itself displaced two secondary modern schools ten years ago. A year ago it was amalgamated with a smaller comprehensive school which already occupied two sites and the school is therefore at present based on three sites at distances up to a mile from each other, although falling rolls are expected to lead to concentration on two sites and ultimately

to one site. Two of these three sites have one male and one female deputy head and the other has a senior master in charge with their deputies on Scale 4.

2-3 Distribution of Posts of Responsibility.

The distribution of the posts of responsibility in the four case study schools demonstrated little divergence in general from the pattern of the organisation of posts of responsibility within schools described in the findings of the following D.E.S. Survey. The figures given for the senior posts in comprehensive schools in the country as a whole are as follows:

Table 2:1 D.E.S. 1981 (Comprehensive Schools)

Head Teachers	Deputy Heads Senior Master/ Mistress	Senior Teacher	Scale 4	Scale 3
3,074 86%	5,409 62%	5,134 83%	19,750 79%	28,443 65% M
510 14%	3,319 38%	1,085 17%	5,297 21%	15,556 35% W

The four schools in my survey all had male headteachers. There were seven deputy headmasters/senior master, five deputy headmistress/senior mistress, and all heads of school were male. There were eight men on senior teacher scale whereas there were only two women in this position. Two male and two female senior teacher posts had been awarded for classroom 'excellence'.

Assessing the factors why there are not more women in senior management posts it would seem necessary to consider both the role specification and the age at which these posts are obtained. This could relate to the further uneven distribution which was found in the Scale 3 and Scale 4 posts. There were 43 men to 13 women holding Scale 4 posts and

36 men to 33 women in Scale 3 posts. If the effect of falling roll limits promotion to a step by step procedure then it would appear inevitable that more men apply for managerial posts than women, because they are already in the position to take the next step.

Table 2:2 Distribution of Senior Posts in the 4 case study Schools

Head Teachers	Deputy Heads Senior Master/ Mistress	Senior Teacher	Scale 4	Scale 3	
4 100%	7 58% 5 42%	8 80% 2 20%	43 77% 13 23%	36 52% 33 48%	M W

Research undertaken by the I.L.E.A. shows clearly that fewer women apply for managerial positions and this suggests that it is at Scale 3 that the imbalance begins.

I.L.E.A. Table 3 P.3 Female and Male Teaching Staff in the I.L.E.A. (Secondary)

Head	Deputy Head	Senior Teacher	Scale 4	Scale 3	Scale 2	Scale 1	All
60%	57%	56%	59%	52%	46%	42%	50% M
40%	43%	34%	41%	48%	54%	58%	50% W

In the U.S.A. it is a similar scene with few women becoming principals of secondary schools. The proportion decreased by 16% from 1958 to 1968 (Clement 1975 p 7) and by 1971 only 6.5% of all secondary school principals and vice-principals were women, even though the schools were all mixed. (Cross & Task 1976 p 9) Similar figures are shown in other countries. In New South Wales, Australia the figures are even less reassuring.

Table 2:4 Distribution of Senior Posts in New South Wales, Australia.

	Male	Female	Total	% Women
Total Teachers	12,020	9,959	21,979	45.3%
Subject Master/ Mistress	1,698	288	1,986	14.5%
Deputy Principals	332	24	346	6.9%
Principals	276	37	313	11.8%

In New South Wales, Australia, an analysis was made of the proportion of male and female holders of 'promotion positions' between 1961 and 1976, and it showed that the figures for female promotion were declining, because the figures for 1961 were male 76.3% to female 23.7% in comparison to 81% male to 19% female in 1976. (Sexism in Education Committee 1977 p 58)

2:4 Data Collection

The method used in this research was the case study method which involved interviews with 73 male and 47 female teachers. In addition, the headteachers were asked different questions from the teachers. This is a very limited sample which included all but six of the female teachers on Scale 3 and above. Most of the men in these categories were available at school A, B and C, but the added difficulties of making arrangements for interviews at a widely separated three site school resulted in only eight men being interviewed in school D. However, the numbers interviewed present a reasonable balance between men and women.

Table 2: 5 Posts held by those interviewed in my survey.

		School A	School B	School C	School D	Total
Scale 3	Male	7	11	4	4	26
	Female	3	8	8	8	27
Scale 4	Male	13	10	9	2	34
	Female	2	4	3	4	13
Senior Teacher	Male	2	2	2	0	6
	Female	0	1	0	1	2
Deputy Head	Male	1	2	2	2	7
Senior Mistress/ Master	Female	2	1	1	1	5
Total	Male	23	25	17	8	73
	Female	7	14	12	14	47

The aim was to establish the place of women in the area of management and to assess what opportunities and programme

of self development are necessary to achieve greater success for women. The study obviously cannot make any claims to represent the national situation, but all recent surveys in the area of school management appear to have focused attention on the lack of female teachers in positions of policy-making within the educational system. It is possible that different

The interviews were conducted during the Spring term, and during the interview the teachers were asked additionally to complete three questionnaires. These questionnaires covered the three areas of firstly, the choice of teaching as a career; secondly, the factors relevant to promotion; thirdly, the leadership style considered to be the most suitable for a headteacher. The first questionnaire asked, "What made teaching attractive as a career to you?" and required respondents to react to a list of possible factors, using a single tick if a factor were considered important and two ticks if particularly important. The second questionnaire used a similar tick list format, this time in response to the question, "What factors are considered to be important to promotion above Scale 3?" The leadership questionnaire was derived from Halpin (1966) and was designed to explore the two dimensions of, 'consideration' and 'Initiating Structure'. Consideration is the behaviour that involves human relationships and group maintenance: initiating structure is behaviour that involves organising and directing work. It is composed of thirty descriptive statements of how leaders may behave. Respondents were asked to indicate on a five point scale the frequency with which the most suitable type of headteacher should engage in these practices. Copies of these

questionnaires are in appropriate sections of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

While the preliminary aim was to establish any overall pattern in responses, the major focus was to discover any significant differences between male and female teachers in their indications of priorities. It is possible that different emphases in relation to different approaches to leadership could have career implications for males and females.

The interviews were recorded to enable transcriptions for the longer quotations, and to use the teachers' own words to illustrate research findings. The sensitive nature of the findings made confidentiality very important. The interviews differed in length according to the involvement of the participant. The interviews were conducted in the teachers' free time, during lunch breaks, after school and, in the case of one female deputy, in her own home. There was an interview schedule and all interviews were conducted according to this schedule. The questions asked of each interviewee were therefore initially identical. The questions covered such topics as role, qualifications, subject, age, career planning and achievement, ambitions, job satisfaction and constraints caused by family commitments and local interests. It was conducted in a manner which ensured that there was a build up of information which revealed the stages of the individual careers, and also provided the opportunity for teachers to relate personal experiences about their own careers. They were able to make observations about career opportunities or the lack of them. A copy of the interview schedule can be found in Chapter 3.3.

It is intended that information from these personal interviews will form the basis of an assessment to the question of whether there is a subtle change in attitudes in regard to women in educational management. It is also necessary to consider how their experiences could be made more relevant in order to ensure further promotion if this were desired.

There was a separate questionnaire for the headteachers, which was designed to establish if there is evidence of a more flexible approach developing of a woman's role in senior management in schools. Headteachers were asked about recent applications for senior posts, and if suitably qualified women came forward for selection. As governors and inspectors are present at the interviews for senior management posts; headteachers were asked their opinions about the qualities they thought governors and inspectors expected in management roles. The headteachers were also asked which specific areas of responsibility they considered more suitable for a man than a woman. A list of specific responsibilities was also used, and heads were asked to indicate what responsibilities they would give to a senior woman member of staff. The full details of the questionnaire can be found at the beginning of Chapter 3.

In discussing the findings from the investigation, the questionnaire and interview results are not always presented separately, but are used in combination in order to illuminate certain central themes which emerged. In these chapters an attempt has been made to identify factors which might account for the relatively small number of women occupying senior

management posts in secondary schools. The opinions of headteachers are considered to be very important, because they occupy a very influential position in the selection of suitable candidates for management. They are also involved in staff appraisal and staff development as part of their own role. The attitudes and achievements of both men and women were considered to be very valuable for an analysis to identify significant factors which either aid or constrain individual efforts for promotion. The open ended schedule was designed to allow different interpretations of experiences and their relationship to the structures and organisations in which these teachers practise their professional skills and these combined methods of research could provide some answers to the question of "why are there fewer women than men in management positions in secondary schools?"

4. Are there written job specifications setting out the responsibilities of senior members of staff? Would you be prepared to make them available?
5. Are there specific areas of responsibility which you consider
 - (a) more suitable for a man than a woman?
 - (b) more suitable for a woman than a man?
6. Would you be prepared to give a senior woman member of staff responsibility for
 - (a) the timetable
 - (b) cover for absent staff
 - (c) curriculum development
 - (d) supervision of probationers and students on teaching practice
 - (e) boys' welfare
 - (f) girls' welfare
 - (g) boys' discipline
 - (h) girls' discipline
 - (i) ICT

CHAPTER 3

PROMOTION IN SCHOOLS - THE POSITIONS OF

WOMEN IN RELATION TO MEN.

3.1 The views of the Headteachers - Why are women failing to reach top management posts?

The headteachers were asked the following questions:

- 1 (a) What are the numbers of men and women on the staff as a whole?
- (b) What are the numbers of men and women on Scale 3 or above?
- 2 In recent applications for senior posts (i.e. Senior Teacher or above) can you recall any details of the number and quality of women applicants?
- 3 What qualities do you think Governors are looking for when senior appointments are being made?
- 4 What qualities do you think Inspectors are looking for when senior appointments are being made?
- 5 Are there written job specifications setting out the responsibilities of senior members of staff? Would you be prepared to make them available?
- 6 Are there specific areas of responsibility which you consider
 - (a) more suitable for a man than a woman?
 - (b) more suitable for a woman than a man?
- 7 Would you be prepared to give a senior woman member of staff responsibility for
 - (a) the timetable
 - (b) cover for absent staff
 - (c) curriculum development
 - (d) supervision of probationers and students on teaching practice
 - (e) boys' welfare
 - (f) girls' welfare
 - (g) boys' discipline
 - (h) girls' discipline
 - (i) INSET

- (j) careers guidance
- (k) examination administration
- (l) arrangements for school visits
- (m) hospitality for visitors
- (n) organisation of special events

8 Why do you think that relatively few of the senior posts in mixed secondary schools are occupied by women?

The main response given in answer to the question "In recent applications for senior management posts can you recall any details of the number and quality of women applicants?" was that very few women came forward for selection. This corresponds with, "Women seem willing to apply in large numbers for the less demanding posts, but preferred to leave the major responsibilities and tasks of leadership within the staff group to men". (Richardson 1973 p 231) It also correlated with the 1984 survey. 'Women's Careers in Teaching' conducted by the I.L.E.A. "The average number of applicants made during the last two years was nearly twice as high for men as for women" in London. This was however qualified by the observation that men applied on average, for internal posts only slightly more frequently than women: thus the major difference lay in applications for posts in other schools. This arouses speculation about mobility problems, perhaps concerned with young families where the female is responsible for collecting the children from school. There is also the familiarity with colleagues and the school, and possibly the lack of confidence in seeking promotion in a new environment.

Concerning the quality of the women applicants in terms of experience and qualifications one head in my survey said, "They are no better, no worse than those of men. There being a smaller number the spread always seems larger". This however does not answer the question of where these women are

who should have reached the point in their careers which would now culminate in seeking top managerial jobs.

My survey attempts to seek reasons for the imbalance and to discover where it begins. It also hopes to find some evidence of recent acceleration of social change which will help to counteract the situation. Certainly since this study began, the largest education authority, the Inner London Education Authority, has published the results of two surveys, which have highlighted the situation. There is a balanced intake of probationers so it is logical to assume that some women must stay on Scale 1 and many become part-time teachers. The proportion of men and women teachers, who reach higher scales is significantly greater for men in the country as a whole as the figures show in Table 2:1 on page 38.

This illustrates that a greater number of men are in the position to apply for promotion at all levels and particularly for senior management posts. The headteachers in my survey felt that first and foremost the reason why there are so few women in senior management is, because: 'They do not apply'. They put forward various suggestions to explain this:-

"Self perception and an under-rating of themselves in women in the '35-50' age group".

"Not so professionally ambitious as men - other profound sources of fulfilment".

"Child bearing and rearing interferes with career development and presents overtly practical problems: profoundly, the tension between child and family and loyalty to work".

"Women judge themselves more strictly than men - they will

only take on something if they believe they can do it well. Men want status and will, 'muddle through' without worrying". "Women have a more complex social role and recognise they they do not wish to give the time and energy that senior posts demand".

"At the time when men are reaching the preliminary stage in their careers immediately prior to reaching Senior Teacher/Deputy Head level, women often have family commitments. If they return to their careers, women have often missed this intermediary step and might be considered too old".

Although these observations are designed to provide clarity and to give clear well defined answers they certainly do not suggest solutions. The genuine conclusion is that there is no discrimination, no prejudice: that women have open access to the selection procedures. At this level, this is probably true, possibly because the selection took place at a far lower level in the career pattern of women. The headteachers' analysis of the problem can be condensed into a few categories; family commitments, low self evaluation and a general reluctance to undertake time-consuming responsibilities.

The Headteachers opinions of qualities looked for by Govenors and Inspectors.

The headteachers suggested qualities applicable to both men and women: integrity, courage, tact, concern for children, 'presence', sense of humour, behavioural responses, understanding of current educational thinking, strength of character. Appropriate qualifications and experience are assumed pre-requisites for inclusion in the short list



before governors encountered the candidates at the interview.

Although these constructs for personality would appear to be without any gender implications it is proved by research that women, who exhibit qualities, which are judged to be positive and complimentary in men, are given negative ratings simply because they are considered to be 'unfeminine'.

"When supervisors were asked for verbal descriptions of students, most female students received at least one negative comment. Some of those evaluations included brusque, overtly assertive, not self disclosing enough, dependent, lacking in confidence, inflexible. It seems that women were poorly evaluated when they met stereotypic expectations. So, women were caught in the double bind of needing to function in independent, autonomous ways that would not violate the sex-role expectations held of them". (Conoley 1980 p 42)

Perhaps one of my interviewees was aware of this when she said, "During the interview, perhaps a women has to act in a certain manner to obtain the job, but she will also have to be aware of the means of how she is going to manage the job itself. In fact it could be one manner to get the job and another to keep it". These were the tactics suggested by a female, who felt that there might be discrimination in selection procedures.

Shortlists and Job Specifications.

All had included men and women in their short lists for senior posts, except that in two cases, where the posts were in academic disciplines, and the L.E.A. policy restricted

applications to those in the 'protected status' within its reorganisation scheme, there had been no female applicants.

No headteacher would exclude women from undertaking specific responsibilities on account of gender, "I am a believer in the principle that all senior staff should be given the opportunity to manage all areas of management". At some time most of the listed areas in the questionnaire to headteachers had been undertaken by both men and women in all schools, although some reservations were expressed. "When personal problems relate to sexual matters then it is often more appropriate if they are dealt with by staff of the same gender. Women tend to understand and be able to deal with girls' problems and likewise men with the problems of boys." More positively one headmaster said, "In my experience teachers are not gender conscious in their studies. They respect competence, good management, commitment, skill, hard work and professional understanding irrespective of sex".

3.2 Role of the female Deputy Head/Senior Mistress.

The Burnham Committee stipulated in successive reports that if, in a mixed school the deputy head is a man, one woman on the staff may carry the title and responsibility of 'Senior Mistress', and conversely, that if the deputy head is a woman then one man on the staff may carry the title and responsibility of 'Senior Master'.

"Twenty years of staffing schools has taught me that senior masters apart from occasionally caning boys, typically deal with school organisation, curriculum reconstruction, major administration, C.S.E. examinations and resource allocation, while senior mistresses, typically deal with social functions,

pregnant school girls, difficult parents, coffee for and entertaining visitors and school attendance. Equal is not held to mean the same here". (Byrne 1978 p 233)

However in furthance of the spirit of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, the provision for the senior master/senior mistress was omitted from the next Burnham Report (1977).

"In the growing literature on school organisation insufficient attention has been given to the politics of power and the stereotyping of role resulting from the male/female inheritance we have in school management". (Marland 1984 p 16)

Marland cites that the exception in this gap is the compelling analysis of the changing role of the Senior Mistress at Nailsea School, Bristol by Elizabeth Richardson. (Richardson 1973 p 227, 382)

She indicates that the narrow perception of the role of Senior Mistress was an impediment to the growth of the school. The problem was that during the years of expansion, the male deputy and the senior mistress were trapped in their stereotyped roles - the one as 'the administrator' and the other as 'the career'. The fallacy of the senior mistress is criticised by Marland, because he claims in the larger complex school the introduction of the intermediate pastoral year heads often force the senior mistress out of the hierarchical pattern. (Marland 1974)

However, discussions with the five women teachers in this area of management provided some evidence that a more liberal approach to the organisation and function of the female role is growing. The typical hostess role appears to be an expectation of the position, but female deputies were unanimous in their observations that their roles had

altered and been extended. One female deputy mentioned that her job description was inherited from her predecessor, who had been in the post for almost ten years. The role, however had extended as she had developed her personal expertise in other areas of management and she had made her own interpretation. She felt strongly that as the only woman in the hierarchy it was necessary for her to be able to put "the female point of view", and if necessary to "dig her heels in", in order to influence policy. She enjoyed the area of personal, pastoral involvement and felt that this was a 'benefit' rather than a limitation in the female role. She referred to the "mechanical" aspects of management as the "uninteresting part". It was the ideas and curriculum area which she found "fascinating". However she had been on a timetabling course in order to be familiar with the procedure. At this school the two male deputies were responsible for examinations and the time-table, and these were the two areas where she had not been involved.

This was not always the pattern of distribution of roles within these schools, and one school had introduced the rotating deputy philosophy. Here the female deputy head had experienced most areas of management including boys' discipline. The idea here was to make a frequent re-assessment of roles in order that all deputies were able to experience different areas of management. She commented, "I have done all the administrative tasks like constructing the time-table and running the external and internal examinations". Her role was indeed very flexible and she described it as, 'Really what I want to do, although the

Head likes me to be around and about on the look out in a variety of ways, both on the site and in the neighbourhood". There was evidence that her expertise was extensive in many areas although she was still young to be in this position, which she had acquired after fourteen years in the profession. The pastoral aspect still featured strongly in her role and she enjoyed the personal involvement required, "I give guidance and back up the staff as a whole, but have particular expertise in pastoral and health matters". Recently she had revised the programme for the induction course for probationers and she was responsible for all student teachers coming into the school. This deputy saw the role as a step to headship and she had made applications for what she considered to be the ultimate role in her career.

In School A, in my survey, where there were two women, one as deputy head, and the other as senior mistress, the deputy head was responsible for the pastoral area. The senior mistress covered the administration area and the male deputy was responsible for the academic standards. Each deputy had a senior teacher designated to help with the responsibilities which their area involved. The job description for both females involved many areas which would have been 'male territory' in the old accepted 'senior mistress' role.

One problem, which became apparent during interviews with some of the other female members of staff in these case study schools, was that the female deputies' own colleagues were reluctant to acknowledge at least for themselves the possibilities of the changing image of women in management.

The perception of the senior mistress role was frequently the 'pastoral image'. This is apparently not uncommon, because in the Todd & Dennison survey (1950) a specific role-conflict concerned female deputies.

"A number of both sexes, reported that they thought colleagues would like to see them devoting more time to staff and their problems. However it was a point made particularly by the women, who, despite their determination to abandon their traditional senior mistress role mainly concerned with girls' discipline and female staff welfare at a fairly trivial level found their colleagues, reluctant to allow them to do so. Members of staff anticipated that women deputies would give some social-emotional leadership, whereas, like their male colleagues, they have tended to opt for task-instrumental roles. The evidence of this survey is that they have in their view, opted successfully, and as members of management teams they can be solely responsible for a specific area and can be involved in policy decisions affecting all aspects of school life". (p 316)

These indeed were the exact findings of my survey, and hopefully the other alternative is being discouraged. It is hoped that the new image of women in management will be given visibility, and that their own female colleagues will accept it as a progression in the career opportunities for women for

"Many women deputy heads have in the past found themselves excluded from educational management which their experience has fitted them for and

of the traditional senior mistress role, more

and confined to tasks involving the supervision of girls, the care of sick and injured children and the supervision of arrangements for hospitality. If a head identifies the curriculum sub-system with learning, the man deputy is frequently put in charge of that structure". (John 1983 p 63)

It is obvious, both from my survey and from the Todd & Dennison's survey(1980), that women in senior management are opting for task-instrumental roles and a full share in educational management and policy making. Progress is indeed being made, and this was indicated in my survey both by the nature of the roles occupied by the five deputy heads/senior mistresses, and by their own ideas and awareness of the change which has taken place in the last 10-12 years particularly. However until this image of women in management being tied to a pastoral role is completely dispersed so that other women teachers no longer see this as an ultimate goal for women administrators, the way forward for women to parity of performance with men in educational management will not be accomplished. The rewarding discovery however is that the five women in these positions in my survey were in no way relegated to this restricted role. The Todd & Dennison survey also reaffirmed this finding. Lyons (1981), in his survey also found that

"Many of the younger female teachers had, at interview indicated their dissatisfaction with the career structure traditionally offered to women in schools very forcibly, and had expressed, somewhat emotively, that they were not going to end up doing the job of the traditional senior mistress and, more

pertinently, behaving like the traditional senior mistress". (p 115)

3-3 Careers and Promotion

After the specific topics discussed with the Head-teachers and the Deputies, all the interviewees except the Heads (120 in all) responded to questions relating to career planning, career perceptions and promotion prospects. A copy of the interview schedule will be found at the end of this section. We need first of all to clarify what might be meant by a 'career'.

It has been argued that people will not accept uncertainty. They will make an effort to structure it no matter how poor the materials they have to work with and no matter how much the experts try to discourage them. (Roth 1963) A career structure can emerge and develop in this way even with no definite timetable or stages. The observation of others who are experiencing or have experienced the same series of events, will provide a basis for comparison. In this way norms develop for the entire group about when events should take place. When many people go through the same series of events, we speak of this as a career, and the sequence and timing of events as their career timetable. (Roth 1963) Roth focuses attention upon 'time' in relation to 'timetables' as a crucial factor in the analysis of careers.

A career timetable is a tight production schedule, which not all those following the career path can keep up with. (Roth 1963) In this way, it seems that a career can be split up into 'blocks of time' and progress can be measured in comparison with 'reference groups'. However the concept

of 'shifting perspectives' is a method in which the time factor is extended when a stage is not reached within a given time.

There are other important concepts for understanding careers: two of which are 'situational adjustment' and 'commitment'. The process of situational adjustment in which individuals take on characteristics required by the situations they participate in provides a wedge into the problem of change. Situational adjustment produces changes: the person shifts his behaviour with each shift in the situation. Commitment produces stability: the person subordinates immediate situational interests to the goals that he seeks outside the situation. (Becker 1971) The commitment allows the individual to reject the other situationally feasible alternatives, because the 'valuables', the 'side bets' he has invested in the present situation would be lost. Attention is brought to this problem even when moving within the same school from a post in a subject department to a welfare or pastoral role. (Richardson 1971) The same difficulty exists, but perhaps even more so, when moving from a subject post to an administrative post. "Does transition between career stages (for example from classroom to administration) involve either change of re-emphasis of values, and will this for some prove difficult? if not impossible?" (Lyons 1971 p 17) The further question for this survey is whether such adjustments and transitions affect the sexes differently.

My considerations of the possible factors affecting promotion is based upon the responses of the one hundred and twenty teachers to two questionnaires and to the personal

interviews. Copies of the questionnaires, together with a copy of my schedule for the interviews are contained on the following pages.

The factors are grouped into those which may be considered internal i.e. attitudinal, personal, individual etc., (discussed in sections 3, 3.1 - 3, 3.6) and those which may be considered extrinsic i.e., external, visible, structural etc., (discussed in section 3, 3.7 - 3, 3.12)

Perception of Factors Affecting Promotion.

The teachers interviewed were asked to complete a questionnaire containing a list of seventeen factors which may influence promotion prospects. They were asked to place a tick against those factors they considered to be relevant to teachers in a similar position to their own, and to place a second tick against the factors which they considered to be particularly relevant.

The ticks placed against each factor were totalled separately for men and women and divided by the number of each sex interviewed in order to counteract the discrepancy in numbers, i.e.,:

for factor (a) men's total x ticks: women's total y ticks
proportional weighting men's total $\frac{x}{73}$: women's total $\frac{y}{47}$

and women perceived the various factors.

Men and women placed the factors in the following order, and many of these factors have been used in interviews with the remarks made during my interviews with the teachers in my survey.

	Men		Women		Total
1 Length of teaching services in a particular school	35	.480	33	.702	68
2 Length of teaching experience	61	.836	42	.894	103
3 Experience in a number of schools	82	1.123	51	1.085	133
4 Being a graduate	66	.904	33	.702	99
5 Having a second degree	15	.205	7	.149	22
6 Shortage subject	50	.685	31	.660	81
7 Pastoral expertise	54	.740	50	1.064	104
8 Successful pupil examination results	62	.849	27	.574	89
9 Good classroom control	75	1.027	47	1.000	122
10 Administrative ability	90	1.233	52	1.106	142
11 Recent In-Service training attendance	73	1.000	34	.723	107
12 Participation in extra curricular activities	79	1.082	49	1.043	138
13 Keeping pace with educational ideas	88	1.205	58	1.234	146
14 Conforming with views of inspectors/advisers	32	.438	29	.617	61
15 Good relationship with the head	55	.753	43	.915	98
16 Having a strong personality	73	1.000	41	.872	114
17 Being a parent	7	.096	12	.255	19

The resultant figures were then used (a) to compare the relative importance attached to particular factors by men and women, (b) to compare the order of importance in which men and women perceived the various factors.

Men and women placed the factors in the following order, and many of these factors have been used in connection with the remarks made during my interviews with the teachers in my survey.

Men	Women
1 Administrative ability	1 Keeping pace with educational ideas
2 Keeping pace with educational ideas	2 Administrative ability
3 Experience in a number of schools	3 Experience in a number of schools
4 Participation in extra-curricular activities	4 Pastoral expertise
5 Good classroom control	5 Participation in extra-curricular activities
6 Having a strong personality	6 Good classroom control
7 Recent in-service training	7 Good relationship with Head
8 Being a graduate	8 Length of teaching experience
9 Successful pupil examination results	9 Having a strong personality
10 Length of teaching experience	10 Recent in-service training attendance
11 Good relationship with the Head	11 Length of teaching service in a particular school
12 Pastoral expertise	12 Being a graduate
13 Shortage subject	13 Shortage subject
14 Length of teaching service in particular school	14 Conforming with views of inspectors/advisers
15 Conforming with views of inspectors/advisers	15 Successful pupil exam results
16 Having a second degree	16 Being a parent
17 Being a parent	17 Having a second degree

In giving their views on the relative importance of 17 factors relevant to promotion beyond Scale 3, men and women agreed that the three most important were administrative ability, keeping pace with educational ideas, and experience in a number of schools, although their order of priority differed slightly. The differences are to be found in the importance attached to pastoral expertise (rated 4th by women and 12th by men); good relationship with the Head (rated 7th by women and 11th by men); having a strong personality (rated 9th by women and 6th by men); being a graduate (11th by women and 8th by men).

These differences could indicate different aims in promotion. The most significant difference between the

answers of men and women was the importance attached to pastoral expertise. It would appear that many women are thinking of promotion in the pastoral sphere, or that they consider this aspect of their work as a very important area. Pastoral care is frequently relevant to better academic performance in students, because of its supportive nature. Women however laid less stress than men do both on personal academic qualifications and on academic success in the classroom as measured by pupil examination results. Women are more concerned about a good relationship with the Head, ^{and placed it} higher than men did on the list. Neither men nor women are prepared to place 'conforming with the views of the inspectors/advisers' high on the list, which suggests that they are equally sceptical about this being a factor which affects promotion.

Interview time _____ Interview date _____
 Start _____ Finish _____ Analysis completed _____

Schedule of the Interview

CONFIDENTIAL

School _____

Name _____

Scale _____

Appointment _____

Qualifications
Degree/Diploma
Teacher Training

Main Subject _____

Additional Subjects _____

Service

Length of service _____ yrs

Special interests in School _____

Service at present school _____ yrs

Service in present post _____ yrs

Memorandum

Interview Time _____

Interview date _____

Start _____ Finish _____

Analysis completed _____

- Under 25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45
- All Scale 3 and above
1. Would you please tick the appropriate age range
- 46-50 51-55 56-60
- 61-65
2. Was teaching your first choice of career?
3. When you began your teaching career did you have any clear idea of career aims?
4. Did you plan your career?
- 1) From the beginning.
2) As it evolved.
3) Not at all.
5. Have you any family commitments?
6. Has this restricted your job mobility?
7. How many years did it take you to reach Scale 3 post? _____ years.
8. Has promotion at any time in your career involved moving to another part of the country?
9. Have restraints such as expense of moving house, education of children etc., deterred you from applying for jobs away from your own area?
10. Have you gained job satisfaction from your career?
11. Have you attained your status in the 'profession that you had hoped for?
12. If not, to what do you attribute lack of success?
- _____
- _____
13. What role would you consider to be your ultimate aim?
- _____
14. Why?
- _____
- _____
15. Have you had a break on your teaching career?
16. What reason and for how long?
17. Did you re-enter the profession on the same scale that you held when you left?
18. Was it your own choice that you accepted a lower scale?
19. What was your reason?
- _____

20. Which step was the most difficult when seeking promotion?

21. Did you choose pastoral or academic paths for promotion?
 Pastoral/Academic.

22. Leadership style
 Which leadership style do you think you use?
 Systems orientated/
 People orientated

23. Do you think you use this particular style because it is connected with your personality/sex.

24. What in-service course have you attended recently?

Were they connected with management?
 pastoral?
 subject area?

	Men 73	Prop	Women 47	
1. Enjoys subject interest	69	1.352	31	1.552
2. Enjoys contact with children	80	1.555	55	1.170
3. Enjoys the actual teaching process	75	1.427	53	1.128
4. Family history of teaching	31	.191	9	.191
5. Generally liked the job, disliked alternatives	24	.356	17	.326
6. Worth-while job-education	49	.671	37	.782
7. Suggested by others	3	.123	7	.149
8. Always wanted to be a teacher	24	.399	24	.511
9. Working conditions (salary, hours etc.,)	29	.397	18	.385
10. Job-security	44	.603	27	.574
11. Best career for married women	1	-	12	.253
12. Drifting into teaching, no particular reason	9	.110	4	.085
13. Was aware of career possibilities	43	.569	19	.402
14. Status of the profession	9	.123	19	.404
15. Inspired own teachers at school	18	.247	23	.489
16. Wanted intellectual stimulation	44	.603	19	.382
17. Contact with colleagues	26	.356	24	.511

3.3.1 Factors attracting teachers to the profession

The teachers interviewed were asked to complete a questionnaire containing a list of 17 factors which might have made teaching attractive to them as a career. They were asked to place a tick against any of the factors they considered important and a second tick against any they considered particularly important. The number of ticks placed against each factor was totalled separately for men and women and divided by the number of each sex interviewed in order to counteract the discrepancy in numbers.

i.e., for factor (a) men's total x ticks: women y ticks

proportional weighting men total $\frac{x}{73}$: women $\frac{y}{47}$

	Men 73	Prop Weighting	Women 47	
1. Academic subject interest	69	.932	31	.660
2. Enjoys contact with children	80	1.096	55	1.170
3. Enjoys the actual teaching process	75	1.027	53	1.128
4. Family history of teaching	11	.151	9	.191
5. Generally liked the job, disliked alternatives	26	.356	17	.326
6. Worthwhile job-vocation	49	.671	37	.782
7. Suggested by others	9	.123	7	.149
8. Always wanted to be a teacher	24	.329	24	.511
9. Working conditions (holiday, hours etc.,)	29	.397	18	.383
10. Job security	44	.603	27	.574
11. Best career for married women	-	-	12	.255
12. Drifting into teaching, no particular reason	8	.110	4	.085
13. Was aware of career possibilities	43	.589	19	.404
14. Status of the profession	9	.123	19	.404
15. Admired own teachers at school	18	.247	23	.489
16. Wanted intellectual stimulation	44	.603	19	.362
17. Contact with colleagues	26	.356	24	.511

The resultant figures were then used (a) to compare the relative importance attached to particular factors by men and women and (b) to compare the order of importance men and women attached to the various factors.

The questionnaire asked 'What made teaching attractive to you?'

Men	Women
1 Enjoys contact with children	1 Enjoys contact with children
2 Enjoys actual teaching process	2 Enjoys actual teaching process
3 Academic subject interest	3 Worthwhile job - vocation
4 Worthwhile job - vocation	4 Academic subject interest
5 Job security	5 Job security
6 Wanted intellectual stimulation	6 Always wanted to be a teacher
7 Was aware of career possibilities	7 Contact with colleagues
8 Working conditions (holidays, hours etc.,)	8 Admired own teachers at school
9 Generally liked job	9 Was aware of career possibilities
10 Contact with colleagues	10 Status of profession
11 Always wanted to be a teacher	11 Working conditions (holidays hours etc.,)
12 Admired own teachers at school	12 Wanted intellectual stimulation
13 Family history of teaching	13 Generally liked job, disliked alternatives
14 Suggested by others	14 Best career for married women
15 Status of the profession	15 Family history of teaching
16 Drifted into teaching - no particular reason	16 Suggested by others
17 Best career for married women	17 Drifted into teaching

Here we do not see a marked difference between the answers given by men and women. Both men and women considered their enjoyment of contact with children and their enjoyment of the actual teaching process to be the most important factors, whilst they rated academic subject interest and the belief that it is a worthwhile job as 3rd and 4th

(men) and 4th and 3rd (women). Men were more concerned than women about the prospect of intellectual stimulation. It was placed 6th by men and 12th by women. This suggests that the intellectual stimulation is important to men, as their preference for university places rather than colleges of education shows in their choice of higher education. (see below 3 3-8) The link with the intellectual areas would certainly suggest that more men are interested in administration, although 'contact with children' is of prime importance for both men and women. More women than men had always wanted to be teachers, and women tended to have been attracted by the status of the profession. The women had also been more influenced by admiration for their own teachers at school. The working conditions (holidays, hours etc.,) were marginally more attractive to men and the women considered this more important than the view that teaching is 'a good career for married women'. It is significant that very few of those interviewed admitted to having, 'drifted into teaching', but then the sample consisted of those who had already achieved some success in their careers, success which one would expect to come from a positive approach. In total, the answers show a considerable similarity to the findings of Lyons (1981), who does not give any indications of gender differences, but gives a total score for men and women.

3.3.2 Career Mapping

As a general rule, one might assume that planning and preparation will lead to success: but apparently within educational careers this is not necessarily so.

"No idea of a plan. No idea of how to progress up the scale - just a weird and wonderful method of promotion. Take things as they come - points just appear". This was the statement from one young male head of department, who had reached a Scale 3 in 10 years, which would appear to be an appropriate progression in this time. There is however a greater diversity of role and of career patterns that was not possible before the introduction of so many different paths to promotion, but the interpretation of role appeared to be only one factor which affected the career perceptions and strategies held by teachers when in pursuit of promotion: some are more personal in the form of individual preferences and family constraints. In some forms they could possibly limit the expectations and aspirations of different teachers. Certainly many teachers claimed that they did not wish to achieve the senior management area, but were committed to stay in the classroom at head of department level. This could be a possible rationalization on the part of individual teachers in order to accept their positions, but certainly some teachers had not applied for another position after achieving head of department status at a very early age.

Attempting first of all to assess the difference in the way in which men and women view their careers, and to see if they were equally ambitious and generally aware of the necessity to plan actively towards their goals within a time schedule, the concept of a map was used. This was not original but designed by Geoffrey Lyons in his survey conducted in 1980. He defined his map as,

"The idea of career stages, of timetables produced

by observation of peers: strategies or purposiveness encapsulated in the idea of a map of a career. The accumulation of valuables, the different careers and the corresponding values associated with careers available to teachers in comprehensive school, these are all inter-related and inter-reacting". (Lyons 1981 p 41)

The sample used in the Lyons survey consisted of the teachers from five comprehensive schools irrespective of scale. They totalled 121, which was almost identical in number to the sample in my survey. An important difference was that the sample in my survey were already on Scale 3 and above. Approximately five years have elapsed between the two surveys, so that the time factor, the difference in location and possibly the most significant of all, the impact of reorganisation resulting from the problem of falling rolls, with its consequent effect on career opportunities in secondary education may also have contributed to the difference in response.

In Lyons survey, in order to investigate the extent and nature of teachers' perspectives of their careers, interviewed teachers were asked,

- a) Is there a time when a teacher sees clearly the career opportunities in education?
- b) If yes, when did you see it?

The extensive responses to these questions were originally coded into eight categories. This categorization proved too complex, so they were collapsed into three, designated "Map always", "Map never", "Map acquired".

The result from the Lyons survey are the following:

Table 3.1

	Map Always		Map Never		Map Acquired	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Men	22	31	30	43	18	26
Women	10	20	29	57	12	23
Total	32	26.4	59	48.8	30	24.8

(Lyons 1981 p 43)

Just under half of the teachers in the sample used by Lyons had no clear perception of their career goals and the method of attaining it. Just over a quarter had a clear perception of the pattern they wished to follow right from the time when they started teaching, and just under a quarter had started teaching without such a career pattern, but at some subsequent point had acquired one. The difference between men and women in this report is not significant. (Lyons 1981)

The responses to my questions "Did you plan your career" 1) From the beginning 2) Not at all 3) As it evolved, appeared to fall into three main categories, which correspond to the categories used by Lyons, of map always, map never, map acquired.

The following findings are from the survey I conducted and it differs positively from the table Lyons compiled with more males and females aware of career opportunities either from the beginning or as their careers evolved.

Table 3.2

	From the beginning Map always		Not at all Map never		As it evolved Map acquired	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Men	32	44	15	21	26	35
Women	14	30	19	40	14	30
Total	46	38.3	34	28.3	40	33.3

Whereas just under half had no clear perception of their career

goals in the Lyons survey only approximately 30% fell into this category in my sample. The greater difference is however between male and female in the second Table and indicates a larger percentage of male over female planning.

The results were compiled by scoring under 'not at all' such comments as the quotation used at the beginning of this section on career mapping. A reply which scored under, "As it evolved" was, "Initially just wished to stay in the classroom. Now this is less applicable, because now my attitudes and commitment are more positive. They are linked with status, which is the involvement with policy, structure and organisation. This leads me into administration and out of the classroom". Planning from the beginning involved a very positive approach with a programme constructed with a timetable. An example of this was a male Head of Department, who had acquired a Scale 3 after 4 years and a Scale 4 after 7 years.

He had moved from a Boys' Grammar school to a mixed Comprehensive school, and had planned his experience with minute detail. His programme of self development included a part time M.Ed. These are clear cut examples but the decision was not mine as to which of the categories the teachers should be placed in. The majority were quite definite about their answers and were placed accordingly and the others clarified their own situation during the interview. An interesting response came from two mathematics teachers in one school, who had reached Scale 3 in 4 years and both expected to be heads of departments before they were thirty. Their own head of department had

achieved this and he was anxious for those in his department to adhere to the 'timetable' he had kept. His comment was, 'The subject makes quick promotion possible, but it is necessary to be aware of the scope'.

From the interviews a definite plan from the beginning would appear to involve experience of a variety of roles, in-service training, more professional qualifications, extensive extra curricular activities and an attempt to gain sufficient experience in order to be able to take a number of directions to seek promotion. This strategy required the opportunity to follow pastoral or academic routes and to have acquired experience in a variety of roles. The two following comments are from male teachers, who had mapped their careers and illustrate the effects they feel that success or failure have on their personalities, self esteem and performance of role. "If successful there is deep satisfaction and the stimulation acquired from varied and different roles is conducive to personal development as well as career development". This was matched by the frustration that lack of success brings and does not match the 'situational adjustment' theory. "If a career is not progressive and there are clear aims from the beginning the feelings of deep frustration can be very disturbing. To stay in the same job for too long is demoralising. A new job means a new challenge and this is necessary for adequate motivation". One male head of department remarked that, "Being over forty there is no chance of promotion for me. You have to be realistic, but if you think about it, heads of department appointed in their thirties will have to spend all those years in the same

job. Frustration is bound to follow, because early promotion builds up expectation, and they are not all going to get on".

Women were also quick to experience frustration when they desired promotion and found that the opportunities were few or non-existent. Lack of mobility was an added problem for many women and this put further restrictions upon their hope of promotion.

3.3.3 Ultimate Aim for Role Fulfilment

Most teachers have definite aims for their ultimate desired role: many of the women but only three men felt that it was a step by step progression of providing evidence of competence at the level already achieved. Some of the following comments made by women made them appear more apprehensive than their male colleagues. It is this difference which was evident in many women that possibly prevents them from applying for further promotion.

"I might consider promotion with more positive ambition if I could prove to myself that I could do the current job superbly".

"I want to move step by step and gain confidence from achievement".

"I do not feel I have the qualities for leadership. I would not be ruthless enough. The decisions to be taken need a dominant person who is seen and recognised as being dominant".

"No plan at all, just hopefully progressive. Women are not like men. Men plan their careers".

"From the beginning I decided that I just wanted to

be a Head of Department. From then onwards requires greater dedication, because it involves decision making of a very different type which affects people".

Some writers noted a strong sex differentiated perception of a 'career' with women speaking of a career as a focus for the demonstration of competence and dedication, while men visualised it as a series of planned steps to a goal. (Henning & Jardim 1979) This was evident in my survey because although there were some males who were concerned about the role (and prospective responsibility) of headship and made serious comments about their own competence for the task, it appeared to be on a much more superficial level. It would in no way deter them from their ambitions, whereas the females had already made the decision to remain in the classroom. Examples of this were the three comments from males, all of whom intended to develop their careers.

"I consider that I lack sufficient patience for the role of headship. The other consideration is that it is possible to get stuck at deputy head level. This causes me anxiety, because I see the role as exclusively mechanical, apart from the curriculum area". A deputy head expressed his thoughts on his future hopes, "I like being in the position I am in and I enjoyed being a head of department before that, because of the influence I exert. I have strong views about education. At this stage I will assess my competence in this job and start considering a move in about four years time. I think that nobody should apply for a deputy headship unless they are hoping to become a headteacher". Another young head of department, who was not concerned about self

assessment, remarked that "he would like to move to the top step by step". He assessed his competence by the performance of teachers in these roles and that gave him confidence.

Hence compared to female replies there were many confident males and their replies showed that a headship was the expected end to their career.

"I always worked with the understanding that I would have a school of my own. If I were interested, worked hard: it would be a natural progression. I intend to be a headmaster and there is no question in my mind about it. I have the determination and the wish to influence policy in education".

This is in contrast to the very positive young female head of department, who felt that, "Women tend to underestimate their ability. I certainly do not intend to spend my days telling off naughty children. My aim is to be involved at a consultative level". Initially this indicates a move away from the Senior Mistress image, but the choice of words is markedly different from the remark made by the male teacher quoted before, which emphasises, "Influence policy in education" whereas the female wants to be, "Involved at a consultative level". In fact 32% of the women in my survey saw a deputy headship/senior mistress as an ultimate goal, in contrast to only 6.8% of the men seeing a deputy headship as their final role. To some females this position of senior mistress was still seen as a pastoral role, even in the school where the one female in the hierarchy had experienced all aspects of management, and enjoyed a high status position. This is similar to the experience of the

Senior Mistress in the Bristol Comprehensive School observed by Richardson (1973). "She had an important share in the administrative work of planning the timetable, a fact that could hardly have escaped the notice of her colleagues, but the staff appeared reluctant to recognise this part of her work". (p 227) Over ten years have elapsed since Richardson made these observations, but the residual image of the pastoral senior mistress is still a frequent phenomenon.

However in the sample of teachers used in my survey an equal percentage 32% of women wished to become headteachers, which was exactly the same percentage, who wished to become deputy head/senior mistress. One female deputy head of middle school described herself as ambitious. She however claimed that she had, "No planned strategy, but one is always thinking of the next step up. I would like to bypass head of school and go straight to a deputy headship, then a question mark, a Headship". Another head of department, who wished to become a headteacher had actually planned her strategy. Her experience in Secondary and higher education was at a senior level before she left to have her family. She decided that the five years she intended spending at home would be detrimental to her career prospects if she did not make positive use of the time to enhance her qualifications, so she took an honours degree and followed this with an M.Ed. On her return to the profession she intended to obtain a post which she considered was warranted by her experience and qualifications. She was successful in obtaining interviews, but the first question was always, "how old are your children?" This she felt was discriminatory as a man would never have

been asked this question. However she was able to overcome the rejection, because she said, "Who could really expect to return to the profession at this level?" She settled for a Scale 3 Head of Department and hopes to achieve her career aims as quickly as possible. There was a far greater proportion of men than women in my sample who wished to become headteachers or inspectors, 49% men compared to 32% women, but this was not purely indicative of the lower aspirations of women. One female head of department made this reply. "I want further promotion and a fresh challenge. Once a role is acquired and played, one needs fresh opportunities. I would try for most posts for promotion, but not a headship. I know I could do it, but the cost would be too high in personal terms".

Table 3-3 Stated ambitions of interviewees

	Headships	Deputy Head Senior Mistress/ Master	Head of Department
Men	49%	7%	44%
Women	32%	32%	36%

From this evidence it would appear that a greater proportion of men than women have a clearly mapped out career plan with headship as the ultimate objective. Compared with this ambition, determination and self-confidence, the majority of the women seemed more diffident and less sure of their ability to undertake such responsibilities. This could be due to a more critical self appraisal referred to by one of the headteachers. - "Women judge themselves more strictly than men - they will only take on something if they believe they can do it well. Men want status and will 'muddle through' without worrying". There was certainly evidence

that many women had a preference for promotion to a senior pastoral role in preference to other areas of promotion. This preference for the pastoral role is possibly linked with job satisfaction, and this too could be linked with classroom competence and enjoyment. The object of discussing the question of job satisfaction was to ascertain whether there was any discernible difference between the attitudes of men and women, which might encourage or discourage promotion seeking to management level.

3.3.4 Job Satisfaction

The question is whether job satisfaction attained in the classroom deters some women from seeking administrative careers. For some women job satisfaction is clearly related to 'Classroom contact' and they definitely did not wish to move away from the role of pastoral year head or head of department. This usually means a maximum of Scale 4. In three of the case study schools, senior teacher posts were given to heads of department or heads of faculty. This type of recognition was commented upon by many teachers, both male and female, who thought it was unfortunate for the profession that many good teachers had to become administrators in order to gain promotion even if they preferred to stay in the classroom. They felt that this award of senior teacher would give credence to the professional expertise of teaching when it was achieved as a recognition for this skill. 36.2% of the women and 38% of the men in my sample were however satisfied with their careers ending at Scale 4, unless a senior teacher post were available without losing major contact with the classroom. Some of these teachers were already at the age when

it would be difficult to make the progression, but some were young enough to change their minds: for instance a young man said "Good progression, initially contented, but suddenly I feel stale and I need a different role. The excitement has gone out of this job so I have to change and take up a new challenge". A male head of department, who came into teaching after a job in industry for 10 years really feels that his job satisfaction is in the classroom. However he felt that it was sensible to apply for some form of management. He made fifty applications without getting any response. He accepted that he had left it too late and feels that rejection from an administrative role has not affected his job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction unfortunately was not completely typical, because some male heads of department felt trapped in their role. Reorganisation was blamed by some for their situation; others felt that it was their subject, which had prevented them from gaining quick promotion initially. The following two comments from men illustrate how these teachers can be affected by a situation from which they are unable to escape. One remarked, "Getting on in teaching today is for young people. Once you have reached forty you are over the top. It is a sad thing, because experience is valuable, the brains behind the scene on which youngsters are building their careers". The other male felt that he had been too engrossed in the actual process of teaching to be aware of the promotion prospects. However he feels that he would now have a different approach, "If I were starting again I would plan my career and I definitely advise young teachers to use

their talent and energy to chase promotion". There were only fourteen women in this age group and five of them were in the senior management area. The others were heads of department or had pastoral responsibilities, and apart from two, who were still actively trying for promotion, were satisfied with their role and area of responsibility.

Clearly there were mixed feelings from both men and women about the implications of promotion to management, particularly the necessity to desert the classroom for the office. Whilst some would welcome it as a change and a challenge, others had serious reservations about leaving an area of the profession which provided them with a great deal of job satisfaction. More men than women, 9 men 4 women, felt that lack of promotion had led to a sense of frustration and had therefore reduced their job satisfaction. There was, however, little evidence to suggest that women obtained much more job satisfaction from classroom contact with pupils than did men, and it would not appear that a reluctance to leave the classroom and a fear that "management means isolation from the classroom" was a significant factor in deterring women from applying for senior posts.

3 - 3.5 Attitudes towards Responsibility

The question of age, the right time, the right place occurred repeatedly with those who felt they had planned a career, and equally with those who felt there was a vast element of luck attached to their promotion. Young men and women, who plan a career feel that it is necessary to make a determined effort to obtain head of department status at an early age. From my research it would appear that this early

success affected females more than males. One young head of department, who gained this status at the age of twenty five felt that she had even suffered physically from the responsibility, "It can be a nightmare to be thrown in at the deep end. The biggest problem is the uncertainty of being adequate. You therefore feel guilty if you are not doing extra things all the time, and then guilt becomes part of the job". Another young female head of department, who had taken an external degree, achieved head of department status at the age of 26. She initially felt intimidated by her youth and lack of experience in comparison with others in her department. However she felt that her acknowledgement of the problem made solving it less difficult. Her solution, she felt, was to use their experience in the development of her aims, and this was successful. Another very well qualified head of department felt that she was in an exposed position and liable to be criticised, "I feel that I have to work harder than if I were a man in order to justify my promotion. Whatever happens there must be no chink in my armour". Women gave the impression that they had to make the extra effort when they accepted promotion, and this fits in with one headmaster's comment, "Women judge themselves more strictly than men".

These female heads of department, who had already achieved significant success were still very concerned with providing justification for their promotion. This draws attention to how this experience affects their view of the next step and is it therefore different from the way men see promotion? It is obviously difficult to categorise male and

female attitudes, but it is the predominant values which my survey will aim to disclose. The following replies to the question, "What role would you consider to be your ultimate aim?" illustrates how difficult it is to select concrete and visible reasons why women are not proportionately represented in educational management. The male reply was almost identical to one quoted previously, "Without question, I want a headship, because I am determined to influence policy in education", which was in sharp contrast to the female reply, "A headship hopefully, with reservations, because I would have to cope with a deputy headship first". The contrast between the two replies is indicative of subtle underlying attitudes and displays different levels of confidence, because adequate role fulfilment is assumed in the male, whereas the female desires confirmation of successful performance. This prevalence for a need for positive appraisal did appear to be more of a feminine than a masculine personality trait, but there were some very positive female replies, which appeared to be matched with a very confident approach.

One example was a female head of department, who said that her aim was to become, "An adviser. I would like to have influence on the aesthetic appreciation and emotional outlet of the subject". However, during our interview she admitted that interviews had proved difficult for her. When she had been appointed head of department she had been the only female present in a short list of six, and she had got the job. She did not expect to be successful, but she attributed her success to the fact that she had more

relevant teaching experience in relation to the job specification than the other candidates. This was an example of a woman getting a job when in competition with five men, because her experience within her previous job had been relevant.

Lack of confidence at interviews and anxiety to prove their ability to perform well within the job was evident during my interviews with some women. In attempting to discover why women often appear to lack self-confidence, some writers blame the expansion of co-education. The effect of the growth in the number of co-educational schools as it relates to the availability of headships for women has already been considered in Chapter 1. The relationship between co-education and the level of achievement and self esteem of women needs to be considered in relation to research at this point.

Many writers argue very forcefully against mixed schools on the basis that the experience of females within them is conducive to the patriarchal relations of domination. "In concrete terms, male superiority can be realised within the co-educational system: in the presence of girls, boys from the earliest age have someone to be superior to". (Sarah, Scott & Spender 1980 p 38) "In their view it is the presence of boys which affect girls' low aspirations, low academic performance and narrow traditional feminine interests after school". (Arnot 1983 p 86) When teacher attention is focused primarily upon boys (Sears & Feldman 1974), when the curriculum is directed primarily to boys (Clarricoates 1978), when boys are permitted to talk more

and encouraged to challenge and question more (Parker 1973) it becomes clear that girls are less likely to perform well in a mixed classroom.

However, according to government sponsored research involving 7,500 pupils, single-sex schools make no significant difference to girls' examination results. The study was designed to back up earlier findings that girls in single sex schools achieve better examination success. However it was concluded that the enhanced effect of single sex education on educational achievement was not proved. However the results did show that neither single sex or mixed schools do enough to ensure that girls get the same education as boys. (T.E.S. 12.8.83)

This issue is not as simple as single sex education in relation to co-education. "Genuine equality of the sexes has not yet become an educational goal, and if it is now to become one, should we not, first of all set up major educational reforms in teacher education in in-service training programmes to reshape teachers' classroom practice". (Arnot 1983 p 88)

The teachers' classroom practice is a very important area of the hidden curriculum. Barnes (1976) has stated that, "teachers form opinions about their pupils as if they were quite unaffected by classroom events or by teachers own behaviour". (p 163) When girls therefore are anonymous and undemanding this is attributed to their 'true characteristics' so if teachers have decided that girls are not so competent as boys - as many researchers suggest - then girls are not so likely to succeed either within the classroom or in their

careers.

"In every facet of classroom life, from the curriculum to classroom interaction, it is demonstrable that more attention is paid to males with the result that teachers are more familiar with male experience and individual males. Teachers are behaving in a manner that is completely consistent with values and beliefs of society when they favour males and this is probably one reason that they perceive their behaviour as fair and non-discriminatory, even when empirical evidence can so readily reveal their bias". (Spender 1980 p 68)

This area of teacher education and in-service training is relevant to greater equality within the classroom as Arnot suggests in order to draw attention to the disparity in attention given to boys at the expense of the girls. The books and materials used in school to which Arnot (1983) refers, can be said to provide illustrations which can be used to support the image of human inequality. There are significantly more images of men than women so that it is possible that children are given the impression that men are more prominent than women. Men are portrayed as having the more interesting roles and doing the adventurous activities. Lobban (1977) analysed six reading schemes, and found that of 225 stories, only two showed women who were not engaged in domestic tasks. Of the two women who were not cooking or cleaning, one was a shop assistant and one was a teacher. These images which we present to children in school are not images of the real world, but distortions which show, "a world more rigidly patriarchal than the one we have at

present". (P.104)

The weight of the evidence does suggest a major task, and possibly the first aim is to make people aware of the situation. There is indeed complacency in education regarding both the education of girls and the career prospects of women. The possibility of a link between the two does not exist in the perceptions of most individuals. The experience that education has upon many girls could be a factor in their lack of experience, their source of anxiety and the basis of poor self esteem. The Inner London Education Authority has been unique in its investigation into the problem of the lack of women in management posts, but it is not linked to the research findings which indicate that, "Women are trained to accept a sexual identity that corresponds to what society says is an appropriate sexual standard, and the female standard has not included power positions". (Fennema 1976 p 245) Many would argue that this socialisation is reinforced within the educational experience of girls in co-educational schools.

3.3.6 Domestic Considerations and Job Mobility

Evidence was supplied that movement to different parts of the country is more practical in the first years of teaching when teachers have fewer family commitments to consider. Younger children, it was considered, were more easily adapted into the schooling system than when at secondary level. Accommodation at this time is also frequently rented or is a much less expensive investment so this is not such a major consideration. The area in which the four case study schools are situated allows

movement between different authorities without moving house if extensive travelling is not considered to be a major disadvantage. Both men and women in my survey placed, "Experience in a number of schools" as third in the table of factors affecting promotion. However, although this sample included many ambitious teachers, the question of actually moving to a different part of the country was viewed with caution. Much emphasis was placed on the education of their children at secondary level in relationship to the availability of good schools and continuity during these important years. There were only five men with children at secondary school, who were prepared to move from the area for promotion. Studies have shown that marriage and children tend to sharpen ambitions for men and increase their determination to reach the top, while for women they have the opposite effect. (Fogerty, Rapport, Rapport 1971) However this was not so obvious in the male teachers in my survey, because many men put the education of their own children above their own ambitions.

Other constraints were the expense of moving house, the proximity of the extended family and the career prospects for their partner, both male and female. The expense of moving house appeared to be a major concern to some and was viewed with apprehension by many. One young man was very concerned and his thoughts even during the interview were, "Even if I am due to get a job today I will be in a bit of a fix financially". Another male teacher who had just been promoted and did not wish to move from his very attractive house preferred to travel. He said, "This adds seventeen

miles a day to my already long journey, but this is more acceptable than moving house". His wife is also a teacher in a senior post and her career is considered to be important too. He added, "To change both jobs at once and expect promotion is too tricky".

61.6% of the men in my survey would not move away from the district for promotion. 24% would be prepared to move and this included married men with families. Others just considered that the problem was not relevant,, because they intended staying in that particular job. Only one woman in my sample would move her family for her promotion. She said, "I am prepared to go anywhere for promotion. It is an equal partnership. My husband would move for me". Many men were however prepared to go anywhere in pursuit of promotion, but others were very concerned about the effect this would have on their wives' careers, as the following comments illustrate.

"Yes my wife has a very important career. In fact she has overtaken me. My family, the education of my children are very important considerations and are placed before my own promotion prospects".

"The education of my children is my first concern and definitely before my career. Movement is not possible so there is a restricted location to promotion".

"I would not move now, because my three children are at secondary school. My wife also has a new job and I consider that social commitments are as important as a career!". I would not move now, because my children are settled at school. My career is second to this so promotion has to

be here".

"My wife has a career and her career is just as important as mine".

Other men, however felt free to make unrestricted choices such as the following. "I would not hesitate to put my career first, even before the education of my children, but fortunately promotion has been in three local schools".

"I might go nation wide".

In some professions there is no choice about movement, and 19% of the women in my survey considered that their careers had suffered from having to move with their husbands.

"We have always moved for my husband's career, so geographically out. My husband has an important career and mine has to be fashioned within his commitment".

"I came to Birmingham for my husband's career. If a law unto myself I would have liked to have moved for promotion. As it was I had to wait for the right opportunities within the area".

"No, my husband's career has always had priority. Very few men are willing to pack up their job and move for the wife's career. My career in teaching could not be more important to me than my husband's promotion, but I could never have remained on a Scale 1".

One male teacher attempted to weigh up the situation in relation to his job satisfaction, his family commitments, his age and yet an almost overt admission that promotion prospects are a difficult area to resolve when they appear to be incompatible with other responsibilities. "I am very happy with my promotion and I would like to stay in the

classroom. I like this school and I have been here a long time. I would not apply for a job in a different part of the country, because of the upheaval this would cause my children. I consider they are more important than my promotion. This is the problem. You get your children through the educational system by the time you are 45. That is the time when you are too late for promotion in the eyes of the authority".

3.3.7 Promotion Prospects in relation to Subject and Age

"Age is the stumbling block. Success means careful planning". Frequently reference was made to age and subject area when teachers were considering their promotion prospects. Men seemed more concerned about age being a barrier than women, but there were noticeably very few older women in the sample of teachers on Scale 3 and above in the 4 case study schools. The subject was mentioned in relation to, "leaving the subject area for a pastoral post was a big decision". "Just four years to reach a Scale 4, which is excellent promotion due to a shortage subject. Now it is more difficult, but I am young so I have time to be very selective in my applications". Another comment which linked age and subject showed the opposite effect of a subject like Biology, which was referred to by a number of teachers as the 'Cinderella' of the sciences.

"Promotion, where you are by the time you are forty is significant. There is a link with your subject, and mine being Biology is not a good subject". High status subjects were considered to be Mathematics and Physics, but there was no evidence from the case study schools that these subjects predominated in the management area. As Payne (1980) points out there are fewer women in secondary schools, but it is their distribution, rather than their numbers which is

significant. It is the men who dominate in the decision making posts in schools. They control the subject areas such as Mathematics and Science where the status is greater. It is no coincidence that there are more women teachers in subject areas like English and Humanities.

This was generally the pattern to be found in the distribution of subject in the selected teachers in my survey, but there appears to be no significant evidence that 'scientific' and 'mathematical' subjects led to promotion in the management area. There was evidence of quick promotion to scale 4 in both these subjects, but beyond this scale many subjects were represented and the sciences did not predominate. Mathematics and Science were subject areas where male dominance was evident with only one woman as the head of the mathematics department. She had "actively sought" the head of department from a Scale 4 head of year. The vast majority of holders of senior management posts were 'Arts' specialists - a subject area where women are numerous so there is no case to be made for the view that in failing to specialise in science, women are jeopardising their chances of promotion in schools.

The mean years to reach Scale 3 seemed to be a timetable marker in the careers of men and women, so the question "How long did it take to reach Scale 3?" was included in the interview schedule. The question created a minor problem, because some teachers had reached this stage when the five point scale or earlier scaled had been operative. The old Scale 3 was counted as 3 in the first salary scale and the Grade B in the second salary scale. Only three women had

taken five years out and had all reached Scale 3 or equivalent before taking a break for their children. In my sample the average number of years to reach this point was 9.04 years for women and 7.46 years for men. This shows a longer period for women than for men, but taking into account that some women interviewed felt that their careers had been held up by following their husband's career, the delay does not appear significant at this stage. What did appear to be numerically substantial was that in the four case study schools there were 98 men as opposed to 53 women on Scale 3 and above, and 62.3% of these women were concentrated on Scale 3; probably most of them destined to remain there.

It is also perhaps significant that 67.1% of the men were over 35, whilst only 46.8% of the women fell into this age group. There is therefore a larger proportion of younger women in these posts, Scale 3 and above, than younger men. (See Table 4.5) This appears to be a surprising discovery, because a basic assumption has been that women have not been able to apply for promotion from Scale 3 and 4, because they are disproportionately represented at this time. The means for reaching Scale 3 was taken from the whole sample of teachers in the 4 case study schools, and this gave men an advantage of approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. However in the under 35 age group there is a higher proportion of women to men. Does this indicate signs of a changing pattern within the profession?

The findings of the I.L.E.A. were not dissimilar. In the I.L.E.A. survey a comparison was made according to the length of service.

Table 3-4 Distribution of Posts in Secondary Schools between men and women according to length of service

Length of service	Head	DH	ST	Scale 4	3	2	1		N
0-5 yrs									
Male %	0	0	0	3	12	28	57	100	2,061
Female %	0	0	0	2	9	26	63	100	2,747
6-10 yrs									
Male %	0	1	4	25	33	28	9	100	1,332
Female %	0	1	2	19	35	33	10	100	1,212
11-15 yrs									
Male %	2	8	9	41	24	9	7	100	605
Female %	3	5	7	33	28	17	7	100	480
16-20 yrs									
Male %	6	15	11	33	23	8	4	100	378
Female %	5	12	9	30	24	15	5	100	276
21-25 yrs									
Male %	11	13	9	31	20	11	5	100	262
Female %	5	21	10	32	21	6	5	100	192
25 plus yrs									
Male %	12	15	18	31	15	6	3	100	388
Female %	14	20	11	28	16	8	3	100	236
All									
Male %	2	4	5	19	20	22	28	100	5,026
Female %	1	3	3	13	18	25	37	100	5,143

It is perhaps significant that in each of the divisions except the first (0-5), a higher proportion of women occupy a Scale 3 post than men, although in total 20% of men teachers occupy these posts compared with 18% of the women. The difference is increased to 19% and 13% for Scale 4 posts where a higher proportion of men teachers fill the posts in all divisions except 21-25 years. Across all the grades included in my survey (i.e. Scale 3 and above) the imbalance in the I.L.E.A. Survey was most marked in those with 11-15 years service, "suggesting that men have a greater probability of early advancement in their careers".(I.L.E.A. July 1984 p 4) The over representation of men in general

was greatest at Senior Teacher and Scale 4 posts.

My survey revealed that it is the availability of Scale 4 posts for women that is significant, because there were few women at this level, 13 women to 34 men. The relationship between subject areas and male dominance was evident with women gaining promotion mainly in the Humanities and traditional female subjects such as Home Economics and Business Studies. If women are unable to compete with men for promotion, with equal academic qualifications this does constitute a problem for their promotion. If the qualifications of women are inferior, then possibly this can be traced back to careers advice, parental pressure or even their own lower expectations, when accepting teacher training instead of a university place.

3.3.8 Qualifications of Men v Women in the 4 case study schools

The qualifications of the teachers interviewed in the 4 case study schools can be considered from two view points - the initial qualifications on entry to the profession and the qualifications at the time of the interview. The number of teachers holding a B.Ed degree was relatively small. This was probably due to the fact that most of the teachers taking part in the survey were already in the profession before it achieved all-graduate entry, and the subject-based secondary sector has tended to accommodate more subject specialist graduates with a P.G.G.E. than education graduates. It may well prove interesting for future researchers to compare promotion achievements in secondary schools of bachelors of education and other graduates. The classification of the degree was not considered, although this could be crucial

for selection at the interview stage.

The following table show the number of graduates and non-graduates amongst those interviewed. Figures in brackets show the qualifications on entry to the profession.

Table 3.5

	Deputy Head Snr Mistress/ Master		Senior Teacher Scale 4		Scale 3		
	Graduate	Non Graduate	Grad.	Non Grad.	Grad.	Non Grad.	
MEN	7 (5) 100%	0 (2)	4(3) 67%	2(3)	24(23) 71%	10(11)	17(16)9 (10)
WOMEN	2(2) 40%	3 (3)	1(1) 50%	1(1)	6(6) 46%	7(7)	12(8) 15(19)

Women: Graduates	21(17)	45% (36%)
Non-graduate	26(30)	55% (64%)
Men: Graduates	50(44)	68% (60%)
Non-graduates	23(29)	32% (40%)

The four male heads of the schools were all graduates, but one had entered the profession as a non-graduate. Five men and two women had obtained Master's degrees, one woman was in the process of taking hers and one man was working part time for a doctorate.

My survey shows clearly that in the 4 case study schools, and at the level of responsibility being considered, women are less well qualified than men, although it is perhaps significant that a similar proportion of women had obtained Graduate status after entering the profession (4, 8.5% women compared with 6, 8.2% men).

That this imbalance in qualifications is not peculiar to these four schools is shown in the national figures of the position in 1981.

Table 3.6

	Head Teachers		Deputy Heads		Senior Master/Mistress		Senior Teacher		Scale 4		Scale 3	
	Grad.	Total	Grads.	Total	Grads.	Total	Grads.	Total	Grads.	Total	Grads.	Total
M	2578	3074	3127	4371	669	1038	3238	5135	12069	19750	14684	28443
	83.	9%	71.	5%	64.	5%	63.	1%	61.	1%	51.	6%
W	355	510	980	1847	634	1472	569	1085	2799	5297	6326	15556
	69.	6%	53.	1%	43.	1%	52.	4%	52.	8%	40.	7%

(D.E.S. Table B 129 31st March 1981) (Provisional)

Totals (excluding headteachers)

Women: Graduates 49%
Non-graduates 51%

Men: Graduates 62%
Non-graduates 38%

These figures not only underline the discrepancy in the distribution of senior management posts between men and women, but show clearly a much lower proportion of graduates amongst the female holders of senior posts than amongst their male counterparts.

The reasons for this are difficult to determine. The question only occasionally arose during the interviews with female teachers, and then advice from school or pressure from parents was cited as the reason for preferring college of education to the university course with its wider career options which appealed more to men. Again it may be that some, at least, of the college entrants did not possess the qualifications in terms of 'A' level grades required for university admission. It was possible before the introduction of all-graduate courses at colleges of education, for a place to be obtained without the possession of two 'A' levels. Although this might be one of the contributory factors, recent statistics show that girls generally do as well as boys at 'A' level and better at 'O' level. (D.E.S. statistics

for the U.K. 1983) It is unlikely, therefore that lack of basic qualifications would be a major factor in sending girls to college rather than university.

However research carried out in Scotland in the early 1970's by Galloway (1973) may perhaps indicate some of the reasons for this preference for college, rather than university. Of the women in her study who, although qualified for university, had preferred to gain admission to a college of education, "some were committed to teaching and chose college as the best available professional training. while the others were convinced that they were not intellectually capable of university work. Both groups had stood firm against all pressures on them to go to university". (Delamont 1980 p 76) Delamont also quotes the results of other surveys undertaken in Scotland (Jones & McPherson 1972) where college of education had been chosen to avoid higher grade examinations in Mathematics and she also detects the effects of sex-stereotyping in Galloway's sample, some of whom believed that men disliked women who were 'intellectual' and most of whom, 'wanted a husband who was superior to them in age, intellect, earning power and judgement". (Delamont 1980 p 74) It is impossible to assess how far, if at all, these factors and views influenced female teachers in my survey, who are after all amongst the more successful members of the profession, having achieved already a considerable level of promotion.

In addition to the actual qualification obtained, it is important also to consider the importance of qualifications as a factor affecting promotion. A number

of surveys have been conducted to assess teachers' views on the relative importance of various factors affecting promotion. In two surveys reported by Hilsum and Start, one covering secondary and primary school teachers and one restricted to secondary school teachers, 'being a graduate' was placed first in both cases as the factor most favouring promotion. (Hilsum & Start 1971 Table 7.1 p 105 & Table 7.4) More recently Lyons (1981) found in a survey of 5 comprehensive schools in various parts of the country that 'Familiarity with new ideas in education', 'Ability to control pupils', 'Experience in a variety of schools' were considered more important than, 'Being a graduate' which was placed fourth, out of thirty two suggested factors.

In my survey, academic qualifications appeared much less important, 'Being a graduate' was placed 8th out of 17 by men, and 12th out of 17 by women.

The following tables show the factors considered more important.

Men

1. Administrative ability.
2. Keeping pace with educational ideas.
3. Experience in a number of schools.
4. Participation in extra-curricular activities.
5. Good classroom control.
6. Recent in-service training.
7. Having a strong personality.
8. Being a graduate

Women

1. Keeping pace with educational ideas.
2. Administrative ability.
3. Experience in a number of schools.
4. Pastoral expertise.
5. Participation in extra-curricular activities.
6. Good classroom control.
7. Good relationship with the Head.
8. Length of teaching experience.
9. Having a strong personality.
10. Recent in-service training.
11. Length of teaching service in a particular school.
12. Being a graduate.

It is also perhaps significant that, 'Having a second degree' was placed last by women and next to last by men. With the move towards an all graduate profession it is surprising that academic qualifications were placed so low on the list by teachers I interviewed compared with teachers in other surveys. It may be, of course, that now an all graduate profession is established that the possible advantage is diminishing. The other possibility is that the different emphasis placed on academic qualifications reflects different policies in making appointments by different authorities.

Although, therefore, qualifications were not perceived as a crucial factor affecting promotion prospects, both men and women considered it a factor of some importance. Amongst the male teachers interviewed the proportion of graduate to non-graduates was more than 2:1, whilst amongst the women there was a considerable majority of non-graduates. Of the seventeen men interviewed who had attained senior teacher status or above, eleven had entered the profession as graduates or equivalent (H.N.D, A.T.D) four had attained graduate status whilst in the profession and two were non-graduates. Of the seven women, three had entered as graduates, one had completed part of a degree course and three remained non-graduates.

From this sample it would certainly appear that men tended to be better qualified, and were more concerned to improve their qualifications: with fifteen out of seventeen in senior management posts, it would appear that interviewing bodies also attached importance to these academic qualifications.

Academic qualifications do therefore provide an area where there is a clear distinction between men and women. It would appear that a high proportion of female entrants to the profession preferred the college of education route to the university route. There is unfortunately no clear evidence as to why this should be. Was it that parents or careers advisers did not encourage them to aspire to university entrance? Were they so sure that they preferred this vocationally orientated form of higher education to any other? The figures for 1975 to 1976 illustrate the numbers of males and females taking a teacher's certificate, and in 1977, "Three times more women than men entered teacher education last year, more than half of them with one 'A' level". (D.E.S.1977)

Table 3.7

1975-1976 College of Education in relation to the number of male and female entrants

	Females	Males
Employment	256,400	295,100
University	15,600	27,100
Polytechnic	2,100	4,300
Teacher Training	7,500	1,900
Other full time education	62,000	35,400
Total	343,600	363,900

(D.E.S. Statistics of Education 1976)

Teaching has traditionally attracted girls of proportionally higher academic ability than the equivalent male entrants to colleges of education. The following table has been selected to illustrate the ability of the women entering education seventeen years ago, which now brings them to 35 years of age. This is possibly a very crucial time in regard to promotion. As the following table shows, a very high proportion of girls with three 'A' levels (15.4%) and with 41.4% with two 'A' levels entered teacher training in 1967, seventeen years ago,

instead of going to university like the 68% of boys with 3 'A' levels and 26% of the boys with 2 'A' levels who aimed at graduate rather than certificate qualification.

Table 3.8

Destination of School Leavers entering Higher Education
(England and Wales 1967)

Percentage of those holding qualifications as follows	Universities		Colleges of Education		Advanced Further Education	
	B %	G %	B %	G %	B %	G %
3 or more 'A' levels	68.3	57.7	2.7	15.4	10.7	6.7
2 'A' levels	26.1	12.5	11.0	41.4	22.0	9.5
1 'A' level	1.1	0.2	15.5	51.2	21.4	6.5
5 or more 'O' levels but no 'A' levels	0.2	0.4	4.7	12.2	4.0	0.3

Note: Percentages are of leavers with the appropriate level of qualification - not of the age group. Thus of those leaving with 2 'A' levels, 26% of boys, but only 12% of girls went to university; but only 11% of boys with 2 'A' levels used them to enter teacher training as against 41% of girls. The remaining leavers will have entered non-advanced further education, professional training, or employment.

(D.E.S. Statistics of Education 1967)

Although this indicates that there are plenty of able women who chose colleges of education instead of universities, and consequently are not so well qualified, it does not necessarily signify that the teaching profession is short of well qualified women in this age group.

Fewer women than men go to university, but a higher proportion of women graduates than men enter the teaching profession. A considerable proportion of women are less well qualified than men, but not a sufficient proportion to explain the large numbers of women occupying low status jobs

in education. There is little evidence to suggest that any inherent 'weakness' causes them to fail in free competition; rather it can be said that, from the evidence on women graduates we are again left in little doubt that human resources are being most ineffectively used;

"for highly educated women are, far more than their male counterparts, generally restricted in their occupational achievements by prevailing conditions which bear little relation to their training and capabilities". (Kelsall et al 1972 p 140)

These findings from my survey and their relationship to national figures do, however indicate that many women, from the beginning of the career choice process, have tended to have lower aspirations than men. Socialisation and ideology cannot be separated from this situation, but the scene is clearly changing with the advent of an all graduate profession. The conclusion is to urge women, and those who advise them, when making career choices, to secure the best training, which their initial qualifications permit, and to accept their potential for career achievement. Very soon the basic distinction between graduate and non-graduate will disappear as the profession becomes an all-graduate profession, so this will no longer be a distinction.

3.3.9 Methods of Promotion and Attitudes towards the interview

The interview as the main method of promotion was criticised by both men and women, but it was women who showed particular concern about the actual interview procedure. Men were less apprehensive about the actual interview, but considered preparation had to be very thorough. Comments from men were quite different from some

comments from women, because many women referred to the interview as an ordeal. The following remarks from women show how some women reacted to the interview.

"A very nasty interview for a Scale 3 promotion. It was very unnerving. Interviews get progressively worse as the scale post increase and much more specialist knowledge is required".

"I lack confidence so I found the interview an ordeal. This is why I prefer assessment procedures".

"I do not think anything would make me want to go through another interview like that. It was completely demoralising".

"I spent a fortnight preparing for the interview, and it was only this detailed preparation which gave me the confidence to perform well".

Men gave the impression that they were more philosophical about their interviews and critical for different reasons.

"I do feel that achieving the aims in education is the practical skill. I do feel that this is important. It is however the people who do well at the interview who are successful. They can talk endlessly about the theories of education, the jargon all pours out, but in the basic skill of teaching they achieve very little. The children are the important part of education".

"All I know is that from now on the interviews will be very difficult. They will become much more technical and I will have to prepare well for them".

"I made fifty applications and attended six interviews before obtaining this promotion".

"One must expect to have a number of interviews before getting a job. It is always advisable to ask where one has gone wrong. The advice of the inspectors is particularly helpful".

It is very difficult to make assessments, but it would appear that women are not so competitive as men, and found the whole interview procedure most unnerving. Apart from the fewer female teachers in the position to make the applications for senior management jobs, women's attitudes towards interviews would also appear to be significant and explain why fewer women come forward for selection. One female said, "Women do not apply for jobs which mention timetabling, curriculum etc., because they assume that male teachers will be judged to have these skills".

3 3:10 The Effect of a Break or a Late start in a Teaching Career

There were more women than men all of whom had reached Scale 3 or equivalent who had taken a break in their teaching career, but the ratio of approximately 2 women to 1 man would not appear to be sufficiently significant as to affect the lack of promotion of females to yet more senior positions. In fact one female teacher, who had taken five years off for her family thought that it had actually "enhanced her career". She had obtained further educational qualifications, and had been granted secondment for a year on her return to teaching. From my survey, the number of men and women who had taken a break was small. Only three females had taken a 5 year break and two had taken two years. The remaining twelve had taken maternity leave. Two had their family before starting work. Three men had taken a

break; two to try different jobs and the other to obtain a second degree. All these teachers had returned to the profession on the same basic scale although they had obtained good promotion before the break.

The popularity of maternity leave for young female teachers seems to be the accepted pattern simply because otherwise not only are promotion prospects interrupted, but jobs are difficult to obtain. Two female teachers were expecting babies and intended to take maternity leave and then return to their same jobs. One said, "I am just taking maternity leave. It will be a brief break, because coming back onto the same scale has a lot to do with promotion prospects. I still feel that I will be looked upon as a dicy prospect in the future with a young baby and that I will have to prove myself again. Prove and reprove is the story of women in this profession". Another interesting comment from a female, who had taken five years off for her family, "I came back as a convenience onto the basic scale. Just interested in getting back, not thinking of a career. However once back in harness the determination to succeed became necessary, because leadership emerges and has to have fulfilment". All females who took a break longer than maternity leave climbed back up the promotion ladder more quickly than their initial progress.

Late entrants to the profession were few, both male and female. There were four men, who had entered the profession on the basic scale after years in industry. Three have reached head of department status and one has reached the senior management area. A female, who came into

teaching late has also reached senior management, but she feels that she would have the determination to obtain a headship if there had been sufficient time. Late entry does not appear necessarily to disqualify male or female teachers from promotion if my sample is typical.

The other reason for a break in teaching is secondment and 11% of males and females in my survey had been seconded for a first degree or an M.Ed. This does not interrupt promotion prospects, because their post is usually held for them. For the majority of those interviewed, who had obtained a further qualification in this way, promotion followed very quickly on their return to teaching. One teacher was actually promoted in his own job immediately on return.

A break from teaching in order to improve qualifications therefore appears to be a distinct advantage from a career point of view. A break for any other reason does not appear to have seriously disadvantaged those interviewed; women returning after starting a family seem more frequently to be able to resume their career - although accommodating an initial set back - by accelerated promotion upon return. There were, however some exceptions and my survey dealt only with those in the area of Scale 3 and above: it is not known whether one of the reasons for the relatively small number of women in this category is that others returning in similar circumstances may not have been so successful.

3.3.11 Extra Curricular Activities

Participation in extra curricular activities was placed 4th in the table by men and 5th by women, 'Perception

of the factors affecting promotion'. This would give the impression that all the teachers in my sample thought that it was an important area when teachers were being considered for promotion. The subtle distinction placed upon this aspect of the connection between extra curricular activities and promotion was expressed by one male teacher, who said, "It is an extension of what happens in the classroom between 9 o'clock and 4 o'clock. This is connected with the type of teacher you are, and these are the teachers who deserve promotion". Many teachers remarked that they did not consider extra curricular activities in relation to promotion, and as one ambitious head of department, who was involved in more than four extra curricular activities, said, "Mine is an endless round of activity generated mainly by interest". Another young man who was heavily involved with activities said, "There is no reward for this, just expected - perhaps a pat on the back". Women particularly felt that mixing with children in a different situation had social implications and made classroom experience more meaningful. Their main motive for this extra involvement was in the interest of relationships rather than promotion.

Although many teachers disputed that participation in extra curricular activities had any direct implication upon their promotion it was indicative that these teachers had been heavily involved during their teaching years, and teachers in senior positions had been prepared to give up vast amounts of their own time after school and during holidays to involve young people in all types of different experiences. Only a very small percentage of my sample had

never done any extra-curricular activities and all my sample had gained promotion. It was felt that even if initially attention was focused on a young teacher's desire to become involved in extra-curricular activities, and was seen as a strong recommendation for promotion, it became less significant after Scale 3. It is difficult to assess its importance, because although given high status in the list, individual teachers were reticent to accept that they were motivated by the extrinsic goal of promotion.

Table 3.9 Average number of extra curricular activities undertaken

Age Group	Scale 3		Scale 4	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
26-30	4plus	3.4	-	4.0
31-35	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.8
36-40	2.5	1.6	2.4	2.7
41-45	1.75	1.5	2.1	1.4
46-50	1.0	-	2.6	1.0
51-55	2.5	0.5	1.2	1.5

Men were more active than women and this was the same throughout the whole sample with an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ activities for male and $1\frac{1}{2}$ for women. The trend appeared to be one of high degree involvement for younger teachers and a lesser degree for the older teachers.

From Table 3.9 it can be seen that men were more involved in extra-curricular activities than women. Possible reasons for this could be suggested, for example greater domestic commitments of married women, the generally greater involvement of boys and therefore male staff, in sporting activities. However the difference in levels of participation between men and women is not uniform and is not likely to be a significant factor in the lack of promotion of female teachers.

3.3.12 Training for Management in Schools

Both men and women attached great importance to 'keeping pace with educational ideas', although they did not attach such importance to attendance at in-service courses. The organisation of the courses did not escape criticism.

"The tendency is to go on a course when you have the job, and not in preparation for it. This again is the stupidity of the system". This was a remark made by a male head of department, because he had found great difficulty in obtaining a place on the management course for which he had applied. This, he felt, was caused by the course being filled by those already in the administrative positions. Other teachers complained that, "Pastoral courses are difficult to get on, with as many as a hundred applications for twenty places, so although I have applied my application has not been successful". It would appear from these observations that teachers are particularly anxious to participate in 'in-service' training in the pursuit of greater professional skill. Recent in-service training attendance was placed sixth in the scale, 'Perception of Factors affecting promotion', by men and tenth by women. Women, however in my survey had attended more recent in-service training courses than men, although it was a very slight extra involvement.

The interest in courses was particularly impressive with all teachers seeing some value in participation. Their function was viewed from different perspectives and some teachers showed that the degree of interest varied from,

"Marvellous courses available" to, "There is very little one can actually learn from the course itself. It is the contact with colleagues from other schools in the area that is so important. That is the real value of these courses". The expense of courses was a deterrent from a financial perspective and concerned many teachers, "I could not possibly spend the money, although I would love to go on a lot of courses. A week is completely out of the question now with the lack of subsidy available". Others saw the management courses as a necessary preparation for the interview, for instance, "Another move would be in another direction, and I would have to do courses and background research before I could face an interview. Although one has to learn the job in the job itself".

The course attendance was divided into three areas, pastoral, management of school/curriculum, and subject area. It was expected that women would prefer the pastoral courses and this proved to be the case with 66% attendance as opposed to 37% of the men. However the management of school/curriculum area was surprising, because women were well represented - 48% women to 56% men. The courses contained in the subject area were varied and many were connected with up to date technology in relation to subjects. Here interest was greater amongst the males with 51% men to 40% women.

Table 3.10 Percentages of interviewees who had attended recent in-service training courses

	Pastoral	Subject	Management School/curriculum
Men	37%	51%	56%
Women	66%	40%	48%

The question of "What recent in-service training have you been involved in?" was considered to be very

important by the I.L.E.A. in their survey, because it considered that women prepare themselves less adequately for promotion than men do. In my survey this was not significant. The I.L.E.A. commented in their report, "While it is not certain what influence a 'good record of attendance' at in service training has in the selection process, it is clear that fewer women are attending courses designed as a preparation for holding senior posts in schools". The courses which I recorded for inclusion for comparison were courses which were either a week in length or had run for one evening for a period of time. Some courses had actually run for a whole year using one evening a week during term time. The active tutorial course was very popular and many teachers, both men and women, had attended this pastoral course. From my survey the only finding which appears to be significant is that 66% of women teachers had attended pastoral courses compared with 48% women teachers who chose the management school/curriculum area. However a definite desire for approximately half my sample of women teachers to prepare themselves adequately for managerial roles was greater than those who actually desired to become head-teachers or advisers. Whilst 48% of female interviewees had attended courses in management school/curriculum, only 32% saw headship as the ultimate goal. Clearly many who aspired to only deputy head/senior mistress level felt it necessary to extend their knowledge on the wider aspects of school management and the curriculum.

3.3.13 Conclusion

From these investigations it is apparent that a

number of these factors are likely to affect the promotion prospects of women teachers, but none on its own could be considered crucial. Certainly the male teachers interviewed in the survey appeared to show more determination in their approach to their careers. On the whole they planned them more confidently; they aimed higher and they accepted the promotion procedure, including interviews, more philosophically, although not uncritically, than did women: women were more concerned to prove themselves at each step along the way. Women showed preference for courses with a pastoral bias, but this did not prevent a considerable number of them attending management and curriculum courses. Domestic considerations placed mobility constraints on both men and women; for men this meant a reluctance to leave this area, whereas for women it could mean an enforced move out of the area in the wake of a husband's change of job: only one woman felt that her husband would move for her promotion.

Although the break taken by married women to start a family had interfered with career patterns, there seemed an increased determination amongst younger women to limit this break to the statutory maternity leave.

The men were better qualified than the women at all levels in the survey, but subject area appeared to make little difference in the area of top management. Although the Mathematics and Science area, a male dominated area, provided rapid promotion, the early arrival at the Scale 4 launching pad did not result in the senior ranks being dominated by young scientists; the apparent shortage of women scientists cannot be seen as a factor relevant to

promotion to senior management. Similarly there was no evidence to suggest that, through deriving greater job satisfaction there, women were more reluctant to leave the classroom, and the tendency for men to get involved in more extra curricular activities than women, although possibly of some influence in early promotion, was not sufficiently marked to indicate any real significance.

CHAPTER 4
LEADERSHIP

4:1 Leadership and the Structure of Organisation

"The distinctive characteristic of an organisation, which distinguishes it from social structures like the family, is that it has been formally established for the explicit purpose of achieving goals. Every organisation has a formally instituted pattern of authority and an official body of rules and procedures which are intended to achieve its specific goals. Alongside this formal aspect of the organisation, however, are networks of informal relations and unofficial norms which arise out of social interaction of individuals and groups working together within a formal structure". (Banks 1968 p 191)

"Much of the anxiety that pervades modern society has its origin in uncertainty about leadership and authority", (John 1980 p 1) because the growth and power of large complex organisations in the 20th Century have produced a need for skilled leadership. The results of the decisions made in these organisations have implications in the lives of people concerning the availability of goods and services, the distribution of wealth and privilege and even the opportunity for people to fulfil themselves in meaningful roles. Schools, being a microcosm of society, reflect these same problems and anxieties. In the same way as in wider society, the distribution of roles within schools affects daily experiences and provides or denies opportunities for personal development and self expression. This distribution of authority within organisations affects who benefits and to what degree. The

elevation of individuals to positions of influence and power is central to how policies are implemented. Despite a prevalent image in social science of modern organisations as universalistic, sex neutral tools, gender is frequently a very important determinant of who is successful and who is not. In this way leadership can be frequently viewed as exploitative rather than facilitative.

"The absence of a coherent view about leadership and authority not only handicaps institutional relations, but also confuses and frustrates the individual member by undermining his sense of 'oneness' or 'integrity'.

This is particularly true of institutions in the caring services such as schools". (Johns 1980 p 5)

A coherent view about leadership and authority would appear to encompass styles and responsibilities and the belief that "Leadership has no gender. Effectiveness depends on the characteristics of the individual and the structure of the organisational settings, not on whether one is a man or a woman". (Greenfield & Beam 1980 p 47) Gender and competence are linked in management with the male character traits and this will be explored later in detail, but it will be argued that men and women are generally competent when in managerial roles, so it is the nature of organisations which appears to be detrimental to the progress of women in the field of educational management. It would appear also that leadership is not now considered to be an abstract characteristic with which an individual is endowed, but a learned skill which is grounded in inter-personal and power relationships. "We will greatly increase our

understanding of leadership phenomenon if we abandon the notion of leadership as a trait, and concentrate instead on an analysis of the behaviour of leaders". (Halpin 1966 p 81)

The behaviour of leaders and its relevance to educational establishments have begun to attract greater attention since the growth of secondary comprehensive schools, which has not only increased the size of the school, but the complexities of its function. The demands made upon schools have increased with the pluralistic demands of society and greater emphasis being given to accountability. Leadership styles, leadership training and the choice of leaders in such an influential area of society as education are indeed most important concerns and should perhaps be seen to have deeper implications for the development of a more egalitarian society than has yet been acknowledged.

4:2 Leadership styles, Theories and Models

The development of management thought has been an evolutionary process, and was primarily directed to industry. However the work done in this interdisciplinary area of the social and behavioural scientists has appeared increasingly in educational literature. "There is a widespread belief that the modern educational administrator must have a theory-based preparation. The impact of this area of scholarly activity upon the improvement of educational administration is just beginning to be felt and should continue to grow in the future". (Lauders & Myers 1980 p 150)

The style of leadership is frequently analysed by the division into two or more independent dimensions. There is the possibility that male and female styles of leadership could fall into

gender categories. However if the emphasis is now on a learned quality not an innate attribute this could be a less relevant hypothesis. Firstly it could be productive to examine the divisions writers have identified, but it is essential to acknowledge that these are general divisions and not restricted to educational management. However there is a correlation between the findings of workers in various institutions and those of teachers. Indications of dissatisfaction came from extremes in the bi-polar constructs such as autocratic/ democratic, because teachers, like workers in any other type of institution are frustrated by what they perceived as inefficient management or alienated by dictatorial leadership . (Handy 1976)

Research indicates that sources of satisfaction are intrinsic to the job - the work itself, achievement, recognition, responsibility and advancement - whereas the sources of dissatisfaction are such extrinsic factors as salary, status, security and relationships with inferiors/ supervisors . (Herzberg 1966) Job satisfaction and the type of leadership experienced within schools appears to have a direct link, for "Their career plans were affected by their present satisfaction with teaching and this was strongly influenced by their perceptions of the ways in which schools were led and administered". (Nias 1980 p 255) This was the result of research obtained during interviews with primary school teachers, not secondary school teachers, but it does illustrate the relationship between job satisfaction and leadership style in an educational environment.

The models of leadership style most useful for

educational research will be difficult to isolate, because there have been more than forty style models with many differing and frequently conflicting features developed since the multiple leadership behaviour patterns developed by Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939). They classified leadership styles as autocratic, laissez faire and democratic. The number of styles for a model now varies from two to eight. From her findings Nias felt that the comments from her research supported the claims of Yukl (1975), that there are three independent dimensions of leadership style. Yukl uses a threefold typology which avoids the use of 'autocratic' and 'democratic'. He accepts Halpin's (1966) dimensions of 'Consideration' and 'Initiating Structure', and added a participatory one under the label 'Decision Centralisation'. These are the three independent dimensions along which leadership traits can be distributed. (Yukl 1975)

Consideration is the behaviour that involves human relationships and group maintenance; initiating structure is behaviour that involves organising and directing work. (Halpin 1966)

Decision centralisation, the added dimension, is the degree of leader influence over group decisions. Halpin considered his two factors to be independent variables in his research, because they can be present in a behaviour to varying amounts and relationships at different times. Nias concluded from her research that, "It would be artificial to separate good administration from consideration, for inefficiency was construed by many teachers as a failure on the head's part to understand their difficulties". (Nias 1980 p 260)

Significant progress in administrative theory was marked by the widespread consensus of leadership behaviour

being divided into the two categories of the relationships to work and to people. Many style models have been based on this research with the two major areas. There are however conflicting perceptions of both role and the relationship of the two variables. The two dimensions of leader behaviour appear in the work of Halpin (1966) Blake and Morton (1964) Likert (1967) Hersey & Blanchard (1969), and Hallal (1974). The controversy regarding the two factors is based on the problem of whether they are separate, dependent or independent variables. The dominant current view is that they are independent rather than dependent or separate variables. The manner in which these models relate to schools is particularly interesting, because in schools the headteacher and the management team are providing the administrative climate and leadership within the context of professionally equal colleagues, for progression to managerial status in education is not contingent upon the completion of any particular credential.

John (1980) develops the theory that leadership is not the prerogative of the headteacher, but a quality exercised by all teachers, for he observes that, "with promotion, the boundaries of responsibilities widen, but the principles remain the same", for when complaints are made by teachers about lack of leadership practice they ignore "the fundamental truth that leadership is a continuum of opportunity". (p 6) This philosophy embraces the concept of staff development as a crucial element of leadership. "In schools, which are institutions dedicated to growth and self fulfilment of pupils, it should not be necessary to argue for the growth and fulfilment of teachers". (John 1980

p 111) This would appear to be in direct contrast to, "The present state of the head permits him to control the activities of teachers in a manner more appropriate to workers performing routine skills than to relatively autonomous professionals". (Hoyle 1975 p 69) Hoyle recommends reform and his appraisal is obviously critical. This move from autocratic to consultative would appear to be the ideal type of leadership for secondary schools, but there is also the difficulty of developing congruence between the needs of the individual and the needs of the organisation itself. These are some of the dilemmas of leadership in the secondary schools, and the accountability attached to the role of headship is an added dimension. This indicates caution in being too prescriptive in developing the model of the ideal educational leader. It is sufficient to comment that the best headteachers are those who are able to accept the responsibility for their power without abdication or autocracy, and are able to set high standards in the pursuit of the collective goals.

"The head is held responsible for everything that happens in his school, by the L.E.A., his governors, the parents, the media and the public. This is the role of the head to carry the responsibility for the school and for all the decisions that are taken in it". (Jennings 1977 p 3) Later Jennings emphasises that, "Headship by continually renewed consent, where the head consults fully with colleagues before making decisions is considered to be the most effective". (p 23) In the same year the official observation by H.M.Is was that, "Emphasis is laid on consultation, team

work and participation, but without exception the most important single factor in the success of these schools is the quality of the leadership of the head. They are conscious of the corruption of power and though ready to take final responsibility they have made power sharing the keynote of their organisation and administration. Such leadership is crucial for success". (D.E.S.1977 p 36)

Modern concepts of school management demonstrate a movement away from autocracy and paternalism towards a range of more democratic leadership styles. Heads are much more inclined to consult staff before decisions are taken, but consultation can have many forms.

Involvement would appear to be a basic element for successful leadership, "If the emphasis is on his leadership and encouragement of colleagues in their joint efforts, his contribution could be invaluable in enabling the combined expertise of a professional staff to be mobilised for the achievement of agreed organisational objectives". (Hughes 1976 p 60) A positive benefit of consultative leadership is the professional development of staff, for in this way teachers are better placed to set their teaching role within a wider context if they are given active responsibility for aspects of school organisation. Herzberg (1966) refers to this change in organisations by a method he calls 'job enrichment'. This is the process of upgrading an individual's responsibility, along with increasing the scope and challenge of his or her work. This process should increase the motivation of the individual, because it enables self actualisation. Self actualisation is the ultimate in

the Maslow (1954) hierarchy of needs.

This increase in individual motivation is obviously the aim of an effective administrator, and researchers and theorists are anxious to identify the causal factors of expertise in this field. Later research has frequently invalidated earlier research so there are many incongruent concepts. "In recent years, however, there has been confluence of thought in certain areas, and efforts to synthesise the various research findings have resulted in progress towards the construction of a viable and comprehensive behavioural theory of administrative effectiveness". (Lauders & Myers 1980 p 146)

"In considering the styles of leadership as they appear to characterise different persons in comparable roles, we have to be on our guard against the danger of creating stereotypes and thus suggesting that each must inevitably remain fixed in the 'personal style' that is most natural to him. Equally we have to avoid falling into the error of perceiving a particular person's style of leadership as wholly the result of pressures exerted upon him so powerfully by those he leads that he has no choice but to act in the way they force him to act. The latter denies the responsibility of the person; the former denies the contributory responsibility of the group, and the demands of the particular institution in which the leadership is being exercised". (Richardson 1973 p 208)

The last quotation illustrates the subtle balance

between the leader, the followers and the demands of the institution, and perhaps indicates why perspectives have altered as research has progressed in order to accommodate the numerous variables. Before 1945, most studies of leadership were characterised by the identification of traits of successful leaders, but scientists and management theorists have abandoned this approach in their research for seeking answers to effective leader behaviour. Over one thousand different traits have been identified and Stodgill & Coons (1948) in their review of 124 trait studies, concluded that, a person does not become a leader by virtue of possession of some combination of traits. They also concluded that 'situational variables evidently influence leaders' behaviour patterns'. (p 35)

It is considered in current administrative theory that leadership skills can be acquired, and probably the situational leadership theory is now considered to be more acceptable. This situational leadership theory can be defined as the ability to adjust leadership capabilities in any context, because no leadership style is suitable for all situations. The barriers to a theory of universal leadership are that different contexts require different experience and specialist knowledge. With the increasing specialisation of work groups, the membership of a variety of them becomes difficult enough and leadership impossible, because leadership in terms of expertise in each different setting demands credibility. It would appear that effective leadership therefore requires great flexibility in order to respond to rapidly changing situations. Brimm & Wheeler

(1966) observe that,

"there are three things a person requires before he is able to perform satisfactorily in a role. He must know what is expected of him (both in behaviour and values), must be able to meet the role requirements and must desire to practise the behaviour and pursue the appropriate ends".
(p 58)

Having explored the concepts of educational leadership and defined what is required for adequate fulfilment of role it would now seem appropriate to explore why there are so few women who acquire managerial status in secondary education. It would appear that many attributes which, it is claimed, make women unsuitable for top management are more compatible with changing societal expectations of effective leadership in schools than those characteristics associated with the male, which have made men the more likely candidates during the last twenty years.

4:3 Sex Role Stereotyping and Socialisation

Lipham (1964) distinguishes between leaders and administrators on the lines that "leaders initiate new structures or procedures to achieve organisational goals or objectives whereas administrators utilise structures or procedures for this purpose". (p 122) Women are considered to be more passive, gentle, consideration orientated, more sensitive and less suited than males for positions of high authority. (Bantol 1980) What must be added to the behavioural repertoire of some women seeking leadership positions is the willingness to oversee and be responsible for administrative functions, for example, hiring and firing,

budgeting, struggles with higher and lower organisational components, and a willingness to set the pace for the group. "Women must not simply reflect what is happening, they must initiate". (Hemphill 1949 p 40) These writers give the impression that most women are different from most men in their suitability for leadership roles, because of their personality traits and the socialisation processes. In this way women are possibly seen as more suitable for the role of administrator than leader.

However conflicting views can be found in research comparing administrative behaviour of men and women in headships. Frasher & Frasher (1976) indicate from their research that the women's behaviour is in fact more appropriate to school management than the male managerial model. The females in this position are more likely to involve themselves in instructional supervision, to exhibit democratic leadership styles, to be concerned with students and to seek community involvement. This suggests that the weight of behavioural evidence shows women to be more effective than men in school headship roles, and it is possible that the preference for the male has been detrimental to schools. (Gross & Trask 1976) There are various explanations for the assumed differences and Gross & Trask suggest that women spend more time in the teacher role before becoming administrators than men do. The result is that they acquire more expertise in instruction and are more confident and willing to engage in instructional supervision. If these are facts, it merely suggests that male promotion should be delayed. Caution

too should be directed towards this evidence, because it is mainly based on self-reports of administrators and evaluations by subordinates, and does not correlate with field studies conducted in business organisations, where researchers consistently found no difference between men and women leaders in performance, behaviour or subordinate satisfaction.

Even if the 'no difference' evidence is unacceptable and the notion not supported that women, from previous socialisation or extended classroom teaching experience, are better suited to educational leadership roles, there would be very little empirical evidence to support the contrary view that women's 'traits' or learned styles are antithetical to leadership performance in schools. Once in a managerial position, displays of competence from previous gender attributes would not seem to affect or create the image of the female leader. Actual ability to do the job does not depend on the fact that the incumbent of the role is a man or a woman.

Competence therefore does not appear to be an issue for concern, and the comparison of performance between male and female leaders will not be pursued. This provides the opportunity to explore the nature of organisations and aim to discover why more women are not initially prepared for leadership roles in spite of the evidence which supports their suitability for positions in educational management.

4:4 Structural Characteristics of Organisations

Again there is disagreement on the extent to which organisational characteristics explain women's absence from

leadership positions. Fennel et al (1978) reject early sex role socialisation as an explanation for gender differences in assuming leadership roles, and explain that organisational settings deprive women of legitimacy in leadership positions. They argue that higher authorities are less likely to support a woman in a leadership role than they would be to support a man in that position, and consequently subordinates are less likely to accept directives and evaluations from a woman. Richardson (1973) observes that while she was conducting her research, the headmaster of Nailsea school did not appoint a deputy headmistress on the two occasions that the deputy headship became vacant. The senior mistress, who remained at the school during both vacancies did not apply for the post. The following comment is Richardson's appraisal of the situation,

"From the point of view of the staff group as a whole, it was only seen on this outer boundary of the institution that the headship was not seen as requiring a built-in heterosexual partnership between the head and his deputy. In all other parts of the school this relationship was the accepted norm.... This allows the headmaster the flexibility and the temptation to give the 'Number two' post to the man and the 'Number three' post to the woman, and to accept with relief the woman's decision not to seek the 'Number two' post, must be very strong, since men are almost expected by society to find it difficult to accept women in leadership roles".(p 220)

Women forced into the 'senior mistress' role of caring for sick children, girls' welfare and the supervision of arrangements for hospitality find great difficulty in exercising authority effectively. The institutional side of the problem is ignored and the lack of leadership skills is attributed to the person. However to display abilities and exercise effective leadership qualities it is necessary to have a clearly defined role, which facilitates such demands. This is referred to by Richardson (1973) when she is examining the role of the senior mistress at Nailsea School.

"Her feeling of having been unheard or ignored or forgotten was very strong; and it appeared to me that it was carrying more than her own sense of frustration in the committee - something about shared experience of women in general in a staff group like this, something about a sense of left-outness, of being considered of little account, of having to leave the major decisions to men, of denying their own capacity to take executive leadership even in a school in which girls had consistently outnumbered boys throughout the eleven years of its existence". (p 231)

Not only do the vertical divisions in authority and decision making have their effects on aspiring teachers, but the horizontal divisions also create imbalance.

"Women teach and men manage". (Strober & Tyack 1980 p 494)

"The divisions are not of caste-like rigidity, but the possibilities that the sexes will experience

differential career lives and typical locations in school are striking enough to allow us to speak confidently of a sexual division of labour in teaching". (Acker 1980 p 124)

The teaching profession is composed of teaching roles and supportive administrative roles providing an official and unofficial hierarchy of status, position and remuneration. In 1945 posts of responsibility were created in accordance with the number and age of the pupils on roll. The salary structure has been revised, but basically the awards are made for pastoral and administrative responsibilities.

Both the fact that school organisations are hierarchical structures and that there is an institutional artificial division of responsibilities into, 'pastoral' and 'academic' can be seen as features of administration that can affect career aspirations of men and women differently. We have already discussed how channelling women into the pastoral side, while providing equal career opportunities on paper, restricts their entry into key decision making posts. However even this situation is in a state of flux, with men increasingly interested in these posts of year heads as promotion opportunities contract. Women however do appear to be moving more positively towards greater identity of female leadership potential within the relatively unchanging organisational features of educational institutions, so perhaps there are complementary changes within the existing structure.

There were many interesting comments from teachers,

about this changing scene. Two such comments, the first male and the second female, illustrate their perspectives quite clearly.

"One is better advised to go through the administrative/academic route if one has a good degree. However, the pastoral route is better for some men, because there is little concern shown about the subjects or the qualifications, because it is the person that matters". In contrast, a woman said. "I have a commitment to my subject area, and therefore I want an academic route to management".

However only further studies of new generations of women moving into management can provide empirical evidence of changing attitudes and raised aspirations.

In Lyons (1980) survey, he commented that from his findings that female teachers seem to be generally very aware of the types of career possibilities open to them, and he shows that both men and women are interested in pastoral posts, indicating that there is a significant tendency for female teachers to be more likely to have pastoral ambitions than men.

A flaw in the system, possibly for both students and for teachers with career interests, would appear to be this pastoral/academic split, which should have no reality within the structure of school organisations. Many teachers in my survey saw this as a difficulty both for school organisation and for career prospects. One teacher said, "It is an indictment of the way the system has been interpreted. There is no open distinction between the pastoral and the academic structures". Writers suggest

that the teachers responsible for pastoral care, "are given little guidance as to what is expected of them and face conflicting demands as to what they should be doing. Furthermore they are often allocated few resources to carry out their responsibilities and given little opportunity to develop the skills and knowledge they require". (Best, Jarvis & Ribbins 1980 p 376)

The solution would appear to be to discard the false dichotomy of the pastoral/academic split. The decisions made about the curriculum of schools and their internal organisational structures can encompass both the pastoral and academic processes, which are two aspects of the same endeavour. This can be achieved, if a team of teachers accept the responsibility for the education and welfare of a group of students. In this way roles are developed in which teachers can combine academic with pastoral responsibilities.

It is in this context that suggestions about 'social education' and 'careers curriculum' and rather more radically a 'pastoral curriculum' should be considered. "However logical and plausible are ideas like the 'pastoral' or the 'careers' curriculum, their implementation will involve many schools in difficult negotiations with hostile and well entrenched groups, who (not unreasonably) regard such proposals as damaging to their interests". (Best, Jarvis & Ribbins 1980 p 384) Far from this, I would argue, lies the opportunity for organisational changes that would benefit both students and teachers. The pastoral/academic split could be eradicated from the structure of school

organisations, and this would provide more equal opportunities for men and women to develop their careers within the whole framework of the school.

The idea that more men are still likely to be interested in management roles suggests that men view teaching as a career, whereas many women see it as a job to be combined with that of a wife and possibly a mother. However the N.U.T. survey (1980) of women teachers revealed some interesting facts. It reports that most respondents, 82% married or otherwise, see themselves as consciously pursuing a career: 77% intended to teach until retirement. These findings are substantially supported by the empirical research done in my survey in the four case study schools, with 64% of the women interviewed desiring top management positions: 32% headships, 32% deputy headships/senior mistress. However in an earlier survey in answers to questions about aspirations, men consistently wanted headships more than women did: 17% men versus 4% women for secondary schools. (Hilsum & Start 1974 p 45) Although the two surveys are not identical, the idea of a career for women would appear to be more positive ten years later.

The following table indicates that there is a definite change in the 'wastage' element in female teachers. Wastage is defined as, "transfers to other sections of education and other leavers". Amongst men there has been a slight decrease during the last ten years from 5.7% to 5.2% whereas with women it has decreased significantly from 12.4% to 9.4%. The table covers all sections of education and is not restricted to secondary education.

It does however indicate social trends most adequately.

Table 4:1 Wastage of full-time teachers in maintained nursery, primary and secondary schools

Age at end of yr	England and Wales years ended March 31							
	1971-72				1981-82(provisional)			
	Men No.	%	Women No.	%	Men No.	%	Women No.	%
Teachers								
under 25	968	9.4	5,002	14.4	230	6.4	1,106	8.4
25-29	2,116	7.8	9,570	21.7	1,246	4.7	6,870	12.8
30-34	956	4.9	2,549	13.5	1,189	2.9	4,618	11.8
35-39	577	3.4	1,626	7.6	709	2.3	2,181	6.8
40-44	463	2.8	1,206	5.0	423	2.0	1,410	4.2
45-49	325	2.2	849	4.5	316	1.7	1,138	3.3
50-54	298	2.1	596	3.7	669	3.9	1,680	5.8
55-59	355	2.4	786	4.7	1,611	12.6	2,630	15.5
60plus	1,995	22.7	3,089	33.8	2,954	28.8	2,663	43.7
Total	8,053	5.7	25,273	12.4	9,347	5.2	24,296	9.4

Wastage is defined as "transfers to other sectors of education and other leavers"

(D.E.S. 1982)

This indicates that a more stable teaching force has emerged from the changes in the past decade. The proportion of graduates has been rising steadily since 1950: from a quarter to half of men teachers and from 1/10th to nearly a third of the women. It will continue to rise fast as the recent total intake of graduates work their way through the system. Concurrently, a cut of more than half in the intake of new teachers has coincided with rapid progress towards an all graduate profession. There is still a marked discrepancy in the payment of women teachers in

Table 4:2 Average salaries of full-time teachers in maintained nursery, primary and secondary schools

England and Wales March 31, 1982 (provisional)				
		Men £	Women £	Both £
<u>Nursery & Primary</u>				
<u>Graduates</u>	under 25	5,950	5,891	
	35-39	9,330	8,087	
	55-59	10,043	8,828	
	all ages	8,541	7,373	7,728
<u>Non-graduates</u>	under 25	5,367	5,312	
	35-39	9,326	7,673	
	55-59	10,427	8,911	
	all ages	9,218	7,886	8,171
<u>Average nursery & Primary</u>		9,057	7,803	8,091
<u>Secondary</u>				
<u>Graduates</u>	under 25	5,923	5,908	
	35-39	9,848	8,583	
	55-59	11,551	10,443	
	all ages	9,134	7,860	8,603
<u>Non-graduates</u>	under 25	5,231	5,258	
	35-39	9,063	7,992	
	55-59	10,049	9,500	
	all ages	8,723	7,849	8,291
<u>Average secondary</u>		8,962	7,855	8,461
<u>Overall</u>				
<u>Graduates</u>		9,067	7,718	8,430
<u>Non-Graduates</u>		8,902	7,874	8,222
<u>All teachers</u>		8,984	7,825	8,303

(D.E.S. 1982)

relation to the male teachers as the table indicates.

The particularly striking change revealed by the latest statistics has been the fall in the wastage of young women staff. While more than 14,500 women teachers under 30 either stopped teaching or left the state sector in 1971-1972, the figure had dropped to 8,000 ten years later. This indicates that many have delayed having a family or they have taken advantage of the maternity leave provision, and have returned to work. My research showed that the majority of younger women, who were determined to pursue a career and still have children had taken maternity leave and returned to

their own job. A break in service, possibly for as long as five years, in order to look after their family was not considered to be a major problem to those in that situation in my survey, but I only interviewed those who had achieved some status. However, those who had re-entered the profession without any significant problem had been assisted by the relative shortage of teachers which prevailed from the end of the Second World War until the advent of falling rolls altered the demand. Prior to this time it was not difficult to secure a job after a break and part-time teaching was also readily available. Now, if teachers leave their jobs for a few years there is no guarantee that they will be able to return to teaching.

It is within a dynamic state of ideological, demographic change, accompanied by government policies that women teachers' commitments and career patterns are shaped. It is futile to view the progress of women through the career structure in isolation from the organisational structures within which these career aspirations are thwarted or fulfilled. Certainly it would appear from Table 4:1 that there is evidence of a change in the ten years from 1971-1972 to 1981-1982, linked possibly with the consideration that,

"Even if women teachers were much less career-orientated than men in the past, one cannot project such findings into an unchanging future. Women's labour market participation and sex-role attitudes have changed dramatically over the past twenty years". (Acker 1983 p 131)

The fact that women are 'adapting' to given organisational features and to accepted career patterns does not mean that the trend will continue, or that the features are gender neutral. The improved legislation, which permits women to take advantage of maternity leave can be viewed equally as a constraint as much as a choice. The opportunities for part-time work or of actually finding another job after taking a longer break from teaching are decreasing with educational cuts and falling rolls. The concept of 'job sharing' has been considered by some education authorities as a situation which could provide women with families, with part-time work. This could be viewed as a way of making organisational structures more flexible. Changing attitudes could however make a significant difference for career opportunities for women in education.

However in conflict with the changing attitudes towards women's role in society, the recent trends in education appear to be potentially harmful to the women teachers. Closures and amalgamations of teacher training colleges as well as limits on places for trainee teachers and higher entry qualifications have lessened opportunities for women students and staff. (Bone 1980) We have seen the evidence that fewer women are reaching top management jobs, so that the majority of posts connected with decision making are occupied by men. In addition to career entry being restricted, the combination of contractions in teaching and a narrow pyramidal hierarchical structure means increasingly fewer opportunities for those in the lower scales to practise skills appropriate to leadership. With

women concentrated in these lower sectors, the vicious circle of women having less experience and hence less impetus towards leadership is likely to continue. One would need to examine not just the balance of men and women at the top, but the nature of school decision making as a whole, and whether collective or rotational responsibilities might be alternatives to be considered. This is particularly with regard to policy decisions connected with curriculum and organisation, because the pastoral decisions are often not regarded as, 'policy'.

The situation is clearly bleak and the future certainly not promising. Women are blamed because they do not present themselves for selection, but is this the true reality of the lack of women in management in schools? "We ask why girls lack the science orientation of boys or why women fail to apply for promotion like men, without questioning how science alienates girls or how career structures exclude women". (Acker 1980 p 87)

4:5 Gender, Ideology and Cultural Norms

Women, in the era before the expansion of mixed secondary schools, were considered to be equally authentic candidates for the headship of a girls' secondary school as men were for the headship of a boys' secondary school. It has been established that the number of women in the position of headship has decreased over the last twenty years. Various reasons for this have been explored including the historical aspects. Greater emphasis has been given to the structure in which these careers are established, but it would be irrational to argue that this is the sole impediment to

success. Although various phases of secondary school re-organisation (comprehensivisation, amalgamations, contractions) have brought about superficial changes in the structure of schools, the internal structure has not undergone a sufficient alteration to explain on its own such a marked decrease in career opportunities for women; other reasons have to be considered. These other constraints which will now be more fully examined should indicate how much more complex it is for women, because of ideological constraints, to exercise free unbiased choice.

In the past it was impossible to avoid completely the philosophy that the purpose of girls' education was to prepare them for the domestic role, and even today, the implications of this narrow philosophy have not been eradicated. There is still in education a controversy over the distribution of roles, and in the sociological environment where issues connected with gender, ideology and cultural norms cannot be ignored, women interested in leadership roles are at a disadvantage. Even when women achieve some success in their careers there are constraints which still appear to hold them back. Biklen (1980) has identified three types of constraints which create pressures on women in their jobs that are not related to the intrinsic nature of the work itself. These are family constraints, the constraints of marginality and what might be called internal, psychological or self imposed constraints.

The relationship between family and work is a major consideration for women pursuing a career. The interests of the family and the demands of following a career can be

conflicting. The contemporary family structure provides the basis for the organisation of society and although there has been an increase in divorce and the 'one parent family', the concept of the family remains intact. It is therefore necessary to focus attention on the occupational structure, which has been designed for the "married family-free man". (Hochschild 1975) For although the concept of the family is still intact the fact that many women now need to provide for their family either from choice or from circumstances should increase the incentive to examine the opportunities available and their accessibility for women. There is the possibility that this occupational structure is the main factor, which if altered, could facilitate greater opportunities for the married women to combine career and family more adequately.

Frequently today, the assumed freedom for women to follow a career is the opportunity to do two major jobs under very restrictive conditions and in addition to accommodate the guilt, which can be generated from an attempt to combine the two. "The first problem is co-ordinating over time, the demands of two 'greedy institutions': the work setting and the family". (Acker 1980 p 82) 'Greedy institutions' is Coser's term for those organisations and groups that command total, undivided loyalty, such as the Church for priests. When referring to familial and educational institutions it is considered that,

"This involvement in two 'greedy institutions' means that these women are under pressure to demonstrate quite unequivocally that they have indeed come to

terms with this dilemma and that their successful performance in one of these institutional life forms is not being achieved at the expense of under-performance of the other". (Walker & Barton p 5)

These are two major aspects of the first constraint, and the attempt to follow a career with the added limitation of lack of geographical mobility would suggest that the impediments to progression within a career structure are excessive, but could be reduced with a more flexible work situation. It is the examination of these extrinsic factors, which could be conducive to equal opportunities within the teaching profession for managerial posts. In her study of deterrents to women's careers in school management, Schmuck (1975), interviewed men and women in administrative positions. She found not only a strong cultural norm that encouraged men to seek managerial positions and discouraged women from the same attempts, but also differential treatment on the basis of sex. A number of filters within the educational system have been identified that, at each level lower the number of female representatives. One set of filters "revolves around the prejudices of selection by the school system. Women are often simply not considered for leadership positions, regardless of qualifications". (Estler 1975 p 367)

The second constraint of 'marginality' shows how women have the added stress of being in the minority in areas of management. They are situated on the perimeter of the group so partial rejection becomes a phenomenon of success. Hochschild (1973) has noted that one difficulty professional women face as marginal people is that they are partially rather than totally rejected- their ties to other women can

be cut, so they are subjected to, "defeminisation"; and their ties to their male colleagues are cut and so they are subject to, 'deprofessionalisation'. Because others reject their identity they may also reject part of their own identity. The professional woman has to prove herself not only better than men, but also better or different from what other women are thought to be like. It is this minority of professional women which is central to the understanding of the constraint of marginality. Some writers suggest that many of the problems that women face are not related to their internal psychological structure or to a different socialisation process, but to their position in the organisational structure, for their minority makes their position a token representation. This cannot be resolved without a concentrated effort to encourage women to apply for the management area in education. This has now become positive policy within the I.L.E.A. although their balance of male and female senior posts is already far better than the national average.

"This position as tokens (representatives of their category rather than independent individuals) accounts for many of the difficulties such as, numerically scarce people face in fitting in, gaining peer group acceptance and behaving naturally. The existence of tokens encourages social segregation and stereotyping and may lead the person in that position to overcompensate through either achievement or hiding success, or to turn against people of his or her own kind. Thus numbers - proportional

representation - are important not only because they symbolise the presence or absence of discrimination, but also have real consequences for performance". (Kanter 1976 p 6)

If this theory is accepted then females, who achieve positions of high visibility in school management are a representative token of the group, and in this way demonstrate the performance of women in these categories. It is this position of "token" which is seen to create psychological stress for in addition to career pressures there are also cultural norms and values to combat. It is therefore necessary for women to develop strategies in order to succeed, or to accept what is more culturally expected and lower their aspirations.

The third of Biklen's constraints is the psychological, which represents the internal conflicts women experience. The traditional definitions of women as helpers not leaders, and as supporting not initiating are not conducive to self confidence and assertiveness. Women do not appear to aspire to the same levels as men, and many writers have attributed this to a fear of success as well as a fear of failure. Kanter (1977) has linked fear of success with fear of visibility, and this can be linked with the constraint of marginality and token representation. "The token does not have to work hard to have her presence noted, but she does have to work hard to have her achievements noted". (p 26)

This lack of self confidence and dislike of risk taking are fundamental to the psychology of leadership. Women, who have acquired these self-imposed constraints through experiences at middle management are not likely to

want further promotion. It can be argued that these barriers are directly related to the organisational structures in which they perform. These attitudes and experience of their own internal contradictions are possibly why women are more understanding when placed in leadership positions, and this brings focus to the leadership styles of women in contrast to men. This will be examined later in the area of the empirical research on leadership carried out in the four case study schools.

4:6:1 The Position of Women in the Structure of the Profession

Sociological research has investigated the ways in which women have been connected to organisations, and how they operate within them in a different way from men. The findings have indicated that women are socialised to perform different kinds of activities from men, and their positions are not usually associated with power and authority. An extensive body of research explains women's absence from leadership positions as a result of the interaction of sex role stereotypes, occupational sex typing, socialisation and discrimination'. (Atkinson 1981) Women's under-representation in educational administration is explained as a combination of low aspirations, deficiencies in experience and therefore an insufficient repertoire of skills. The conclusion that women have lower aspirations than men naturally deflects the concern away from the organisational structures which inhibit female development and which thus can be said to contribute to discrimination. In this way one facet of discrimination is not overt and contrived, but linked firmly with the sex stereotyping of role due to the initial

socialisation of women.

4:6:2 The Career Consequences for Women of the Differentiation of Experience

Great importance is now attached to the availability of anticipatory socialisation, where the individual becomes orientated towards a new status before occupying the role. A career involves a sequence of jobs or positions ordered so that each provides experiences considered necessary to perform in subsequent positions. In education, women hold the majority of jobs, while men have careers. The large percentage of women in teaching with combined sex role stereotype posts has structured teaching as a 'careless' profession. (Lortie 1975) The 'careless' attitude is the fact that many able women, who would enjoy the management role are not provided with the opportunity to develop the necessary skills. Instead, it is assumed, that most women will fulfil a pastoral role, and their initial socialisation for this role is continued within their professional career. In this way, able women do not progress up the career structure to top management.

In early socialisation females are often subjected to experiences, which produce a negative valence in association with behaviours and attitudes connected with leadership assumptions. Is this why women make up the teaching force in education, but their representation in the administrative area is small? Perhaps women would be more interested to experience a different aspect of education from the classroom if some of the mystique which surrounds these administrative jobs were to be dispersed.

If women consider that the lower status position within the profession is less exacting than middle or top management this does not appear to be a view shared by men. From my own

research men appeared to be more aware of the gratification obtained from what one male referred to, as "the tremendous amount of leverage which status gives within the profession". This male was very conscious of a recent experience he had sustained. It was a temporary appointment at a demoted status level, although he retained his salary. It was during a period of reorganisation, and he referred to the Scale 1 post as, "very grim, and it had a profound effect upon me. I found it very demanding physically and my self esteem was lowered". He added that, "to teach eight periods a day, most days, is like waiting for breakers to come in one after the other. I could have spent all night preparing lessons and marking books, but I would still have been vulnerable to criticism during a lesson for lack of preparation". He found it "a salutary lesson, and one I will never forget in relation to my younger colleagues". Status and top management jobs certainly provide individuals with greater personal autonomy and a greater control over the organisation of their work.

It is, however, in the classroom and on the lowest scales in the salary structure that most women are destined to remain. This is either because they chose this position in the belief that it is less exacting and will therefore provide them with more energy and time for their family commitments, or because they lack the appropriate skills and experience to gain promotion when they desire it. It should therefore be increasingly evident that educators at all levels have the responsibility to recognise these problems and respond with the appropriate training. There is literature on

leadership which can enlighten and de-mystify, and this could be instrumental in counteracting other forces, such as early socialisation, in order that women have the opportunity to become more competent and more confident.

Women have often been reactive and expressive rather than initiating or instrumental. That is, women when being observed during tasks in mixed groups involve themselves in roles, functions and interactions which do not suggest dominant behaviours. Women tended to agree or disagree rather than give suggestions, opinions or information. They reflected the emotional state of the group seeking for solidarity tension release, or agreement. (Strodtbeck & Mann 1956)

Observations made in 1956 are not necessarily applicable to the performance of younger teachers at present progressing through the career structure, but it would perhaps help to explain the small number of women now in senior management positions, because although reactive and expressive roles are vital ones for group functioning, they lack leadership potential.

"A group's morale, social-emotional well being and ultimate productivity depend on members feeling cohesive and acting in ways that are congruent with their feelings. They are not the roles, however, that are related to dominant behaviours. Dominant behaviours are most predictive of leadership assumptions so women who opt for less visible roles may be opting away from leadership functions".

(Conoley 1980 p 37)

Women, therefore frequently do not match up to the sex

image of the administrator, which is modelled on the male criteria of attributes and skills. Organisations can in this way put some people at a disadvantage, and as organisations are slow to change, the possibility of personal behavioural training may be more appropriate for women who desire immediate leadership positions. Women may be misguided when they place 'having a strong personality' lower on the list of factors affecting promotion than men do: women place it 9th men place it 6th. Assertiveness and personal confidence are considered to be pre-requisites for success, but leadership roles still have to be exercised within situational constraints in relation to the task, the characteristics and the size of the group. It has been established that leadership skills are not genetically determined, but are shaped, facilitated or stunted by social forces and the process of socialisation, but early socialisation processes can be modified. Women are able to adjust to situational changes and to react in a favourable manner particularly when developmental experience is available. However,

"it is an obvious point that personal change on the part of the individual women is not enough.

Institutionalised sexism and a history of differential socialisation are powerful forces with which to reckon. An individual's belief in personal power is, however, vital. It is as debilitating to play the victim as it is unfair to blame the victim". (Conoley 1980 p 40)

4:6:3 Attempts to help Women acquire Leadership qualities

Sex typing of school administration combined with sex

confidence and understanding.

role socialisation serves to discourage women from an administrative career. (Cottrell 1976) However it would appear that women teachers are getting help - and helping themselves - to develop their careers in a number of ways. Training courses for women started by the National Union of Teachers are an attempt to help women play a greater role in the union and develop their careers. They are based on assertiveness training, with emphasis on identification and uses of power. Communication techniques and decision making structures are also features of the content of the course. Another two days 'Assertiveness Training' course is available at Bristol University. These courses are designed to help women public service workers to throw away the psychological calipers that have traditionally encumbered women in managerial roles, "Teachers, lecturers, education officers and youth workers would all be eligible for places - and could make good use of them, judging from the poor showing of women in high educational places". (T.E.S. 24.2.84)

The purpose of these courses is more complex than simply attempting to help women to become more assertive, because some women feel their main aim in attending the course was to shed an aggressive exterior. The aggressive behaviour - hostile, violent, antagonistic was considered to have much in common with the non-assertive behaviour which was deferential, evasive, passive, martyred. While the former concepts are associated with the male norms and the latter with female norms, all were considered to be defensive and often manipulative. The ideal constructs of assertive behaviour were identified as consideration, independence, confidence and understanding.

Some of the functions of leadership are very complex, but women should know about some of the very simple things they can do that might facilitate leadership assumptions. For example, leaders sit at the head of the table in relaxed postural positions; they speak to the whole group and are generally quite active in giving information and opinions; non verbal correlates of leadership like eye contact, direct orientations, and responsive facial expressions and voice intonations can be tried out in training sessions for women at all ages. (Mehrabian & Ksionsky 1972) Administrative role fulfilment is therefore an area which can be aided by training and encouragement. It should be increasingly evident that staff development should be the concern of superiors and a commitment to its necessity a vital part of school management. The professional identity of teachers needs constant appraisal to ensure personal job satisfaction and a better performance within the career structure and also within the job itself. Many women, in my survey, were particularly anxious for job appraisal techniques rather than formal interviews as a form of assessment.

The problem of the small number of women in educational management has become very pronounced, and interest is being taken in the situation by influential bodies. This is necessary, because it would appear that it is not easy for women to help themselves. The difficulty with "token status is invisibility, powerlessness and a lack of opportunity, because dominant groups deny the contributions and distort the characteristics of subordinates". (Acker 1980 p 88) Certainly it would appear

that training in leadership is a possible solution to women acquiring more confidence. The anticipatory socialisation is another method of training people for administrative posts. Professional in-service training is to be recommended as a method by which the performance of teachers can be made more meaningful, not only for themselves, but in the practice of their professional skills in relation to the aims and objectives of their educational establishment.

Job appraisal and performance review clearly have to be continuing processes in schools. We have discussed many reasons why women initially fail to be promoted, and even when they reach middle management they often remain at this level. There is the observation that they attempt to demonstrate exceptional superiority at assigned tasks. However instead of receiving commensurate rewards for outstanding achievements, women executives got stuck at middle management. Their intense dedication meant that they failed to note advancement opportunities or that they became so identified with the particular responsibility that no-one thought of them as candidates for promotion. (Foggarty & Rapport) This can apply equally to the middle management in schools, where women are represented mainly in the subjects associated with females such as Business Studies and Home Economics. In my survey, even middle management was male dominated especially in the Science/Mathematics subject areas.

Yet we must not see the necessary job appraisal scheme as existing merely to help individuals to operate within the

system: such techniques should generate an examination of the organisational structure itself, and any discriminatory features therein. In the same way that Bernstein (1972) criticised compensatory education for the under privileged children, "because it distracts from the deficiencies in the school itself and focuses upon deficiencies within the community family and child"(p 107), so it can be argued that women in education can be likened to this 'deficit model' because they are placed in their low status position within the educational structure more by the organisational structures than their own lack of potential leadership qualities and equal competence with men. However the focus is distracted from the main issues of the structure of organisations, problems of anticipatory socialisation, selection processes and the nature of the expected role and laid firmly with the attitudes and perceptions of females, who are considered to be lacking in ambition. However research indicates that women teachers receive less encouragement from superiors to become administrators, and a strong bias exists against appointing women to administrative positions. In addition, to be appointed to an administrative position, women teachers must possess superior qualifications. (Fischel & Pollker 1977)

4:7 To summarise so far it has been argued that even if women arrive in senior positions, they have usually had different promotional experiences, more problems gaining promotion, and are associated with the pastoral range rather than the instrumental range of tasks. In their positions of seniority, they are in a minority and frequently disadvantaged in their narrow range of skills. They then

have to perform in a situation which does not expect senior women to take active leadership roles. This is the situation which is causing increasing concern within education.

Educational management literature now contains methods of organisation which includes more people using a variety of skills. There is more emphasis on consensus and participation in decision making, which gives wider experience to more teachers. The idea of the 'rotating deputy' is an example of this philosophy, and is actually in practice in one of the case study schools. These are the movements within organisations which could provide greater equality of opportunity for men and women in their career structure within education. The response from many younger women would appear to be, greater ambition, a clear plan of a career and increasingly a desire to be released from the sex stereotyped pastoral image. Unless this attitude of these younger women is encouraged, and they are given opportunities to use their leadership skills in their own particular styles, the interests of women cannot be furthered. It is not enough for women to emulate male leadership styles, but it is necessary to develop their own perspectives and influence educational policy in their own particular style.

4:8 Leadership Ideology in the Case Study Schools

The researches of Halpin were concerned with attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of leaders. He directed his attention to two types of leaders, aircraft commanders at about the time of the Korean War and the superintendents of 50 Ohio secondary schools. He compared the views of superiors and subordinates on the behaviour and effectiveness of the leaders and included self-evaluation by the leaders

themselves. He distinguished between all the parties' views of the 'ideal leader' - leadership ideology - and the realities of the actual situation. In the case of the Ohio schools, he compared the views of the appropriate school boards with those of the school staff.

The method he uses was that of the questionnaire which was designed to assess the leader behaviour in each of the two specific dimensions which he called "Initiating Structure" and "Consideration". Initiating Structure refers to the leader's behaviour "in delineating the relationship between himself and members of the work group, and in endeavouring to establish well defined patterns of organisation, channels of communication, and methods of procedure". (Halpin 1966 p 85) Consideration refers to behaviour indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect and warmth in the relationship between the leader and the members of his staff. These two dimensions are concerned with the group objectives of "goal achievement" and "group maintenance" to which a successful leader must make an effective contribution. In addition to attempting to use this method of the "Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire" to assess the effectiveness of leaders, Halpin also used it to compare the behaviour - ideal and real - of leaders in different institutional settings.

Clearly my research into the question of leadership was on a much less comprehensive scale and with much more limited objectives. However, as Halpin's 'Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire' had proved a successful means of evaluating both leadership ideology

and leader behaviour effectiveness, this questionnaire was completed by the hundred and twenty interviewees to see whether there is evidence of difference in the perception of the ideal qualities for leadership between men and women. That the difference in leadership ideology between male and female might be a factor contributing to the smaller number of women being appointed to senior management was a possible area to be explored. A copy of the questionnaire is to be found on page numbers 158 and 159.

The interviewees were asked to complete the questionnaire to indicate their perception of the behaviour of an ideal headteacher. There were fifteen questions relating to each of the two dimensions (Questions 1-15, Initiating Structure and Questions 16-30, Consideration) and each response was scored on a Scale 0 to 60. Questions 3, 7, 20, 22, 23 and 24 were scored negatively. The range of scores from the questionnaires was as follows:

Initiating Structure:	Men:	23-46
	Women:	21-46
Consideration:	Men:	17-43
	Women:	25-49

A comparison of the spread of scores of men and women can be seen from the following frequency charts (Table 4:3 on page 160) where three adjacent scores have been grouped together and the percentage of interviewees obtaining the scores have been grouped in threes.

The mean scores from the questionnaires are as follows:

Whole group (men and women combined)		
Initiating Structure	$\frac{4222}{120}$	35.2
Consideration	$\frac{3915}{120}$	32.6

When separated by gender:

Initiating structure:	Men	Woman
	$\frac{2535}{35}$	$\frac{1687}{47}$
	34.7	35.9

Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire

The following statements of ways in which leaders may behave have been used in empirical research to assess styles of leadership. Would you please tick in the appropriate box the characteristic you would consider most suitable in a head teacher.

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
1) To make his/her attitudes clear to the staff					
2) To try out his/her new ideas with the staff					
3) To rule with an iron hand					
4) To criticize poor work					
5) To speak in a manner not to be questioned					
6) To assign staff members to particular tasks					
7) To work without a plan					
8) To emphasize the meeting of deadlines					
9) To maintain definite standards of performance					
10) To encourage the use of uniform procedure					
11) To make sure that her/his part in the organisation is understood by all members					
12) To ask that staff members follow standard rules & regulations					
13) To let staff members know what is expected of them					

Always Often Occasionally Seldom Never



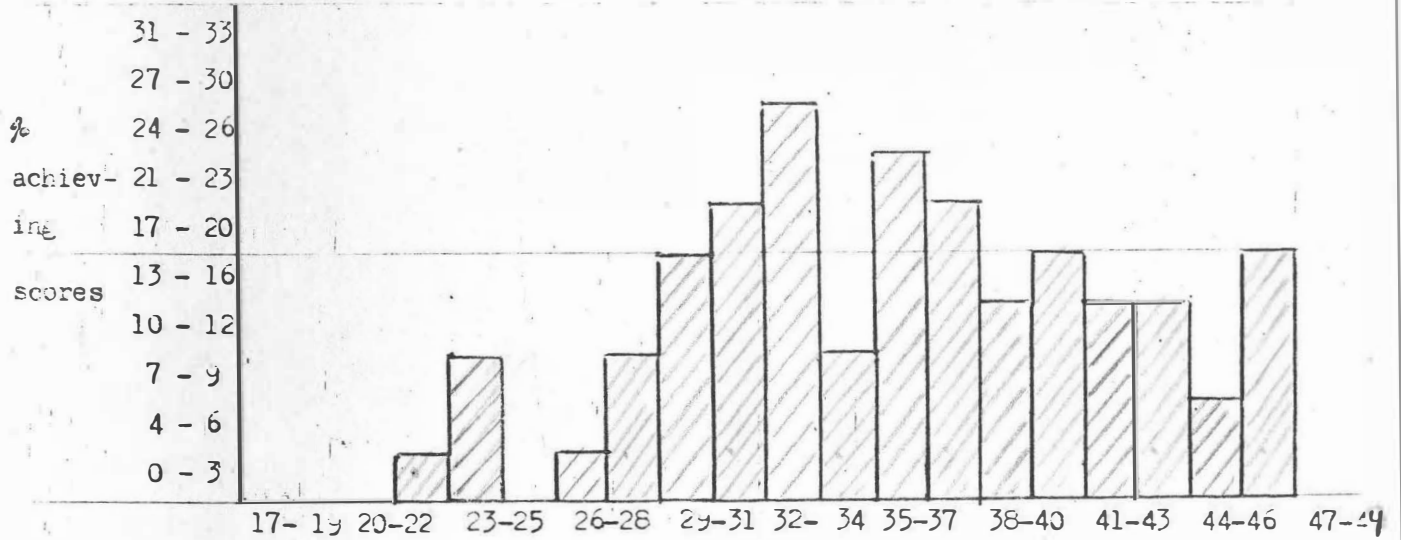
Scores: Consideration.

Yes.

No.

Table 4:3

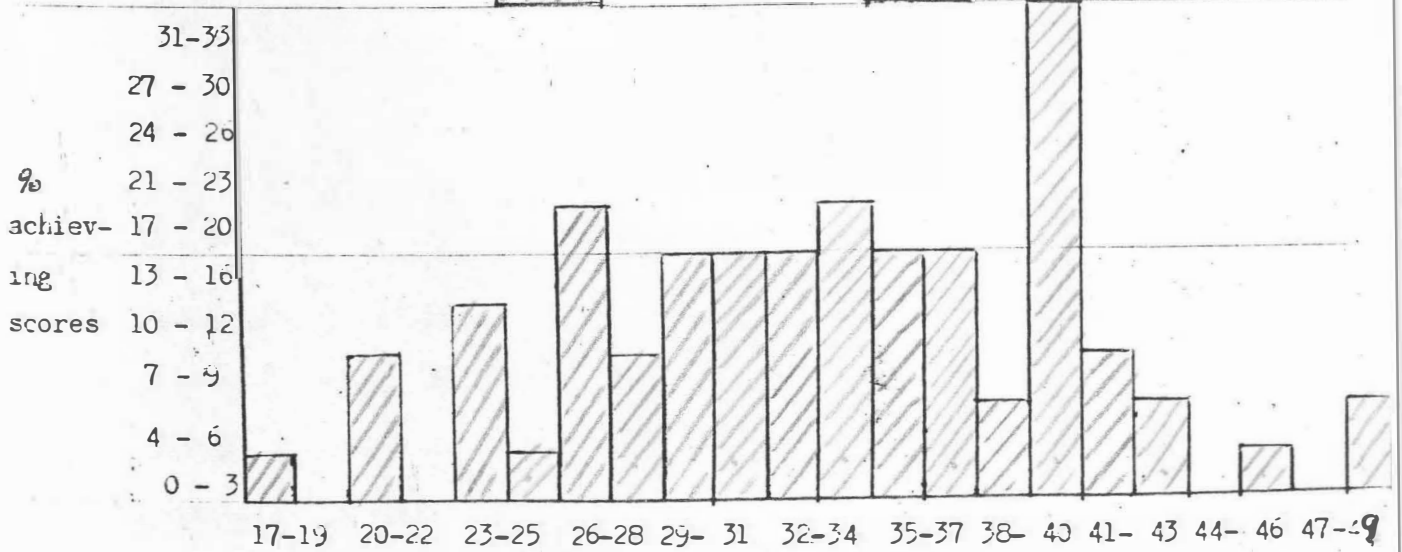
Frequency Charts.



Scores: Initiating Structure.

Men.

Women.



Scores: Consideration.

Men.

Women.

In Consideration: Men $\frac{2232}{73}$ 30.6

Woman $\frac{1683}{47}$ 35.8

The differences between leadership ideologies of men and women may be analysed according to the number and percentage of cases in each sample that fall into each of 4 quadrants:

- 1) above the mean on 'Consideration' and above the mean on 'Initiating Structure'
- 2) Below the mean on 'Consideration' and below the mean on 'Initiating Structure'
- 3) above the mean on 'Consideration' but below the mean on 'Initiating Structure'
- 4) above the mean on 'Initiating Structure' but below the mean in 'Consideration'

Table 4:4 Consideration

		Below Mean	Above Mean	
Initiating Structure	Above Mean	Men: 20 (27.4%) Women: 7 (14.9%)	Men: 11 (15.1%) Women: 19 (40.4%)	Mean 32.6
	Below Mean	Men: 27 (37.0%) Women: 7 (14.9%)	Men: 15 (20.5%) Women: 14 (29.8%)	
		Mean 35.2		

From these figures certain indications emerge. In their perception of the behaviour of good leadership, the women scored much more strongly over all. Whereas it might have been expected that women's responses would have been stronger in the human relations dimension, consideration, as against men's strength in the organisational, Initiating Structure dimension, women emerge more strongly in both. In the Initiating Structure dimension women scored in a positive manner, producing a relatively high percentage in the highest

scores. In the 'Consideration' dimension, women dominated the high scores. Whilst women figured prominently in the double dimension 'above mean' quadrant (40.4% as opposed to men's 15.1%) the reverse is true in the "double dimension" "below mean" quadrant (14.9% as opposed to men's 37.0%). Whilst men are stronger in the quadrant where 'Initiating Structure' is stronger than "Consideration", the reverse is true where "Consideration" is stronger than 'Initiating Structure'.

As some of my earlier findings appeared to indicate a difference in attitude between older and younger women, the figures in table 4:4 were broken down again to distinguish between those over and under 35. The age of 35 was taken as the dividing mark as recent figures published by the D.E.S. indicate that fewer women below this age are leaving the profession.

The overall total of those interviewed, broken down in this way, are

Table 4:5	Men	aged over 35	49	(67.1%)
		under 35	24	(32.9%)
	Women	aged over 35	22	(46.8%)
		under 35	25	(53.2%)

In addition to completing the questionnaire, during the course of the interview the teachers, all of whom held

Table 4:5

		<u>Consideration</u>			
		Below Mean		Above Mean	
Initiating Structure	Above Mean	<u>Women</u> over 35	3(6.4%)	<u>Women</u> over 35	11(23.4%)
		under 35	4(8.5%)	under 35	8(17%)
	<u>Men</u> over 35	12(16.4%)	<u>Men</u> over 35	9(12.3%)	
	under 35	8(11.0%)	under 35	2(2.7%)	
Below Mean	<u>Women</u> over 35	4(8.5%)	<u>Women</u> over 35	4(8.5%)	Mean: 32.6
		under 35	3(6.4%)	under 35	
	<u>Men</u> over 35	17(23.3%)	<u>Men</u> over 35	11(15.1%)	
	under 35	10(13.7%)	under 35	4(5.5%)	
Mean: 35.2					

In three of the quadrants the age division shows little difference between the under 35 and over 35 age group, although five of the women in the double dimension above mean quadrant are in fact in the 36-40 age bracket. Where there does appear to be a significant difference is in the women occupying the segment indicating 'above mean for consideration', but below the mean for 'initiating structure', where younger women predominate. This might be explained by the fact that this group contained some very young women heads of departments and pastoral year heads. Comments from these teachers suggested that there were a number of older colleagues in their departments. Perhaps this concept of leadership was influenced by their own experience, whereby they had to plan carefully to be diplomatic. Their lack of insistence on the necessity for detailed structure was possibly exaggerated in their concern not to appear too dogmatic.

In addition to completing the questionnaire, during the course of the interview the teachers, all of whom held

posts of responsibility within their respective schools, were asked to assess their own management style in relation particularly to a 'systems orientated' or 'people orientated' dimension - a division considered parallel to Halpin's 'initiating structure' and "consideration" dimensions. They were also asked whether this self assessed style was connected with their personality or related to whether they were male or female. The aim was to provide a check on the leadership behaviour description questionnaire, and to gain qualitative data to illuminate the categories. On the whole there appeared interesting correlations between the leadership behaviour description questionnaire scores and the teacher's own perceptions of themselves.

Not all the answers fall into neat, clearly defined categories. Only 3 women and 4 men admitted to being autocratic, two of the men describing themselves as, 'benevolent autocratic'. One of these men scored very high scores in both, "consideration" and "initiating structure", but his leadership beliefs were rooted in his own ability to be in control, "I am a benevolent autocrat, that is, I do not suffer fools gladly. I am prepared to give an explanation in relation to what I expect, but my approach is inflexible. The problem is that I carry the can, so I have to make the decisions, and anyway people prefer to be directed". His scores however, were extremely high on both dimensions, and 'initiating structure' was only one point above 'consideration'. The other male 'benevolent autocrat' scored significantly in relation in his own assessment, but his score was very unbalanced with very high on 'initiating

structure'; and very low on 'consideration'. He claimed that "to have an autocratic management style is the only way to be in control of the situation". Another male, who considered himself to be autocratic in his approach felt, "that it is the only way to ensure high standards of performance, and as I am responsible for certain standards, so I must see that these are obtained". The approach of these men was mainly in relation to required standards, "I know how things should be done and I expect them to be done in that way", but as I indicated above, they were in a very small minority.

The number of women who put forward strong directive styles were also very few, and women were predominately concerned with people and with good relationships and communications, as were the majority of men. Women, who considered themselves to be autocratic made remarks such as - "People should work, and it is my responsibility to ensure that they do and reach all the required standards" or "Being autocratic works for me, and it is the way to get things done efficiently and quickly". Another female saw pastoral roles and democratic styles as linked and she said "I have no patience with that type of leadership style, and I would therefore definitely not want a pastoral role. My ideas are firmly committed to structure and organisation, because I have that type of personality".

The vast majority - 40 women (80%) and 56 men, (77%) saw their style as 'democratic' or 'people orientated'. The division into democratic and autocratic frequently came from the interviewees, although the question was 'people

orientated' and 'Structure orientated', which appeared to be more explanatory than Halpin's dimensions although similar in idea. Of the 19 women in the double dimension above the mean quadrant 15 assessed their own style as democratic/people orientated, although their leadership ideology score was often stronger on the 'initiating structure' than 'consideration' dimension. One saw herself as authoritarian and systems orientated (although her leadership ideology indicated a weighting towards consideration), one saw her leadership as 'systems orientated' and two believed in adapting style to suit situational requirements.

The majority of women in my survey scored well in the Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire, and although it was their opinion of an ideal headteacher there is the distinct possibility that it is a reflection of their own leadership qualities. As one female observed, "To achieve promotion, women have to be good; they have to strive and work very hard to achieve success" and another, "Women give up a lot in search of careers, and then gaining promotion is a tough scene all the time". Women were also thoughtful about the changing image of women within the structure of schools, and their difficulty in assuming leadership roles. "I chose an academic route to promotion and I have made a great effort to obtain further qualifications. There is no longer the specific emphasis on the women to fulfil a pastoral role. The rotating roles of deputy headships are certainly an improvement in the assessment

of womens' abilities". Another female said "I find the role of leadership difficult and I would certainly welcome in-service training". The opportunity to participate in such training had already been taken by 48% of the women interviewed as table 3:10 indicates. Schools are increasingly organising their own in-service training courses and the case study schools had programmes for staff development.

Standards were still a very vital consideration where women put their emphasis on people within the organisation, and the following remarks illustrate the methods some of these females used.

"I adopt a personal method. I am prepared to work with people rather than issue directives. It is my responsibility to accept and explore ideas and to discuss all possibilities, even if the ultimate decision has to be mine. Only in this way can members of a department be encouraged to gain expertise, and be able to develop their own careers and leadership potential. I would call mine an open leadership". "A democratic style and so discussion is important. Standards are necessary, but training people can be development for them. However, although persuasion is much better than coercion, it is still a very successful way of managing people. It is important to be aware of this manipulative connection". "I like to think of myself as democratic, and I believe in discussion. My aim is to have co-operation from people rather than dominate. However decisions have to be made, and from my position I am able to have a more global view. Therefore I tend to work out strategies and explain to people why I think something will not work out. I am prepared to do anything myself and lead

by example. It is my intention to always be friendly firm and fair in my relationships and assessments. A democratic approach, but one has to put a lot of emphasis and faith in structure". "A direct and friendly approach, which is very individual. I present guidelines and standards, but rely on co-operation and contributions from all members. I have modelled my ideas on how I was first treated by my first Head of Department. She taught me how to enjoy relationships and yet get the job done efficiently". The ideas on leadership were thoughtful and these are just some examples from the forty women, who considered themselves to be more concerned with people than with organisations.

Men were only slightly lower (77%) in their estimation of their own style as 'democratic', 'consideration' or 'people orientated', but their remarks often suggested less consideration than women, as the scores had identified.

"I am democratic, however my organisation is also good. I believe in a central core of ideas for free interpretation. Within a good structure, everyone can contribute and do a worthwhile job. Then I can afford to sit back and be more relaxed in my approach. To approach people in the right sort of manner is important".

"Perhaps democratic is a little too strong, but I believe in consensus. That is wanting people to go along in the direction I want to go. There has to be agreement, so possibly ideas I have suggested have to be modified slightly, because it is essential to carry people along with you through persuasion".

"Democratic, but I give members of my department clearly defined roles - these can change and need to be adapted.

People first, systems second. The system will not work without the co-operation of the people within it. Different methods are necessary for different people. Situational leadership has to be the ideal, because although I prefer consultation it is not always possible. The last resort is not asking, but telling".

"Democratic, but within the context of firm positive leadership. The staff have to be aware of the structure of the referral system for all eventualities. There has to be stability and an understanding of who does what. Staff have to take responsibility for their own actions, for if they are given responsibility they have to take it and earn their status".

Although it has been made increasingly evident that leadership is a learned skill, there does appear to be a different approach to leadership from men and women. Women showed up equally well on the 'Initiating Structure', but the 'Consideration' dimension for women was particularly pronounced. This 'consideration' for their staff is evident in their remarks. There is more sign of concern for staff development within their departments with an acknowledgement for the benefits of participation for subordinates. 'Democracy' for the men appears to revolve more around gaining consensus for goal attainment, rather than for the personal development of participants, or for too much modification of objectives. The male definition of consensus as "wanting people to go along in the direction I want to go", would perhaps epitomize this approach.

The frequent apparent discrepancy between leadership

ideology and self assessment probably lies in the distinction drawn between the needs of the school leadership and departmental leadership. Halpin found, as he expected, a greater emphasis on 'consideration' among school principals than amongst aircraft commanders. Many of the interviewees perceived 'consideration' more appropriate and practicable at departmental level. One male occupant of a dual role of head of department/senior master felt that he had to employ two types of leadership. As a head of department he could afford to be more democratic and present information and ideas for discussion. In this way he felt that consultation was exercised and this was appropriate for this role. However as Senior Master he had different and sometimes more unpleasant tasks to perform and so he needed to be authoritarian in order, "to get things done".

The conclusion that can be drawn from this investigation is that women are as strong as men in their over-all leadership ideology, and in the dimension of 'consideration' are considerably stronger. It has been claimed that "the perceived effectiveness of women as leaders is certainly as high as the perceived effectiveness of their male counterparts, if not higher". (Estler 1975 p 363) Assuming that the group of male interviewees contains a proportion of those who, during their careers will achieve senior positions of leadership in the education service, then on this assessment of leadership ideology the group of female interviewees contains at least an equal proportion of women with the ability and potential to achieve equal success. Both men and women, who have achieved senior management status are included in this sample.

The dimensions in which women heavily out score men is 'consideration' - the people orientated dimension. The emphasis in this view of leadership is based more on human relationships than on institutional organisation - more concerned with 'finding time to listen to staff members' and 'getting staff approval on important matters before going ahead' than with 'assigning staff members to particular tasks' and 'encouraging the use of uniform procedures'. Halpin (1966) found that there was a "tendency for superiors and subordinates to evaluate oppositely the contribution of the leader behaviour dimensions to the effectiveness of leadership. Supervisors are more concerned with Initiating Structure aspects of the leader's behaviour, whereas subordinates are more concerned with the consideration the leader extends them as group members". (p 98)

In the present educational system, leaders i.e., headteachers are appointed from above, not elected from below. Does the fact that women's leadership ideology is weighted more towards 'consideration' place them at a disadvantage when appointing committees are more concerned with 'initiating structure'? This sample is indeed very small, but it does fit in with other research findings that women are more likely than their male counterparts to involve themselves in instructional supervision to exhibit democratic leadership styles, to be concerned with students and to seek community involvement. (Fishel & Pottker 1977) Charters & Jovick (1981) also found differences in the administrative behaviour between men and women in the role of principalship. Women principals had more extensive

person-to-person interaction with the faculty and involved themselves more in the schools that did male principals. The more prominent and personal involvement of female principals had an impact on staff satisfaction. Both male and female teachers in schools with female principals reported small, but significantly higher levels of satisfaction with both their careers and their work situation. This work took place in the primary area of education, but it does demonstrate the 'consideration' aspect of the administrative ideal headteacher to which women in my survey gave exceptionally high emphasis.

From the Halpin questionnaire women scored strongly in their perception of the qualities of an ideal leader for an educational establishment. Although their score on the initiating dimension was slightly higher than that of the men, it is possible that at an interview for promotion their extended consideration dimension might discredit them. This does indeed present a problem.

If indeed this is a typical revelation, women should be alerted to the fact that although they may actually be as able as men to 'initiate structure', this ability is possibly submerged by their 'caring' attitudes. The assertiveness courses mentioned in this section do probably contain interview practice, but assertiveness training is not about the creation of dominant personalities. Assertiveness has been defined in this section, but it is these combined attitudes of consideration and independence, understanding and confidence, which women must strive to consolidate in order first to achieve promotion, and later

to fulfil the role successfully. Any leadership training in schools should not be aimed at making women more like men, but at exploring aspects of leadership beneficial to both sexes.

One problem for women in educational management is the lack of a sufficient number of role models on which to base, and with which to compare their own performance. The movement away from the paternalistic and autocratic leadership styles has been discussed in this chapter. However in view of the results of the Halpin, 'Leader Behaviour Description Questionnaire', it would seem appropriate to emphasise how much nearer to the more modern idea of an ideal leader for an educational establishment, women appear to be. High on 'consideration', with a movement towards, 'open leadership' with a concern for training subordinates, more consultation, a more approachable style cannot be forfeited to less acceptable models. Researchers and writers are aware of the implications of greater participation and consensus, but perhaps there is a need for a wider awareness of changing patterns in educational leadership and hopefully in society.

Conclusion

Marion Davies, who was the headmistress of Streatham Secondary school wrote in 1937 that, "to be responsible for a big school is one of the most absorbing and interesting things a woman can do". Schools in the secondary sector have certainly grown larger since 1937, and more of them have become co-educational and comprehensive. It is possible that these are major factors which have contributed to the decline in the number of women in senior management in schools, particularly as headteachers, in the last twenty years. The management scene has changed considerably during different periods of the history of education, with women headteachers being more prominent at certain periods than others, but today the situation has reached a new low, which should be viewed as of national concern. Co-education has led to a contraction in the number of schools, and the growth of the large comprehensive school has also contributed to a reduction in the number of schools. More recently, falling rolls have added to the diminishing opportunities for promotion for all teachers. Co-education has, in this study, also been examined in relation to the change in the expectations and self esteem of females when their early socialisation is dominated by presence of boys.

The historical analysis has shown that educational organisation has changed dramatically since the beginning of the century. Education for boys particularly at secondary level was well established before the advent of secondary education for girls. Obviously senior posts in these boys schools were filled by men. Before single sex girls schools were able to provide comparable opportunities for women in

senior positions, the spread of co-education gave greater opportunities to men. Societal expectation and legislation excluded married women from being employed, so therefore the number of women available was limited. Parity of opportunity was never therefore established, and secondary headships were associated with men rather than women.

The roots of the problem of the situation today can most probably be attributed to the past, because it is frequently the historical framework which influences a state of equality or discrimination. There were female pioneers of women's education, who demanded equal status and opportunity with men, and Emily Davies and Frances Buss contributed immensely to this philosophy. However their aspirations have not been fulfilled, because women today are concentrated in the lower status areas within secondary schools. The labour situation during two world wars illustrated women's interchangeability with men in the education profession, but increasingly the administrative roles, which are associated with decision making, status and high remuneration are filled by men. Teaching was considered to be low in status, because it was a female occupation: it relied mainly on women to do the actual teaching, and this association still appears to prevail.

However as popular education has moved from its early origin of the "cottage industry" dame school to the concept of, "secondary education for all" in the complex institution of comprehensive schools, so the need has been perceived for skilled management in these schools. Management is stereotyped as a masculine area and therefore the male is

identified with the managerial model. The development of the professional educational administrator is now being fashioned on the "managerial revolution" in industry. With the growth of the large schools there has been an awareness that greater organisational and management skills are necessary. The same image of the professional manager has become increasingly relevant to schools, because the large school has organisational problems to solve, financial decisions to make, and a large staff to direct. These are different from the 'feminine' concerns of nurturing, imparting knowledge and instructing children, and can be defined as nearer the 'masculine' image.

The research area appertaining to women in management and leadership roles is receiving increasing attention, and this study has attempted to discover why there are so few women in these positions in educational management. The evolution of women's education has been explored to illustrate that two ideologies existed; one was the idea of educating women for a domestic role, and the other for an independent life style. This has caused controversy since the early days of female education, and for many girls it has dictated the quality of the curriculum available to them, because this provision of educational opportunity has also been influenced by class distinction as well as gender. Sex stereotyping and socialisation processes are connected with domestic ideology, and many writers suggest that these are the main contributory factors for the lack of women in educational management, but my study has revealed other factors which appear to be equally significant.

The model I would like to suggest has three dimensions and a number of components within each dimension. The identified components are not just a list of factors explaining the lack of women in educational management, but are an interacting network of causes, which affect individual women in different ways in different situations. However, cumulatively they can be identified as the reasons why women are finding it difficult to acquire leadership roles in spite of evidence that social change is sympathetic to the development of women in this area. (See Table 5:1) Page 178.

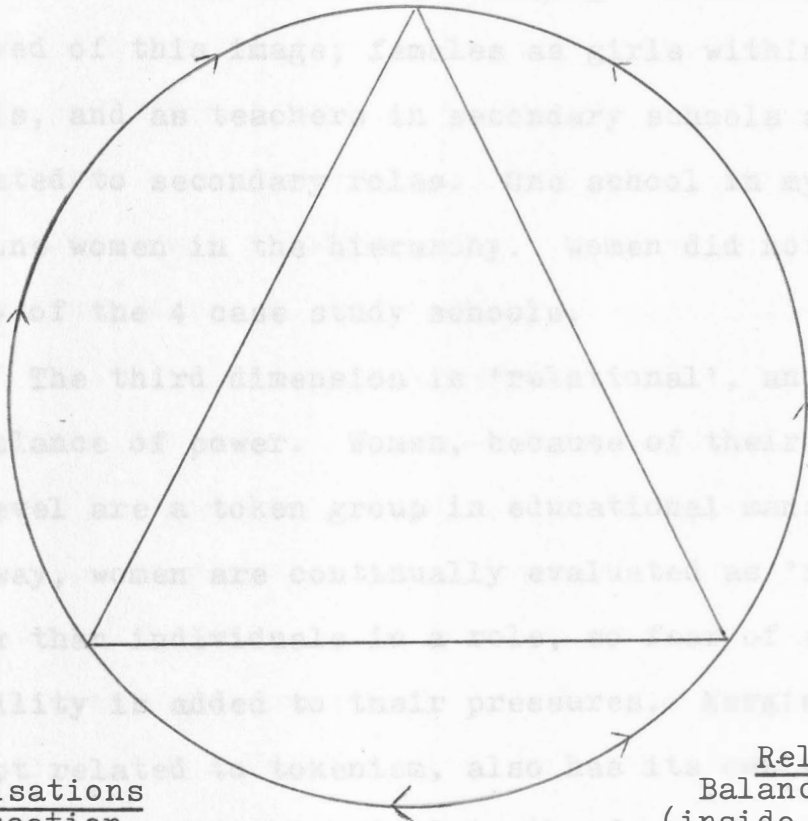
The first dimension is the individual where the explanation looks to the background of the female, who, due to early experiences of socialisation and limited classroom interaction in the presence of boys, has low aspirations. These manifest themselves in some women in their initial career choices resulting in limited qualifications, which are not associated with positive career maps and promotion indications. In my survey, even though restricted to "successful" teachers, women were less well qualified than men. Women without good qualifications and career aspirations are easily accommodated into the teaching/pastoral role, rather than the administrative/academic role, and so run the risk of retaining an impoverished image of their abilities and are content to remain in the low status of the profession. Their early experiences of socialisation continuing within school and college during their own education have taught them that this is where they belong. Due to the initial lack of personal development, directly associated with low esteem, they are disqualified from opportunities within the profession.

Table 5:1

Model containing three dimensions with components of each dimension

The Individual

low aspirations.
 early socialisation/classroom experience
 socialisation in the profession
 College training -
 career map



Organisations

Co-education
 Nature of Organisations
 pastoral/academic
 institutional
 expectations of
 superordinate/subordinate
 Notions of leadership
 and Management models

Relational

Balance of Power
 (inside and outside home)
 'two greedy institutions'
 Minority
 Gender, Identity
 Tokenism - Consequence
 for performance
 Fear of visibility
 Marginality
 Discrimination

The second dimension is the nature of the school organisation, with the identified division of pastoral/academic. Many women teachers have previously accepted their subordinate role, and the structure of the organisation re-inforces their position. Within the mixed secondary school there are few role models of women in educational management, and within co-educational schools, girls have also been deprived of this image; females as girls within co-educational schools, and as teachers in secondary schools are frequently relegated to secondary roles. One school in my survey had only one woman in the hierarchy. Women did not achieve parity in any of the 4 case study schools.

The third dimension is 'relational', and this includes the balance of power. Women, because of their minority at top level are a token group in educational management. In this way, women are continually evaluated as 'representative' rather than individuals in a role, so fear of exposed visibility is added to their pressures. Marginality, a concept related to tokenism, also has its own destructive connotations, and this added to the fear of visibility, some writers suggest, make some women in management positions even fear success. So managerial women are at this time, few in number, isolated, excessively visible and therefore particularly vulnerable. These factors perhaps do not make women in management today an attractive role model! The answer would appear to lie firstly in the creation of more women in educational management, so that the token representation is eliminated, and thus women would be freed from the other unattractive aspects of their position. In attempting to

shift numbers it follows that there will be an alteration in the distribution of power. What has to follow is the fact that men will have to relinquish a portion of their excess power, so that a better state of equilibrium can be obtained, "for the redressing of grievances creates ever widening concentric rings of change, which affect society as a whole". (Biklen 1980 p 19)

The methods of improving the situation are numerous and the position of women in schools cannot be resolved unless these dimensions are tackled simultaneously, possibly with positive and interventionist strategies so that the interacting sequence of events are disconnected at some point in the cycle. If changes are produced for women, then in consequence there have to be changes made for men. The situation is dependent on social changes and a commitment of men as well as women to the necessity to adapt to the evolutionary process. The three dimensions of the model will be examined separately, but the proposed solutions will have implications for the whole situation, because of the interacting nature of the problem.

The individual low aspiration/low esteem dimension can be based on the socialisation, and on the experience of girls during their years of schooling. A case can therefore be made for a greater concern for girls' educational experience both in single sex and co-educational schools. In both types of schools, the selection of knowledge is an area for concern, and a greater adherence to the common core curriculum might prove advantageous to girls by providing equal access to subjects. The organisation and assessment of knowledge are

also important areas for concern. It is very necessary now, owing particularly to the additional complexity of society, that education prepares young people for decision making, evaluates social and personal development, and gives adequate careers advice. If these too are built-in features of the common core, then it is possible that the messages of the hidden curriculum will be undermined. With this type of reorganisation, some of the disadvantages of co-education could be eliminated while retaining the advantages. Certainly, from conclusions drawn from my study, it should not be acknowledged that single sex education is preferable. In co-educational schools there are frequently greater resources and more subject choices available. The vital concern in this direction is to ensure that resources and the choice of subjects are equally available to girls and boys. It is also important that research continues in regard to single sex groups for mathematics and science, suitable non-sexist teaching materials and methods of obtaining equal classroom interaction for both genders between the teacher and students.

In terms of interaction, single sex schools do not usually convey the message to girls that they occupy second place, but the content of the curriculum is still an area for concern. It is this problem and other aspects of the hidden curriculum, which appear to lower the self esteem of girls. The problem of the messages of the hidden curriculum appear to be more applicable to co-educational schools than to single sex schools. This message that they are 'second class citizens' seems to have been received by some female teachers in my survey. This was evident in my interviews,

when only a minority of the women exhibited the confidence and determination with which the majority of men pursued their desire for promotion. Most men were very concerned about their promotion prospects and their next move up. In contrast, the women showed more concern for their performance within their present post than for obtaining further promotion; they felt a real need to justify their last promotion rather than anticipate the next - they had to ensure that there was "no chink in their armour". This attitude not only illustrates the views of one head that, whereas men are often prepared to muddle through, women are more perfectionist in whatever role they are performing, but perhaps it is evidence of the pressure on women to demonstrate that they have come to terms with the dilemma of "two greedy institutions". It also supports the hypothesis of Hennig & Jardim (1979) that women in middle management are often associated with such an extremely good performance that they are not thought of in any different capacity. There is also their deep involvement and dedication, which prevents them from considering promotion, or they allow the opportunities to apply for promotion to just pass them by. In schools this can apply to a female head of department being considered excellent at her job, whereas a man will fulfil the head of department role with equal excellence, and will have been considered as an administrator and a potential candidate for promotion.

Perhaps this lack of confidence and the acceptance of promotion is such a challenge that excessive justification of performance has to be maintained which in turn creates its own debilitating anxiety in some cases. There is the

possibility also that these problems are more exaggerated for women teachers in co-educational secondary schools. Dale (1974), when comparing the academic success of boys and girls in single sex and co-educational schools, acknowledged that boys did better in co-educational schools, but girls' performance declined in co-educational settings. Although he concluded this to be a fact, he did not see it as a problem, because he argued that the social advantages of co-educational schools are so considerable and so great that they far outweigh the depressed academic performance of girls.

This appears to be the hidden message transmitted to girls in co-educational schools, that the interests and performance of boys is far more important than their own interests. How indeed can their lowered academic performance be equated with social advantage for them? Daily, it would appear, girls have to submit to play a less dominant role in the classrooms. It can be argued that this has now become a self-perpetuating vicious circle, because it lowers the self-esteem and aspirations of girls. This prevents them from fulfilling their true potential and curbs their ambitions. Eventually this turns its full circle, and with the lack of women in management roles in schools, female pupils have few role models on which to base their future developments into suitable careers. Therefore the submission of girls to the enhanced performance of boys in the classroom, resulting in their own limited classroom interaction and depressed academic performance in some subjects, is exaggerated by the reality of seeing women in secondary roles in schools. In this way, it would appear, the system has been perpetuated.

This tendency for women to play secondary roles in schools again has the distinct disadvantage that women are in a minority to further policies, which could benefit females. We begin to see the linkage with the relational dimension in terms of power in decision making. The question of the benefits of co-education over single-sex education serves as a classic example of the way educational decisions are derived from a male perspective. With this lack of women in policy making positions the policies are decided by an unrepresentative group, because the decisions and management are controlled by a homogeneous group. Educational institutions are themselves deprived of leadership skills and competence of women, and equity for females in their provision within education is not possible. So, once again, discrimination is not overt, but quietly and unconsciously administered. The female perspectives are not discussed or considered, simply because women are represented as such a small minority.

This study has shown that men base their standards on their own experiences, which can be different from those of women. Some of the women in senior management in my survey were aware of this serious problem. One senior mistress/deputy head in my survey said that it was necessary for her to, "put the female point of view in order to represent the girls in the school and to safeguard their interests". This comment illustrates that the lack of balance in the number of men to women in educational management is perhaps more detrimental to the aspirations and school experience of female pupils than a superficial study would expose.

It certainly appears to have links with policy making and decisions about organisation and curriculum content. The experience and standards of men can only constitute half of human experience, and as this study has indicated, the selection of knowledge can be said to convey masculine definitions of the world, which can only therefore result in a skewed and distorted view. It has to be in the interests of girls that women are given greater representation in educational management because it would appear that educational policy is being implemented without due consideration to the needs of females.

The second organisational dimension requires examination of the context in which men and women teachers operate. If a school is to be able to use its resources in terms of human ability most effectively for improving its performance, the relationship between sex-stereotyping, leadership roles and structural organisation will have to be analysed. Career development within the profession needs to be considered as an equal objective for men and women. The suggestion in Chapter 4 that the pastoral/academic organisational split could be abolished for the welfare of pupils would also be beneficial to teachers, because it would provide a more equitable means of career development for men and women.

Clearly the organisational structure which channels the female into a narrow pastoral role can be seen as a severe impediment to women's career opportunities. Given the equal importance of 'initiating' functions, the apparently restricted role of pastoral care and the caring functions cannot be considered to be an adequate preparation for a

headship. Within schools there has been in the past, the problem of polarization of role: male into administration and female into pastoral. This traditional 'senior mistress' image could indeed have been detrimental to the career chances of many women, who might have become headteachers if they had been given greater opportunities to practise anticipatory socialisation for a managerial role. My study provided evidence that women occupying the position of senior mistress/female deputy head had developed a very wide range of skills in the administrative as well as the pastoral spheres. Despite this, their role was still seen as mainly pastoral by some members of staff, and some women, even though presented with this broader interpretation of the senior mistress/female deputy head role, sought a mainly pastoral area when thinking of promotion for themselves. Although, not unprofitable in itself, perhaps this is an anchor to which many women tie themselves, and this factor also distorts the view of those responsible for role allocation and ultimately of those responsible for making senior appointments. However in contrast to this 32% who desired to be senior mistress/deputy head, 32% of the women in my sample wished to become headteachers. This was approximately a third of my sample, which is a higher proportion than in any other survey considered in my study. This is the evidence on which I base my conclusion that women are becoming more career orientated, and that many wish to take the responsibility of a headship. These women appear to be concentrated in the under thirty five age group, and this does suggest that there are now many women ready to be groomed for the ultimate role.

However from my study, many women still exhibit residual problems from their early socialisation. Research indicates that these need not affect their performance in a leadership role if they are given sufficient anticipatory socialisation for the next stage in their career structure. It is incumbent upon those who have the responsibility for their development both inside and outside schools, to ensure that provision is made. A detailed study has revealed to me that, as a minority group in educational policy making, women are not in a position to do it entirely for themselves.

Positive discrimination is a possibility, but this perhaps is no solution at all for women. Merit has to be the criterion upon which roles are obtained, and positive discrimination would deprive women of credibility. Their token representation would be decreased, but their visibility in educational management would be as great, if not greater, because selection procedures would be lacking in impartiality. However, the best candidate for the job, which is the present system, should not produce the excessive imbalance found in our secondary schools today. My study has revealed to me that women do not want any form of preference, but some are anxious that their skills and abilities are recognised in areas other than the pastoral. Women, in my survey, had not made as many applications for jobs as men had. Women do not appear to apply repeatedly for jobs after the initial rejection, or a number of rejections as men do.

This could be considered to be a necessary preliminary to promotion, and there were men in my survey, who had made as many as seventy applications for jobs before success was

achieved. One man made fifty applications before he decided that he had left seeking promotion too late. These men were however equipped with the necessary skills for promotion. Recent criticism of organisational theory would deny that organisational features such as bureaucracy have equal implications for men and women. Analysis of gender differences reveals that it is people's perceptions of the structures that conditions how the organisation operates, and particularly its effect on careers. Where women see that the structure of organisations limits their mobility upwards through the career process, and in this way restricts their self development, there is a tendency to limit their aspirations and sublimate their ambitions. They then seek satisfaction from interpersonal relationships rather than task performance. This denies them 'visibility' as potential leaders, and once this decision is consciously or unconsciously made, the opportunity for prior socialisation into the next role is restricted. This decision does not focus the attention of superiors upon their individual abilities in the administrative area. The plateau of a career is therefore reached at an early time and career opportunities are surrendered.

The nature of organisations does appear to be an area for concern. Positive discrimination although unacceptable, should not be necessary if it is indeed recognised that women can fulfil these managerial roles in comprehensive schools. The philosophy that these schools need to have men and women as leaders is implicit in the term, 'equality of opportunity'. Girls cannot be provided with their

educational needs without women being in managerial positions to assess their needs and to provide role models. The structure of the organisation and the curriculum needs to be managed and assessed by men and women.

It is therefore time to recognise that women have proved that they can be effective leaders, and that many wish to play a task instrumental role in educational management. Only in this way can the circle of deprivation in relation to younger women in the profession be broken. From my survey it can be illustrated that for some of the younger women there is a new approach to career development, and many have the support of their husbands to help them to achieve their ambitions. There are well qualified, ambitious women, who need further encouragement and training, but already possess the potential for managerial roles. They have already exhibited competence and commitment. As my survey and the N.U.T. (1980) survey have shown more women are consciously pursuing a career. This idea is re-inforced by the decrease in the female 'wastage' from schools. All the younger women in my survey had taken maternity leave.

The above remarks and suggestions focus on the opportunities for the career development and personal development of women teachers themselves. The third, relational dimension is the fact that gender problems cannot be considered in isolation, and that the attitudes of both men and women have to change, and adjustments have to be made by both sexes. In considering the balance of power and the reconsideration of the concepts of "management" and "leadership" it is clearly imperative that men too, are involved

in these exercises. It is also clearly imperative that men too, are involved in the reconsideration of the structures and emphases in school administration in order to include women in top management roles.

To accommodate women, both physically and intellectually, men will have to accept this situation as preferable to the existing disproportionate allocation of male/female roles in positions of decision making in schools. It is not enough for women to be trained to fill the roles adequately; men need to be "trained" to accept women's equality and decision making abilities, otherwise the same procedures of the re-inforcement of female 'marginality' at meetings will continue. In-service training should be appropriate for both sexes, and rather than simply providing 'equal opportunities', in leadership training, actually focus on gender disparities as a tool for discussion and development.

To summarise, these observations have revealed that although there is evidence of initial sex stereotyping and problems associated with restricting socialisation the nature of organisations perpetuate the inequalities. Early socialisation experiences can be reversed with corrective procedures, so that capable women, once in positions of management are able to fulfil role expectations. This is especially relevant if anticipatory socialisation is experienced, and only superiors can facilitate this opportunity. Where it is requested for women and denied to them it must constitute discrimination. It is unfortunately 'a chicken and egg' situation, as the interactive notion of my model demonstrates that a solution

requires a multi-dimensional policy impinging simultaneously upon the school system, the career opportunities and the social and cultural environment in order to make equal choice and equal opportunity a reality in the pursuit of equality of opportunity for both girls in education and women in educational career structures.

One of the first priorities is to assess the provision of education for girls. Equal opportunity for girls and boys depends on equal accessibility to all types of training experiences including technical and vocational aspects of the curriculum. There is also a need for quality, variety and relevance to the social and economic needs of all young people, so that girls too are prepared for positions of responsibility at all levels of society. Here the message of the hidden curriculum is never absent, and girls need to see the reality of women in policy making roles in schools with an even distribution of male and female teachers at all levels and in all types of education. Teachers need to be made aware of their own inherent prejudices and how these can affect girls both in academic underachievement and by not extending their career horizons. It is these implicit standards and expectations, which would appear to act as a self fulfilling prophecy of female underachievement.

We have seen that change is possible in the near future in relation to the lack of women in educational management. The attitudes and expectations of many women under thirty five appear to be more positively career orientated. If my sample is typical, many of these women have reached middle management without any break other than

maternity leave. National figures substantiate my findings, because 'wastage' of women from the profession has decreased significantly in the last ten years, as the figures in Table 4:1 show. Training in the form of anticipatory socialisation is obviously necessary for those who aspire to leadership roles. This training has to be the responsibility of superiors, who perhaps, are not sufficiently aware of all the implications that this involves. It would appear that headteachers need to be made more aware of the potential leadership qualities of women, which are not being developed. The situation does therefore need to be considered at many educational levels. This should provoke debate and lead to an open examination of the nature of the profession, and access to it and promotion within it. As the focus is concentrated upon the pool from which the leaders are drawn, questions about the teaching profession will be asked, and the quality of education for boys and girls will be examined. The educational organisation itself will be open to criticism. When this is done, the nature of organisations should provide evidence that women apart from their initial socialisation and sex-stereotyping, have other barriers within the internal structures of schools which make their promotion prospects less favourable for them than for those of men. It is hoped that the future holds better careers prospects for women within education, because the decreasing numbers in senior posts within the profession diminishes the image of women and leads to the impoverishment of the whole framework of education. The problem has to be solved, because the system now allows the discrepancy of the lack

of females in educational management to be self perpetuating.

As a first positive step local authorities could follow the lead of I.L.E.A. and Brent and appoint co-ordinators to advise them on such matters as recruitment and interviewing practices, relevant in-service training, and even the implications of curricular changes within schools. This would not only demonstrate that those responsible for the education service recognise the problem and are prepared to seek ways of solving it. It would provide the means of encouragement to these able women who, my research has shown, are looking for opportunities to enter senior management.

Barrett, D.

Barnes, K.

Becher, H.S.

Bernstein, B.

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Billett, R.S.

Blake, R. & Naylor, J.R. (1964)

(1962) Participation in the Management of Schools
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