No Job for a Woman?

The Impact of Gender in School Leadership

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Preface: Structure of the Report

An executive summary precedes the main report together with recommendations for action and suggestions for further research.

The main report is divided into four parts. Part One is a review of literature and presents evidence from over 200 research publications on current knowledge in relation to the aims of this study of gendered patterns in school senior leadership teams (SLTs). The literature about leadership falls into two main types: the first, functional with narratives around effectiveness, efficiency and delivery; and the second, socially critical with narratives around equity, opportunities and recognition. The literature builds on the desk study of *Women Teachers' Careers* (McNamara et al., 2008). A synthesis of the desk study was used to shape the aims and inform the instruments and methodology of the current study.

Part Two of the report outlines the research aims and the project methodology. It explains the instrument development and structure, the sampling strategy adopted and the characteristics of the returned sample, including its representativeness in respect of the teacher workforce. The section concludes with further information regarding the research processes, including analytical methods and details of the limitation of the study.

Part Three of the report, encompassing chapters 3 to 12, sets out the main findings from the study of gendered patterns in career progression, leadership aspirations and the structure of school leadership teams. The largest part of the report focuses on the individual level and examines the impact of personal and structural factors on career progression and leadership aspiration. It draws on factual data in respect of the respondents' career histories, including biographical information, posts held, breaks in service and the management of their working lives. It draws on attitudinal data, including, for example, leadership aspirations. It also draws on perceptual data, such as, for example, respondents' perceptions of equality in relation to the recruitment and selection process and gendered leadership styles. The report is structured such that, by and large, the chapters are sequenced so as to progress from factual to attitudinal and finally to perceptual data. Chapter 3, for example, details the current posts held by the returned sample and reports individual biographical information such as sex, age, number of years in post and appointment process and employing school characteristics, such as phase, number on roll and location. Chapter 4 details respondents' career histories, including age of entry to the profession, number of years in service, previous appointments and the recruitment and selection processes. Chapter 5 examines the impact of factors such as interruptions to teaching careers and late entry into the profession on career progression. Chapter 6 reports on how respondents managed their working lives in relation to matters such as balancing two careers, planning a family and making childcare arrangements. It also details respondents' attitudes to work/life balance and flexible and part-time working. Chapter 7 considers respondents' motivations for applying for new posts, their levels of ambition, career plans and, in particular, their future aspirations in terms of leadership progression. Chapter 8 outlines the barriers and enablers that respondents reported as impacting on their career choices and opportunities. Chapters 9 and 10 explore respondents' perceptions of equality in the recruitment and selection process and the impact of personal factors such as sex, age and career breaks on career progression and system factors such as career structures and career development processes on individual progress. Chapter 11 marks a switch from a focus on the individual and structural factors that impact career and leadership progression to consider instead leadership styles and characteristics at school level. Finally, Chapter 12 focuses is on the SLT itself and examines the gendered composition of the team, the roles undertaken by men and women members of the team and the perceived differences in the leadership styles.

Part Four of the report draws together the key findings, synthesising the emergent threads in a discussion of the themes. It draws some broad conclusions and makes recommendations for action. The appendices follow: Appendix A is the bibliography and Appendix B contains the table of significant statistics.

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Executive Summary

1. Preamble

The research to investigate gendered patterns in SLTs, was conducted on behalf of the NASUWT by the University of Manchester in collaboration with Education Data Surveys (EDS).

2. Aims of the study

To investigate:
- gendered patterns in career progression and identify what, if any, differences emerge in relation to phase;
- gendered patterns in career progression and identify how career breaks and family responsibilities interplay with, and impact differentially on, career trajectories;
- gendered patterns in leadership aspirations and identify what, if any, differences emerge in relation to phase;
- the barriers and enablers to career progression and identify what, if any, different patterns emerge in relation to phase and gender;
- gendered perceptions of equal opportunities in the appointment process, career management and progression;
- the structure of senior leadership teams and, in particular, what gendered patterns can be identified in the ways they operate.

3. Methodology

The research was carried out primarily by means of a questionnaire survey of two distinct samples: firstly, a sample of NASUWT members in senior and middle leadership posts and secondly, a sample of schools throughout the UK that had recently made senior leadership appointments. Identical questionnaires, designed with a mixture of structured and open-response questions, were dispatched to both samples. The data was analysed by gender, phase of education and career stage. There were not sufficient responses from black and minority ethnic (BME) teachers to disaggregate the data by ethnicity, but some comparative data can be found in a parallel study of the *The Leadership Aspirations and Careers of Black and Minority Ethnic Teachers* (McNamara et al., 2009).

4. Returned sample

A total of 1,156 teachers responded to the survey. Respondents were representative of the teacher workforce in terms of phase and sex, both overall and within phases.

5. Main findings

Gendered patterns in career progression

1 **Men were over-represented in senior leadership posts.** Overall, 70% of respondents were in senior leadership posts (25% headteachers, 20% deputy headteachers, 17% assistant headteachers) and 30% in middle leadership (Teaching and Learning Responsibility (TLR)) posts. Overall, less than 60% of women respondents were in senior leadership posts compared to over 70% of men. The figures for the primary phase were 67% of women compared to 85% of men in senior leadership posts and in the secondary phase, 46% of women and 63% of men were in senior leadership posts. There was, however, a clear trend towards greater proportions of women being appointed to headship recently. Only 23% of headteachers who had been in their current post for five years or less were men, compared to 38% of those who had been in post between five and ten years.

2   **Men predominated in leadership roles in rural primary schools and the reverse was true for suburban primary schools.** Overall, women headteachers were more likely than male headteachers to be working in urban schools and the greatest difference was in respect of rural schools where the proportion of male headteachers was nearly twice as big as that of female headteachers. In the primary phase, significantly more female headteachers were employed in urban schools; in rural schools over twice as many male headteachers were employed as female; and in suburban schools, three times the number of female headteachers were employed as male.

3   **Men applied for significantly more leadership posts than women before being appointed.** Having made an application, men were also less likely to get an interview. The difference was most marked in the primary phase where women were invited to interviews 93% of the time, whilst men were successful on less than half of their applications. Despite this, men in primary schools were appointed to their first leadership post considerably earlier than women. In the secondary phase, the success rates for invitations to senior leadership interviews were reasonably equitable between the sexes, as were the mean years of service before being appointed.

4   **Headteachers were not typically late entrants to the profession.** The mean ages of entry to the profession of both primary and secondary headteachers were significantly lower than those of other posts. It is not clear if this was because late entrants were disadvantaged in terms of access to the higher echelons of leadership or because the shift to more mature entry to the profession is still relatively recent and the individuals had not yet had time to rise through the ranks.

5   **Significantly more men than women in primary schools were mid-career changers.** There was almost no difference in this respect between the sexes amongst secondary teachers. The mean age of the group with an alternative prior career and those without was almost identical, although those with a prior career had taught for six fewer years.

6   **Male leaders had, on average, taught in more schools than their female counterparts.** In the case of secondary male headteachers, this was significantly. This may in part be explained by the fact that, overall, male headteachers had more years of service than their female counterparts, significantly so in secondary schools. At nearly all post levels in both phases, men were longer-serving, although, interestingly, the trend was reversed for deputy headteachers in both phases, where women had on average more years of service than men.

7   **Women were more likely to be appointed internally.** The difference between the number of schools taught in is also partly explained by the fact that women were more likely to be appointed internally; in the case of headteachers, significantly so. Over three times as many women were appointed internally as men. In the case of first headships, nearly six times as many women as men were appointed internally. More primary posts than secondary were advertised externally and more men than women were appointed to these posts at all levels.

How career breaks and family responsibilities interplay with career trajectories

8   **The impact of a break upon career trajectory was evident in terms of the increased time it took to achieve promoted posts.** The mean length of a career break was two years and the mean number of years taught by female headteachers who had taken a career break was five years higher than those who had not. Corresponding differences were significant at each post level. There were significant differences, depending on when women took their career break, in the time it took them to gain their first senior leadership post: women without a career break took an average 10.4 years; women who taught at least five years before taking a break took 12 years; and women who took a break within the first five years of teaching took nearly 14 years. Overall, there was very little difference between the relative proportions of women who had and had not taken career breaks at each post level, but it was clearly more advantageous in terms of speed of progression to take a break after establishing a firmer footing on the career ladder.

9   **Three quarters of those taking a career break returned at the same post level and one fifth at a lower level.** Significantly higher proportions of teachers returning after a break of more than two years returned to less senior posts than teachers who took breaks of less than two years. One third of senior and middle leaders, having taken a break of over two years, returned to a post at a lower grade compared to 13% of those who took a shorter break. Over half of the former returned to a post on the same grade compared to over 80% of the latter. After returning from maternity breaks, nearly 30% returned part time and 10% to supply posts. For non-maternity career breaks (male and female), a similar proportion of teachers returned to full-time work but 20% took on supply roles and 15% returned part time.

10 **Significantly more female leaders favoured flexible working than men.** Only in the age group '56 and over' was this trend reversed in that 60% of male leaders preferred flexible/part-time working compared to 40% of women. Overall, half of the sample favoured the idea of working part time and 5% were already working part time. There was a tendency for more secondary teachers than primary to be interested in working part time.

11 **Male leaders' careers were privileged over their partners' careers more than was the case for female leaders.** Forty-two per cent of men but only 28% of women had careers that took precedence over their partners' careers. There was little difference between the phases for women teachers, but nearly one half of secondary male leaders' careers took precedence over their partners, compared to just one third of primary male leaders. For male and female primary headteachers, there was little difference. However, in the secondary phase, 60% of men, but only 40% of women, headteachers had careers that took precedence.

12 **One third of women let career aspirations affect their decisions on planning a family compared to just 20% of men.** Women secondary teachers were significantly more likely to let their career affect their decisions on planning a family than their primary counterparts. Only 5% of male primary headteachers had modified their career aspirations in this regard, compared to 25% of female primary headteachers.

13 **One quarter of women compared to one tenth of men felt childcare arrangements determined their career choice.** Sixty per cent of men and 30% of women felt childcare arrangements did not determine their career choice. For 30% of men and over 40% of women, childcare was not an issue. Greater proportions of female leaders at all post levels indicated that childcare was 'not applicable', signifying that fewer had children, or certainly young children. When comparing the groups for whom childcare was an issue, the differences were marked. For male headteachers and deputy headteachers, only one tenth let childcare arrangements determine their career choice, compared to four times as many of their female counterparts. Less than a quarter of male teachers on TLR posts let childcare determine their career choice compared to half of their female counterparts.

14 **Women aged less than 45 years were significantly more likely than men to have allowed workload/work/life balance issues to affect their career aspirations.** Overall, two thirds of respondents reported that workload/work/life balance issues had affected their career aspirations. The starkest difference was in women aged 36-40 years, over four fifths of whom reported that the issue had affected their career aspirations, compared to only three fifths of men in this age group. Headteachers were least likely to report these concerns, teachers on TLR posts being most likely.

Gendered patterns in leadership aspirations

15 **Slightly more women than men reported being 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious.** Overall, three quarters of leaders considered themselves to be either 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious and only 4% were 'not at all' ambitious. Respondents with the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH) were significantly more ambitious than those without and, generally, seniority in terms of leadership was reflected in higher levels of ambition. Individuals who had taken career breaks were less ambitious than those who had not. In

terms of motivation to apply for their most recent post, seeking a fresh challenge and professional and leadership ambitions were the greatest followed by an aspiration to be a role model and advise others.

16   **Less than one quarter of female leaders, compared to one third of men, aspired to be a headteacher.** Despite women identifying more strongly with being ambitious, significantly fewer aspired to be a headteacher; nearly 60% of women compared to just over 50% of men did not want to be a headteacher. In the secondary phase there was little difference between the sexes in respect of ambition to be a headteacher. Overall, leaders in the secondary phase were less likely to aspire to be a headteacher than their primary counterparts; even so, still less than half of primary deputy headteachers and less than one third of assistant headteachers aspired to primary headship. However, there was a significant difference between the sexes: three quarters of primary male deputies aspired to headship, compared to just one third of their female counterparts.

17   **Only 53% of women NPQH completers (who were not already headteachers) aspired to be a headteacher, compared to 65% of men.** Over one fifth of NPQH completers of both sexes did not aspire to be a headteacher. There were no significant differences between the sexes in respect of access or proportions receiving the award, although women were refused a place marginally more often. Men in the primary phase enrolled on the NPQH on average after 12 years in the profession, two years earlier than women; in the secondary phase both sexes took an average of 17 years.

18   **Male leaders were more prepared to move regionally and nationally for a new post than their female counterparts.** Overall, half of the respondents were willing to relocate locally, a quarter, regionally and a tenth, nationally. To progress their ambitions over half of the sample felt they would have to move school, marginally more women than men, and more secondary than primary and special school leaders. Overall, one quarter of respondents who were not headteachers were currently seeking a new post and half of the NPQH completers. One third of secondary, one fifth of primary and 16% of special school leaders were currently seeking new posts.

19   **Significantly more men in primary schools expected to move post in the next five years than did women.** There was little difference between the sexes in the secondary phase. There were no significant differences between the phases, although, overall, leaders in the primary phase were less likely to think they would move than secondary.

Barriers and enablers to career progression

20   **Workload was seen to provide by far the greatest barrier to leadership aspirations.** This was true overall and across all sex, phase and career stage groups. Caring/family responsibilities was ranked as the second most important barrier by women and the third by men. [Lack of] self-confidence was ranked third by women and fifth by men. The availability of suitable posts was ranked second by men and fourth by women.

21   **Qualifications and experience was seen as by far the most important enabler for leadership aspirations.** Similarly, the role of self-confidence and attitude of senior colleagues was clearly ranked second and third across both sexes. Other enablers to feature prominently in the ranked lists were the availability of suitable posts and access to leadership programmes, followed by access to continuing professional development (CPD) opportunities and performance management. The only marked difference was access to mentoring/coaching, which was ranked ninth by women but outside the top ten by men.

Gendered patterns in perceptions of equal opportunities, career management and progression

22   **One fifth of leaders reported experiencing discrimination in the application process.** The nature of the discrimination reported varied: 9% reported sex discrimination; ethnicity, faith and disability discrimination were each reported by between 1% and 2%; and approximately 6% reported age discrimination. Overall, sex discrimination was reported by three times as many women as men and in the secondary phase, by over six times as many women as men.

23 **Two fifths of women and one fifth of men considered gender discrimination in the selection process to be a significant issue.** There were significant differences between the sexes and at each of the senior leadership post levels. Three times as many men perceived that the impact of their gender had been positive than thought it had been negative; nearly four times as many women perceived it had been negative than thought it had been positive. In the secondary phase, twice as many male headteachers thought that their sex had no impact on their career opportunities than did female headteachers. Ten times as many male primary headteachers thought that their sex had a positive impact on their career opportunities than did female primary headteachers and eight times as many female primary headteachers thought it had impacted negatively than did their male counterparts.

24 **Four times as many respondents thought it was easier for a man to become a primary headteacher than a woman.** Disaggregating by sex, one third of male respondents believed men were advantaged; three times as many as believed women were advantaged. Over 40% of women thought men were advantaged; four times as many as thought women were advantaged. The perception that men were favoured was greatest amongst primary teachers. Reflecting the reality of their local areas, respondents in rural environments were most likely to think that it was easier for a man to be appointed and those in urban areas were least likely to think that it was easier for a man to be appointed.

25 **Nearly half of respondents thought men were advantaged in appointments to secondary headships compared to only 2% who thought women were.** This perception was twice as strong amongst women as men. Both sexes were agreed on the extent to which women were advantaged: a meagre 2% of women and 3% of men. The perceptions amongst men and women were similar in proportion in the secondary phase: no women deputy headteachers thought women were advantaged whereas over 60% thought men were advantaged.

26 **One third of those entering the profession at age 30 and over thought it was a disadvantage in terms of promotion prospects.** Twice as many mature entrants thought it a disadvantage than did early entrants. Significantly more women than men, and secondary than primary, thought it a disadvantage.

27 **Half of the respondents thought a career break was a barrier to promotion prospects.** The figure was broadly similar for each sex but there was a significant difference between career stages; the belief was less prevalent for headteachers than for less senior posts. Marginally more leaders who had not taken a break thought it a barrier than those who had. Secondary women leaders were significantly more likely than their primary counterparts to think it a barrier.

28 **Respondents in the primary phase and women were more positive about performance management structures.** However, women felt slightly more disadvantaged generally by career structures, with 24% believing that they been disadvantaged compared to only 21% of men. Senior leaders were more supportive of CPD provision. Although, one third of respondents in England thought that the new NPQH funding arrangements would make becoming a headteacher more difficult and nearly one third of respondents believed that the NPQH did not prepare teachers adequately for the selection process. Comparing NPQH award holders and those yet to complete it, half of the former and three quarters of the latter agreed that the preparation was inadequate.

Gendered patterns in the structures of senior leadership teams

29 **Two thirds of respondents thought men and women led schools in different ways.** Women were significantly more likely to believe this than men. Male headteachers were least likely to agree that there were differences.

30 **Four fifths of respondents were of the opinion that current leadership models were not a barrier to the leadership ambitions of either sex.** However, of those that thought they were, eight times as many thought they were a barrier to women. One quarter of female secondary leaders thought women were disadvantaged, twice as many as their primary

counterparts. No secondary headteachers of either sex believed that current leadership models were a barrier to men but 13% thought that they were a barrier to women.

31 **Women secondary respondents were associated more with stereotypically male characteristics than their primary counterparts.** Of 16 gendered characteristics offered, women leaders in the primary sector related strongly to those associated with 'female' characteristics; whereas, women leaders in the secondary sector related mostly to those associated with 'male' characteristics. No similar trend was apparent for men.

32 **Half of respondents perceived that men were stereotypically seen as better leaders but only 3% thought that women were.** A significantly higher proportion of men thought there was no difference in perceptions of gendered leadership qualities but still only 4% thought women were perceived as better leaders. Nearly 60% of female respondents thought men were seen as better leaders compared to just 1% who thought women were. Differences between the genders were most stark in headship where over half of female headteachers, but only one fifth of male headteachers, believed men were perceived as better leaders.

33 **In primary schools with female headteachers, 75% of deputies were female whereas in primary schools led by men, 90% of deputies were female.** Primary schools had on average four members in their SLTs and secondary schools had on average seven. SLTs in schools led by men had a tendency to be slightly larger in both phases; in part a consequence of schools led by men being slightly larger. Nearly one third of secondary SLTs met more than once a week and nearly all met at least weekly. Primary SLTs, however, meet with much less regularity. Just over half met weekly, 20% met fortnightly and 15% on a monthly/half-termly basis.

34 **Women and men undertook significantly different roles in SLTs.** Women undertook pastoral roles to a significantly greater degree than men; conversely, men undertook curriculum responsibilities significantly more than women. Nearly half of secondary school leaders recognised that there was a difference in the nature of SLT roles undertaken by men and women. Female headteachers were twice as likely to think this than their male counterparts.

35 **Headteachers described their own style of leadership in different terms from those used by other SLT members.** Primary headteachers were more than twice as likely as other members of SLTs to describe their leadership style as 'distributive' and less than half as many described themselves as 'autocratic'. Forty-five per cent of secondary headteachers described their leadership style as 'distributive' whereas only 13% of other SLT members described their headteacher in this way; no secondary headteachers thought themselves 'autocratic' whereas 20% of other SLT members thought their headteacher 'autocratic'. Women were three times more likely to describe the leadership style of male headteachers as 'autocractic' than female headteachers. Women were more than twice as likely to describe female headteachers as 'distributive' than male headteachers. Men, on the other hand, were twice as likely to describe male headteachers as 'distributive' than female headteachers, nearly twice as likely to describe male headteachers as 'collegiate' and over three times as likely to see women headteachers as 'democratic'.

Discussion

The patterns in respect of gendered representation and cultures in senior leadership remain depressingly familiar, particularly in the secondary phase. It would appear that the discourse of 'glass walls' (Still, 1995) and 'glass ceilings' (Hansard Society, 1990) and 'skating on thin ice' (Hall, 1996) still pertain, despite the datedness of that particular literature. The barriers reported by women leaders are a complex mix of cultural, social, psychological and systemic factors generated variously at individual, family and organisational levels. What makes the extent and variety of barriers encountered more interesting is that this was a study of the 'survivors': women who had attained senior and middle leadership posts, as opposed to the ones who had succumbed along the way.

Although the sample of middle and senior leaders canvassed for this survey was broadly representative of the workforce in terms of sex, women remained disproportionately under-represented in senior leadership posts and over-represented in middle leadership posts. Less than 60% of female respondents were senior leaders compared to over 70% of men. In the secondary phase, the proportions were 46% women and 63% men and in the primary phase, 67% women and 85% men. The latter perhaps supporting the "glass elevator" (Williams, 1992: p.263) theory, meaning "men take their gender privilege with them when they enter predominately female occupations". Although the overall proportions in the study data show continuing under-representation of women, there is, however, encouraging evidence of a recent increase in the proportion of women being appointed to headships.

The gendered pattern of senior leadership appointments, however, clearly warrants further investigation. There was considerable variation with geographic location and associated contextual and socioeconomic variables, such as the cost of housing in suburban areas and the availability of jobs in rural areas. In the suburbs, three times the number of women primary headteachers were employed as men. In rural areas, twice as many male headteachers were employed as women. Overall, female headteachers were more likely to be employed in urban schools than men.

Endurance of social barriers

The research findings indicate that, overall, women leaders' careers still carried less status in the context of their lived experience than the equivalent post when occupied by a man, perhaps confirming that decisions regarding careers by women still need to be understood in relation to whether they have a partner (Evetts, 1994); and further, in relation to whether they had children.

Firstly, there was a clear hierarchy in terms of the status within the family attributed to partners' careers; overall, men's careers took clear precedence over their partners', more than was the case for women. The pattern was apparent even at headteacher level: in the secondary phase, three fifths of male headteachers, but only two fifths of female headteachers, had careers that took precedence. Interestingly, a hierarchy also operated between phases: for women teachers, there was little difference in terms of career status between primary and secondary, but nearly one half of secondary male leaders' careers took precedence over their partners' careers, compared to just one third of primary male leaders. So, although three times the number of female as male primary headteachers were employed in the suburbs, this should be read against the fact that less than one third of those headteachers' careers took precedence over their partners' careers.

Secondly, in terms of caring and family responsibilities, women's careers were disproportionately affected. In the first instance, women's career aspirations impacted on their decisions to plan a family significantly more than was the case for men. Five times as many female primary headteachers had modified their decision regarding planning for a family compared to their male counterparts. Interestingly, women secondary leaders were significantly more likely to let their career affect their decisions on planning a family than their primary counterparts. In terms of childcare arrangements determining their career choice, women were again disproportionately affected. Twice as many men as women reported that their childcare arrangements had not determined their career choices. Interestingly, over 40% of women, but only 30% of men, reported that childcare was not an issue, indicating perhaps that greater proportions of female leaders at all post levels did not have children, or at least young children. For the headteachers and deputy headteachers for whom childcare was an issue, childcare arrangements determined the career choices of four times as many women as men. Thus supporting claims in the literature by Smithers (2006) that "women head teachers are less likely than men to be married or have children" and Bradbury and Gunter (2006) that being a mother and a headteacher are in "constant tension".

Finally, male leaders were more prepared to relocate regionally and nationally for a new post than their female counterparts. This again supported another somewhat dated claim reported in the literature review that male teachers were more likely to move house to take up a new position than women teachers, who were more likely to be working in the same school or local authority when appointed to a headship post (Hill, 1994). Clearly not unrelated to the previous two factors, male leaders were more mobile in that they had careers that took precedence over

their partners' careers more than was the case for female leaders and they were less likely to have to take into account caring and family responsibilities.

Endurance of organisational barriers

Organisational barriers to women's leadership ambitions came in a number of shapes and sizes. The first and foremost set of factors that disproportionately affected women was related to the impact of breaks upon their career trajectory, as measured in terms of the increased time it took to achieve promoted posts. The women who responded to the survey were, of course, all 'survivors', all had achieved middle and senior leadership posts; but the impact of an average two-year career break was a five-year delay on female headteachers' career trajectories and corresponding differences were significant at each post level. There were also significant differences, depending on when women took their career break, in the time it took them to gain their first senior leadership post. Women who took a break within the first five years of teaching seemed particularly disadvantaged and it was clearly more advantageous to take a break after establishing a secure footing on the career ladder.

One of the reasons for the hiatus in women's career progression was that having taken a career break of an average two years, one fifth of senior and middle leaders returned to a post at a lower grade. Of those taking a break of more than two years, one third returned to a post at a lower grade and of those who took a break of less than two years, just 13% returned at a lower level. Additionally, nearly 30% of middle and senior leaders returning from maternity breaks came back part time and 10% to supply posts.

There was a perception that the delay in career progression was a disadvantage and more problematic in the case of mature entrants, who were twice as likely to consider entering the profession at age 30 and over. This was significantly more so for women than men and in secondary than primary. This again supports the claim by Howson (2007), reported in the literature, that women are likely to be disproportionably affected in terms of achieving headship by the extra step in the career ladder created by the increasing use of the assistant headteacher grade, especially amongst the one third of new teachers who join the profession aged 30 and over.

A second set of factors that affected women disproportionately related to workload when combined with work/life balance and caring and family responsibilities. Women ranked caring/family responsibilities second after workload in terms of barriers to career progress, whereas men ranked it third. Women aged under 45 years were also significantly more likely than men to allow workload/work/life balance issues to affect their career aspirations; in the key age group 36-40 years, over four fifths of women reported the issue had affected their career aspirations compared to only three fifths of men. Further evidence can be inferred from the fact that significantly more female leaders favoured flexible working than men. Only in the age group 56 and over was this trend reversed where three fifths of male leaders preferred flexible/part-time working compared to just two fifths of women.

A third set of organisational factors related to women's career paths: women had less experience of different schools, were less willing to apply externally for promotion and were more commonly appointed to senior leadership posts internally. Coleman (2004) claims that an enduring feature of research evidence regarding why women apply for fewer posts is that there is little evidence of headteachers giving women any special support in terms of career development. Certainly in our data, both primary and secondary women leaders had on average taught in fewer schools than their male counterparts. This may in part be explained by the fact that at all post levels in both phases, except for deputy headteachers, men were longer-serving. For deputy headteachers, interestingly, this trend was reversed: women having had on average more years of service than men, yet again perhaps supporting Coleman's theory that women are less well supported in terms of career progression. That women may not be encouraged to move on is also suggested by the fact that schools clearly rated many of the female senior leaders highly and were keen to keep them. They were then, subsequently, when a promotion opportunity arose, more likely to be appointed internally than their male counterparts. In the case of headteachers, significantly so; over three times as many women headteachers were appointed internally as men; in the case of

first headships, nearly six times as many women were appointed internally as men. To a lesser degree this trend was apparent in all posts. That women were less keen to apply for promotion can also be inferred from the fact that they applied for significantly fewer leadership posts than men before being appointed. The difference was most marked in the primary phase where women made fewer applications for headships than men but were invited to interviews over 90% of the time, whilst men were successful in obtaining an interview on less than half of their applications. Aside from a lack of mobility, the weight of caring/family responsibilities and the possible lack of career development support, another key factor implicated in this trend is that women lacked confidence. Women ranked self-confidence a close third in terms of barriers to career progression compared to their male counterparts who ranked it a low fifth.

Endurance of gendered cultures

The research literature indicates that male hegemony, reproduced through managerialism, has worked to disadvantage women because it requires a form of performativity and headship that is contrary to how many women wish to work (Heward, 1999; Blackmore, 1997, 1999; Forrester, 2005). Consequently, despite women identifying slightly more strongly with being very or reasonably ambitious than men, significantly fewer aspired to be a headteacher. Not surprisingly, overall, primary leaders were obviously more likely to aspire to be headteachers than secondary leaders and a significant difference was apparent between the sexes. Whereas three quarters of primary male deputies aspired to headship, a staggeringly low one third of their female counterparts were equally ambitious. Overall, only 50% of women NPQH completers (who were not already headteachers) aspired to be headteachers, compared to 65% of men. Over one fifth of the NPQH completers of both sexes did not aspire to be a headteacher; although respondents with the NPQH were significantly more likely to report themselves to be 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious than those without. Overall, three quarters of leaders considered themselves either 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious and generally, seniority in terms of leadership was reflected in higher levels of ambition; although individuals who had taken career breaks were less ambitious than those who had not.

Organisations are gendered, so Schick (2000: p.309) claims, through discourses "that designate spaces said to be in need of white women's ministrations", thereby allowing women to dominate in particular settings to deflect attention from others where they are absent. This certainly did seem to be the case in terms of senior leadership in the secondary phase. Women and men undertook significantly different roles in secondary SLTs; women undertook pastoral roles to a significantly greater degree than men and they undertook curriculum responsibilities significantly more than women. Nearly half of secondary school leaders were aware of disparities between the kinds of roles undertaken by male and female SLT members. Interestingly, female secondary headteachers were twice as likely to be aware of the differences in role allocations as their male counterparts.

The gendered cultures also extended to leadership styles, in that men and women led schools in different ways; or so two thirds of respondents thought. Women were significantly more likely to believe this than men and male headteachers were least likely to agree that there were differences. Half of the respondents believed that men were stereotypically seen as better leaders compared with only 3% who thought women were viewed as better leaders. A significantly higher proportion of men thought there was no difference in perceptions of gendered leadership qualities, but still only 4% thought women were perceived as better leaders. Nearly 60% of female respondents thought men were seen as better leaders compared to just 1% who thought women were viewed as better leaders. Differences between the sexes were most stark in headship where over half of female headteachers, but only one fifth of male headteachers, believed men were perceived as better leaders.

Headteachers described their style of leadership in markedly different ways from how other SLT members perceived it. Primary headteachers were more than twice as likely as other SLT members to describe their leadership style as 'distributive' and only half as likely as other SLT members to describe it as 'autocratic'. Primary headteachers, however, demonstrated a high degree of self-awareness compared to that shown by secondary leaders. Forty-five per cent of secondary headteachers felt they had a 'distributive' style of leadership, whereas only 13% of

other SLT members agreed. No secondary headteachers thought themselves 'autocratic', whilst 20% of other SLT members described their headteachers' leadership styles in this way. There were also noticeable differences in the ways that men and women perceived, and related to, the leadership style of male and female headteachers. Women were three times more likely to describe the leadership style of male headteachers as 'autocractic' than that of female headteachers. Women were more than twice as likely to describe female headteachers as 'distributive' than male headteachers. Men, on the other hand, were twice as likely to describe male headteachers as 'distributive' than female headteachers, nearly twice as likely to perceive male headteachers as 'collegiate' and over three times as likely to see women headteachers as 'democratic'.

Endurance of power structures

The exercise of power through the promotion of particular leadership models as an explanation of the continued existence of discrimination has been explored in the literature. One fifth of leaders, including more women than men, reported experiencing discrimination of some nature in the application process. Sex discrimination was the most prevalent form of discrimination and was reported by nearly one in ten respondents. Sex discrimination was reported overall by three times as many women as men, and in the secondary phase by over six times as many women as men.

There was compelling evidence that both men and women were persuaded that men were advantaged in the selection process: two fifths of women and one fifth of men considered gender discrimination in the selection process to be a significant issue. Ten times as many male primary headteachers thought their sex had impacted positively on their career opportunities as did female primary headteachers, again supporting the 'glass elevator' narrative. Eight times as many women primary headteachers thought their sex had impacted negatively as did their male counterparts. Overall, four times as many middle and senior leaders thought it was easier for a man to become a primary headteacher than a woman. This belief was strongest amongst primary teachers and reflected the reality of their geographic locality: respondents in rural environments were most likely to feel that it was easier for a man to be appointed and those in urban areas, least likely. Nearly half of the respondents thought men were advantaged in the appointment to secondary headships compared to only 2% who thought women were advantaged. This perception was twice as strong amongst women as men. Both sexes were, however, agreed on the extent to which women were advantaged: a meagre 2% of women and 3% of men thought this was the case.

Surprisingly, given the data presented above, four fifths of respondents were of the opinion that current leadership models were not a barrier to the leadership ambitions of either sex. This added further evidence that, as Rusch and Marshall (2006) argue, the assumption that professional practice is gender neutral is widespread and explains how, through such denial, gender endures as a power process. Of those who thought it was a barrier, however, eight times as many thought it was a barrier to women. One quarter of female secondary leaders thought women were disadvantaged, twice as many as their primary counterparts. No secondary headteachers, of either sex, believed that current leadership models were a barrier to men, but 13% thought they were a barrier to women. More women than men thought headteachers and governors wielded too much power in the interview process, although headteachers themselves were not on the whole of that opinion.

The factors that emerge from this study of gendered patterns in school leadership show a complex nexus of individual, social and institutional practices that militate against women's career progression. Blackmore (1999, 2005) claims that leadership, in its current configuration, is a barrier to equity, not least because transformational models stressing feminine attributes remain concerned with the exercise of power over others to deliver externally determined organisational change. Blackmore presents ways of bringing about change through an agenda to educate the next generation of leaders that is about developing activism and working for social justice. Changes to ostensibly make leadership more attractive to women, such as the introduction of more female qualities, obscures the reality that women are reluctant to apply for the role of headteacher, as currently conceptualised, albeit they were not unambitious.

Part One

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

Over 200 research publications have been read and analysed in order to examine current knowledge in relation to the project aims. This has enabled the research team to develop and update the desk-based study undertaken in 2008 (McNamara *et al*., 2008). The types of literature included in this study are research based with reports mainly in journal articles. A search took place across the major education journals in the UK and internationally but with a particular emphasis on gender and education, and gender, work and organisation, together with a focus on the work of key researchers in education such as Blackmore, Coleman, Fuller and Hall. Overall, a range of methodologies is being used to study gender and education, notably interviews (e.g. Fuller, 2007; Hall, 1996) and questionnaires (e.g. Coleman, 2004). However, the most recent work is taking place in Australia (e.g. Blackmore and Sachs, 2007; Collard and Reynolds, 2005) with only a few journal articles that are directly focused on gender and leadership in English schools (e.g. Fuller, 2009; Moreau *et al.,* 2008). There is a gap in knowledge about SLTs as the bulk of the work was undertaken in the 1990s (Wallace and Hall, 1994; Wallace and Huckman, 1999), where gender is examined but is not the prime focus of the study. The gap of knowledge about SLTs, and in particular the role of women in those teams, is paralleled by the relative invisibility of BME women school leaders in the research and academic study literature in the UK.

Those who research leadership are located in a pluralistic field with a range of claims about what constitutes the truth and valid evidence (Gunter, 2005a). Following Raffo and Gunter (2008), we would argue that the literature about leadership falls into two main approaches: first, functional, where the rationale is about technical operations with narratives around effectiveness and efficiency with a language of planning, standards, and delivery; and second, socially critical, where the rationale is about both challenging and replacing functionalism with narratives around equity, fairness, recognition and opportunities. What have come to dominate the field in the UK are functional studies that aim to evaluate the impact of leaders on organisational outcomes (see Leithwood *et al.,* 2006), with work on gender and other aspects of equity marginalised. As Blackmore and Sachs (2007) have identified: "Being seen to perform, we found, counts more than substantive social action such as addressing issues of inclusion/exclusion and social justice" (p.2). However, those who research gender continue to challenge performance leadership and the assumed neutrality of research based on measurement and have made the case for the validity of experience as the means by which other forms of knowing can be used to provide evidence and to overcome oppression:

"Leadership is…best understood as a set of social practices that arise out of particular relationships and conditions of work…The issue for educational leaders is not just how to 'do leadership', but to elaborate upon the values that underpin the social practices of leadership. This notion of leadership raises matters of trust, expertise, and loyalty in the context of an erosion of trust in social institutions generally and the rise of audit cultures in response to that erosion" (p.21).

Given our caveat about the limited nature of the literature on gender and leadership in the UK, this part of the report draws on this material and international work and is divided into two main sections: the first section examines women and leadership through an examination of published evidence about the division of labour, promotion and SLTs. The key findings from this analysis are as follows:

- Women are the largest group in the teaching profession but remain under represented in senior roles. Women are more likely to have leadership roles in primary schools and small schools. There are regional variations to women achieving leadership roles.
- There is insufficient evidence about gender and the appointments process. What has been published suggests that discrimination operates in the selection process, even though this

can be denied. Succession planning literature gives insufficient attention to gender issues.

- There is insufficient evidence about the structure, role and composition of SLTs, with the main research having taken place in the 1990s. There is evidence of gender-related behaviours but a consistent feature from primary and secondary teams is that teamwork generates consensus-building social practices and so gender and other equity issues tend not to be recognised or confronted.

The second section of this literature review examines the explanations of how gender operates as an organisational barrier before going on to focus on cultural and power explanations of social practice. The key findings from this section are as follows:

- The literature gives recognition to how stereotypes exist in everyday assumptions about gender and leadership, with evidence challenging the validity of such assumptions.
- Organisational barriers to leadership aspirations and achievements are a key feature of studies. There is evidence of discrimination, such as how careers are unnecessarily negatively affected by breaks in service.
- Concerns are raised that research that focuses on organisation barriers means that women are positioned as deficit. Hence, studies have focused on gendered cultures that enable social practices that construct and operationalise barriers to be described and analysed. Work on gender filters shows how people practise in different ways from outright denial through to using opportunities generated by oppression to make changes.
- The continued existence of gender discrimination in spite of legislation has led researchers to examine the exercise of power through, for example, the promotion of particular leadership models and performance management.
- Overall, the literature on leadership tends to be functional with rationales about effectiveness and narratives about impact and reform delivery. The literature that is socially critical is where most of the work on gender is located and here the rationales are about social justice with narratives about fairness, opportunities and equity. Overall, gender does not feature as a key issue in the leadership literature and only a few people are actively working in this area.

1.2 Women and Leadership

Ceilings, walls and cliffs

Metaphors abound in research into the issue of women and leadership with a particular emphasis on barriers such as the 'glass wall' (Still, 1995) where women may look inside and out at the possibilities of new roles but are held back by stereotypical views of what a women is capable of. Interestingly, men in 'female professions' such as primary teaching face discrimination from outside the profession, whereas women experience sexism that is deeply rooted within. The evidence shows that men are treated fairly, integrated and possibly given preferential treatment, and this works as a 'glass elevator', where Williams (1992) shows that "men take their gender privilege with them when they enter predominately female occupations; this translates into an advantage in spite of their numerical rarity" (p.263). Organisational cultures and structures work against women through the 'glass ceiling' (Hansard Society, 1990), where women can see the jobs that they aspire to but there is an invisible barrier preventing this, and for BME women, the ceiling is 'concrete' (Davidson, 1997) as they cannot see potential role models of either sex.

Women may shatter the glass ceiling but their experiences cannot be essentialised as the same (Reay and Ball, 2000; Strachan, 1998) and, indeed, varied experience for women has been likened to 'dancing on the ceiling' (Hall, 1996) where a sense of agency can mean they choreograph their leadership. However, Hall (1996) later talks about 'skating on thin ice', which suggests a precarious position, summed up by the case of women located on the 'glass cliff' (Ryan and Haslam 2005) where the organisational situation is risky and where, as Boucher (1997) claims, women blame themselves for the failures. Ryan and Haslam (2005) claim that "if upon finding themselves in a leadership position, women fail (as they are more likely to than men because their positions are more precarious), they may be singled out for blame and humiliation, at the same time the unpropitious conditions of their appointment are

overlooked" (p. 88). So issues of advantage and disadvantage are central to the questions that this project is seeking to answer, as is evidence about the division of labour, how promotion operates and how senior leadership teams undertake their work.

Female and male representation in schools

The phase one desk-based study (McNamara *et al*., 2008) showed that, overall, and with some subject variation, women tend to dominate training and the profession:

- women constitute 85% of the numbers in primary training and 61% in secondary training;
- women dominate the primary workforce in England (88%), Wales (81%), Scotland (93%) and Northern Ireland (84%);
- women from over 50% of the secondary workforce in England (58%), Scotland (59%) and Northern Ireland (63%). In Wales, men make up the majority, with women forming 33% of the workforce;
- in special schools women make up 72% of the workforce in England, 56% in Wales, 81% in Scotland and 80% in Northern Ireland.

Recent work has emphasised the importance of locality with regard to leadership appointments. For example, Fuller's (2009) research shows the regional differences in sex and headship:

"Analysis identifies regions such as London and Birmingham in which women achieve headship 'against the odds'…more successfully than elsewhere in the country. There are also regions where the odds against women achieving secondary headship are particularly high such as in South Wales and the north-east of England. The existence of such regional variation replicates similar findings a decade ago…though with some increase in the proportion of women overall and in some regions…Indeed Coleman (2002) has suggested women should consider carefully the region in which they apply for headship" (p.23).

Howson's most recent report (2008) shows that women are breaking through mainly in primary and special schools (McNamara, 2008). However, in secondary schools the situation is different, with Howson (2007) reporting that the 40% barrier to the number of women who have been appointed to headships was not only maintained in the 2008 study but also fell back to 32%. In secondary schools, men have, with the exception of Leading from the Middle (LftM), the edge in their participation in national training programmes (McNamara, 2008). Explanations for this in the desk-based study illustrated that career structures are not conducive to breaks in service and that progress on the leadership scale is slower for women than for men:

"First, following the implementation of the staffing review and the emergence of TLR payments, those teachers resigning to take career breaks automatically lose these payments unless they can gain an appointment advertised at their former level. As a consequence, women teachers having climbed the pay spine before a career break, will often find themselves slipping down when they seek to return, unless schools are willing to accept their prior experience as valid and allow them to apply for promoted posts whilst not currently in employment…" (McNamara, 2008).

Published research confirms the phase one study (McNamara 2008) that the majority of teachers in England are women, yet relatively there are a greater proportion of male teachers in senior positions (Acker, 1992; Coleman, 2001; Davidson et al., 2005; Evetts, 1990). Research by Coleman (2002) leads her to conclude that:

"Women numerically dominate the teaching profession in most countries, but they hold a minority of the management positions in education, apart from schools which cater for very young children, which are more often managed by women. Women teachers in junior, middle and secondary schools and in colleges and universities are less likely to achieve management positions than their male peers and the older the age group of students the less likely this becomes" (p.2).

Coleman (2004) updated her research for the then National College for School Leadership (NCSL), and her findings confirm the data we presented in the 2008 report (McNamara *et al.,* 2008):

"Most teachers in both secondary and primary schools are female, but most heads of secondary schools are male, and the proportion of male heads in primary schools is large in comparison with the overall number of women in primary teaching. However, the proportion of female headteachers and deputy headteachers is growing…[However] although there are changes in the numbers of women holding senior leadership positions in schools, particularly in the secondary sector, a male teacher still has a greater chance of becoming a headteacher than a woman in both the secondary and the primary phase and in special schools" (Coleman, 2004, p. 1).

Ribbins (2008: p.70) presents evidence that in 21 out of 29 European Union states there are more women teachers than men in upper secondary schools, but male headteachers outnumber women in 13 of the states for which data is available (exceptions are Bulgaria and Slovenia). Coleman (2002) confirms that the under-representation of women in senior roles is evident in Europe, the USA and New Zealand. She notes that in Australia there has been an increase in women principals, but presents evidence from Blackmore that the locus of decision making has shifted to administrators outside of schools, who are mainly men. Where women have increased in numbers, e.g. Singapore and Cyprus, it tends to be in countries with a centralised system (Ribbins, 2008). However, in Sweden more women have become school principals through a combination of local changes to advertising policy, a removal of the requirement to have administrative certification or leadership experience and reorganisation providing more opportunities for appointment (Davis and Johansson, 2005).

Traditionally there has been a marked difference in career patterns of men and women in teaching. Men have tended to have careers lasting longer and less fragmented in nature. By contrast, whilst some women have had careers similar to their male colleagues, the norm has been fragmented service with career breaks for family reasons, often followed by periods of part-time or occasional service. It appears that once men get to a teaching post, they tend to get to senior positions quite quickly (Thornton and Bricheno, 2000, p.188).

The situation in primary schools finds a different gender imbalance. Bricheno and Thornton (2002) looked at the gender balance in a total of 846 primary and junior schools across England. Thirty per cent of the schools had no male teachers at all. Less than 42% of the schools had a male headteacher. Among male-headed schools only 10% of them had no male teachers, while in female-headed schools 20% had no male teachers, suggesting that "where there is a male Head there are likely to be male teachers" (p.58). Another finding that emerged from Bricheno and Thornton's study is that there were more male teachers in larger schools and also in junior schools, showing how "higher status (and subsequently authority and power) goes with the teaching of older pupils and maleness" (p.192).

Appointments and promotion

While equal opportunities legislation has been in place for over thirty years, research evidence from the 1990s shows that the legacy of overt discrimination is still evident in women's biographies:

"Despite legislation and changing culture, the majority of the female heads in the survey conducted for this book answered that they had experienced sexism in the selection process. Altogether, 62.5% of the women heads indicated that they had experienced sexist attitudes at the time of appointment, the remainder (37.5%) that they had not. What differentiated those who reported sexism from those who did not? Those who were married and had children were much more likely to report sexist attitudes than those who were single. The heads of girls' schools were less likely to report sexist attitudes…The younger headteachers reported sexism more often than their older colleagues" (Coleman 2002: p.40-41)*.*

In 2004 Coleman repeated her research and found that the number of female secondary headteachers reporting discrimination had fallen from two thirds to a half and "were much less likely to report that they had been stereotyped into pastoral and caring roles". However, Coleman has identified the endurance of discrimination for many women: "…the fact that a half of secondary female heads are still answering positively about experience of discrimination is concerning" (Coleman, 2004, p.6). More recent research by Fuller (2009) shows that discrimination continues in the appointment process:

"While 64.7% of women were aware of sexist attitudes in connection with job applications or promotion compared to 21.9% of men, this was more marked among younger women (76.5%) and women leading mixed schools (80%)…women experienced 'direct discrimination' e.g. questions at interview stage with regard to having a family and managing childcare…" (p.27).

Overall, Coleman (2002: p.41-44) shows that the types of discrimination experienced by women are:
- being expected to demonstrate that they are better than the male candidates;
- being told that they are not as able as men;
- experiencing comments about their personal lives and/or partners;
- experiencing comments about body and appearance and assumed links with professional abilities;
- automatic assumptions that the headteacher is male.

However, Coleman (2002) has identified that her interview data shows that some headteachers "initially denied that they had experienced any discrimination but when probed could all recall examples of instances of sexism they had experienced but had given little thought to" (p.45). Coleman goes on to say that headteachers are pragmatic and, when faced with barriers, "find a way round it to do what you want to do" (p.45). In repeating her research in 2004, Coleman identified that half of her sample had identified discrimination but went on to show that:

"some of the women who answered 'no' to the question went on to give actual examples of sexist behaviour they had experienced. There seems to be a tendency for at least some of the women to deny or to rise above the experience of sexist behaviour and remarks and to discount them. The actual proportion of women who have experienced sexism is therefore more than the 50 per cent of secondary heads and 30 per cent of primary heads who responded positively. For example, one female head in her early 50s said it was 'too difficult to specify, just feelings or perceptions or manner of being talked down to, therefore I have said "no"' (p.6).

Coleman's findings are further supported in the symposium on Hall's 1996 book *Dancing on the Ceiling* (Hall *et al.*, 1999) where, in handling the denial of gender, Hall argues: "if headteachers themselves, both men and women, commonly deny the relevance of gender, then it is not surprising that governors show a similar disregard for its manifest and latent impact" (p.102).

Succession planning for leadership, particularly headteachers, is regarded as a key issue by the current government, who have asked the NCSL to develop a national strategy. The NCSL identifies succession planning as being about investing in leadership talent through identification, training and development. It recognises that there are issues regarding demographics in that "half of heads and deputies are aged 50 and over…at the same time, there has been a decline in the number of teachers in their late 30s to mid-40s, suggesting that a shortage in leaders is likely to occur in the near future" (NCSL, undated, p.1). The NCSL also recognises that the perception of the demands of headship could mean that people are not applying, noting that the usual 'apprenticeship' tradition could put off younger, ambitious applicants. The proposed solutions focus on the need to retain talented leaders combined with a need to build up a leadership pool from which to draw new headteachers. The NCSL (2007, p.8) argues that in developing this talent pool there is a need to encourage 'more women and people from a minority ethnic background…(to)…put themselves forward for leadership'. They propose strategies such as 'talent spotting' and developing opportunities for existing headteachers to do 'leading beyond the school' in ways that create openings in the school for others to undertake senior roles. The issue that needs to be examined is how talent spotting processes will work and the extent to which leadership opportunities will be attractive to women.

Bush and Moloi (2008) provide evidence of how local networking tends to support white applicants and how local authorities do not do enough to ensure access and recognition for BME applicants who need to build their confidence to apply. Additionally, gatekeepers tend to be white males who dominate appointment panels where they determine the agenda, not least how rejection operates: "…being rejected on the grounds of so-called communication problems, and skill or experience deficiencies, may be a cover for deeper prejudice and

employers' failure to understand cultural norms" (p.111). When women and/or BME teachers break through there can be other 'hidden' aspects of discrimination, illustrated by a survey conducted by the NASUWT (2007) that showed that wider leadership opportunities have been taken up in primary schools, particularly by women. However, women teachers report that they are more likely not to be paid for undertaking whole school responsibilities than men. Indeed, research by Blackmore et al. (2006) in Australia challenges whether the rationality of succession planning will eliminate informal grooming because selection panels operated a "robust reproductive technology". They conclude: "it appears unlikely that succession planning will break the homosocial reproduction of the normalised principal identity, particularly if the rhetorical hegemony of 'fit' continues" (p.315). According to Manuel and Slate (2003), a range of inhibitors could act against the career advancement of BME women, particularly in the USA, suggesting the existence of a mid-management career 'glass ceiling' and the linking of race and gender into a 'double bind' hurdle for BME women leaders. Bush et al. referred to the often-invisible criteria for advancement selection, identified by Ortiz (2000), Manuel and Slate (2003) and Tallerico (2000):

"because they do not appear…in advertisements of desired qualifications…Instead they manifest themselves behind the scenes…unwritten rules involve head hunters and school board members a) defining quality in terms of hierarchies of particular job titles, b) stereotyping by gender, c) showing complacency about acting affirmatively, and d) hypervaluing feelings of comfort and personal chemistry with the successful candidate" (Tallerico, 2000, p.37).

Senior leadership teams

A particular focus of this project is on the construction and practice of SLTs in schools. Currently, there are no funded research projects into gender and ethnicity and the composition, role and professional practice of SLTs in English schools. The most recent work on SLTs was undertaken in the 1990s by Wallace and Hall (1994) and Wallace and Huckman (1999). The projects reported in these texts do not primarily focus on gender, but the authors do engage with the issues, although ethnicity is not addressed. Wallace and Hall (1994) found evidence of what they call "gender-related behaviour" (p.38) in secondary schools, where language and "imagery and banter" (p.38) were used as normal ways of conducting meetings, as one female member of an SLT stated:

"One of the things that I identified amongst them was the huge use of male sporting imagery, like the head will say, 'right, we'll put a flanker on this' and lots of playing straight bats or kicking at an angle or letting out a lot of line, and all sorts of sporting imagery from sports I had never played. And the jokes, the wit and repartee are pretty male, I think. Whereas there is a total awareness that I am there and nothing offensive is ever said, and there is nothing I can take exception to, men use different patterns of language and modes of behaviour socially that are very different from those that women use. And sometimes I feel at a disadvantage. On the whole, women don't shout jokes at one another across the room, which is what men tend to do. And I find it difficult to join that sort of repartee" (p.38-39).

While Wallace and Hall (1994) have testimony regarding how men and women behave in team settings, with women talking about feelings of isolation and not belonging, they have identified that teamwork puts emphasis on collaboration and shared values, with the effect that confronting gender-related behaviour is not taking place:

"We would be naïve to accept the almost total denial by most respondents (women and men) of the influence of gender on team behaviour as evidence that gender differentiation did not exist. On the other hand, the value that teamwork places on equal contribution appears to make it more likely that individuals will try to suppress or refrain from acting on values that subscribe to gender inequalities or differences in the workplace." (p.38)

Wallace and Hall (1994) confirm this by arguing that the emphasis in teamwork on "collaboration, equity and consensual decision making" actually "undercuts gender-based behaviour" (p.39) and so cultural and political practices with regard to the exercise of power might be linked to personality and experiences, but not to gender. Wallace and Huckman's

study (1999) of primary school senior management teams also confirms that while women are under-represented in senior roles, gender is not salient:

"The study encompassed both women and men who had expressed some form of commitment to teamwork. Most held professional values about team operation which took precedence over whatever their private beliefs about men's and women's behaviour at work might have been. They demonstrated little awareness of gender as having much impact on teamwork and no observations were made of overt sexism, such as stereotypical expectations about the distribution of management responsibilities, partronising behaviour, or sexual harassment. The varied socialisation experiences of women and men may have had a bearing on their approach to teamwork. Yet the dominant factors explaining their interaction were more directly linked to beliefs and values about working in teams than concerned with gender. Some disagreements or conflicts might have had gender-related aspects, but they were not articulated in such terms. Differences in levels of participation in teamwork among SMT members owed more to their differential position in the management hierarchy than to gender. Multiple allegiances were based on job roles rather than gender affiliation. Politically, both men and women drew idiosyncratically on resources associated with their personalities, skills and status. Although there were differences in delegation by heads, patterns were not gender specific. Nor were women any less likely than men to use power overtly or covertly, or to opt for a more hierarchical or egalitarian team approach" (p.49).

While Coleman's evidence (2002) does identify gender-related behaviour, the author also reports on how gendered attitudes are not always suppressed. She notes how "the dominant cultural influences mean that leadership is generally equated with maleness" (p.89) and so she provides evidence of how members of SLTs (and wider staff) display anti-women attitudes: "I inherited a school with a good number of staff who didn't want a female head. The secretary and caretaker threatened to resign, some male teachers made it clear they didn't want a woman telling them what to do" (p.88). Coleman (2002) goes on to show that the way this is handled has resonance with the Wallace and Hall (1994) findings, not least that women tend to ignore the stereotypes. Also, while three quarters of women headteachers were able to provide examples of sexism in the workplace (particularly if they were married with children or were younger women), it is the case that "about a quarter to a third of all the women respondents did not perceive any sexism" (p.94).

What the evidence seems to be saying is that the working of SLTs may or may not involve sexist behaviour and that team members may or may not experience such gendered behaviour, may or may not deny its existence and may or may not do something about it. Indeed, work outside of education shows a tendency for teams to operate in ways that are conservative (Grisoni and Beeby 2007). Collard's study (2001) in Australia shows that organisational culture may be a feature and his evidence shows "that the nature of primary schools can transcend gender polarities and unite male and female leaders in common goals" (p.353). Studying teams seems to put emphasis on the collaborative nature of professional practice compared to studying individual responses, where more gender-related behaviour is revealed.

1.3 Explanations About Gender Disparity and Leadership

Bodies, behaviours and stereotypes

The literature surrounding gender rejects explanations that are biological, largely because such determinism essentialises all women and all men as naturally and inevitably falling into binary categories such as strong-weak or rational-emotional. At the same time, as Connell (2002) argues, it cannot be assumed that gender stereotypes about role are presented and accepted through socialisation processes: "People construct themselves as masculine or feminine. We claim a place in the gender order – or respond to the place we have been given – by the way we conduct ourselves in everyday life" (p.4). Hence, sex role lists of masculine (rational, competitive, aggressive) and feminine (emotional, co-operative, caring) behaviours do not automatically link with biological sex (Gray, 1989). Research by Coleman (2002, 2004) shows that a consistent feature over time is that both men and women self-select the same indicators of leadership style, "both men and women see themselves as open and consultative leaders,

incorporating a number of both feminine and masculine qualities" (Coleman 2004, p.43). However, she does identify that masculine forms of leadership are popular and that this is "common among the female headteachers" (p.43). This has been identified by other researchers, and so in Brunner's (2005) research about the superintendency in the USA, women who did not conform to feminine practices, even though it may be associated with the role, were viewed as "unsuccessful", not recognised as powerful, and "called 'bitches' by many participants" (p.134). Franzén (2005) also confirms that stereotypes do still operate in regard to preferences about how men and women are expected to practise leadership. It seems that people located within particular social contexts can associate biology with normalised behaviours, but this has to be accepted in social practice by those in receipt of such requirements. Indeed, other factors might better explain practice, for example, Collard (2001) found that "whether they worked in a primary or secondary setting or in a government, Catholic or Independent school frequently exerted a more powerful influence than their gender" (p.352).

Research shows that men and women can and do demonstrate a range of behaviours and that they need not behave in a stereotyped masculine and feminine way (see Coleman, 2002). Hence, labels such as 'feminisation' for what is happening in schools, particularly primary schools, needs to be problematised. How the issue is framed needs attention: is it the domination of women or under-representation of men? Are women the problem by their numerical supremacy or are men the problem because they do not see primary teaching as a male occupation? Is primary education a normal place for women to be located (hence, abnormal for men) as it is closely associated with mothering? Does the imbalance in the number of males and females impact on teaching and learning, in relation to styles, expectations and relationships? 'Feminisation' is positioned variously in the research literature and there is no agreement on what the issue is, although much of what is written assumes that it is a problem and that the problem lies with women (see Arnot and Mac An Ghaill, 2006, Skelton 2002).

Most research presents explanations within a constructivist approach, where structural demands are placed on bodies and practices regarding behaviour within context, but there is recognition of the workings of agency in regard to degrees of acceptance, rejection and shaping of identities. There is a range of work, contested methodologies and knowledge claims, and the growth of studies regarding masculinities (e.g. Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Mac an Ghaill, 1994) has added to the debates about the role of men, sexuality and their work. Interestingly, as Young and McLeod (2001) in their research in the USA identify, how the research project is framed is important, because it seems that "research on men…has defined aspiration primarily as moving up the educational hierarchy…(and so)…has been used to explain why women do not aspire to administration" (p.465). Consequently, they go on to show that aspiration needs to be thought of differently: "our research suggests that women's entrance is contingent on their career aspirations (i.e. what they hope to accomplish and how), their experiences with administrative role models, their exposure to transformative leadership styles, and their opportunities to garner support for entering administration" (p.465). Furthermore, the purposes of research need to be uncovered as some researchers seek to describe the situation, some to work for equal opportunities, while more radical approaches connect the position of women and their work in schools with the need to eradicate social injustice in wider society.

Endurance of organisational barriers

There is evidence about why women do not apply for promotion and this is complex in regard to personal lives and how careers are designed through pay scales and posts. Coleman (2004) shows that an enduring feature of research evidence regarding discrimination is that in the 1990s and the current situation "there was not much evidence of heads giving women any special support for women in terms of career development" (p.42). Where headteachers might give support to a female applicant, as Boulton and Coldron (1998) show, there is evidence that barriers might be built through the decision to appoint a male in an acting role and so "the advantages given to the acting man were underestimated and the consequences of the

temporary appointment were more far reaching than supposed. In reality, concerns about an all-male management team began at too late a stage" (p.160).

Women report that they still face problems in regard to maternity leave, and on returning to work can face uncongenial circumstances and decisions about the type of work they should be doing. The General Teaching Council Survey of Teachers 2006 (Hutchings et al., 2006) found negative views of caring commitments meant opportunities either were not offered or were not taken up. Twenty-six per cent of women compared to 7% of men cited factors in their personal lives that had limited their career development. Smithers (2006) identifies that "women headteachers are less likely than men to be married or have children; a quarter of women heads live alone, compared to 7% of men". Work by Evetts (1994) shows that decisions regarding careers by women need to be understood in relation to whether they have a partner. If so, their partner's career trajectory is a key feature and so in attempting to move jobs, women may face unemployment or a lower status job with lower pay. Coleman (2001) suggests that the high number of divorcées amongst teachers over 50 years old needs to be researched further to see if there are any links with headship and work/life balance. Hill (1994) found that male headteachers were more likely to move house to take up a new position than women teachers. The findings show that more of the headships in large schools have gone to people who have exhibited mobility. Women were more likely to be working in the same school or local authority when appointed to their present headship post.

Recent changes to staffing structures may have increased the time taken by some candidates to reach a headship. This is particularly the case in the secondary sector where the increasing use of the assistant headteacher grade has inserted an extra step for many teachers on the ladder between the classroom and the headteacher's study (Howson, 2007). A result is that any career break, especially amongst the third of new teachers who don't join the profession until after they are thirty, can make progression more difficult. As women form the majority of those with career breaks, any additional barriers to promotion are likely to affect them disproportionably.

A study by Davidson et al. (2005) suggested that women teachers are not as motivated as men in seeking promotion to senior positions. Davidson et al. employed a survey as one component of their data collection. From a total of 2,158 teachers in England who responded to their survey questionnaires, Davidson et al. report that males were twice as likely as females to seek promotion at every opportunity. The survey group most interested in promotion were minority ethnic males (12%). Over a quarter (27%) of the survey respondents were not interested in promotion. They were most likely to be white females (31%), then white males (26%), followed by minority ethnic group females (14%) and, finally, minority ethnic males (12%). Overall, primary school respondents were less likely than teachers from secondary schools to be interested in promotion. This finding was consistent across the sexes.

Coleman (2000, 2002) surveyed all female secondary headteachers and found that, despite attempts to change the situation, "there is a continuing and high level of discrimination faced by women who aspire to senior management in education" (Coleman, 2002, p.91). Two thirds of the headteachers claimed that they felt sexist attitudes against them in their applications and that they "had to prove their worth as a woman in management" (Coleman, 2002, p.92). More recently, Coleman (2004) summarises her research by stating: "female secondary heads can feel somewhat isolated as leaders, with at least half reporting experience of sexism, and 70 per cent feeling at some time that they have to justify their existence as female leaders. The male heads did not question their situation as leaders" (p.42). Other writers confirm sexist practice (Cubillo and Brown, 2003; Ergin and Cinkir, 2005; Grant, 1987), not least the normal expectations that men apply and women are less likely to (Davidson et al., 2005). While researchers note that awareness of gender discrimination is now more obvious in schools, it is the case that women who faced this earlier in their working lives are still affected by it (Coleman, 1996a; Smithers, 2006). Studies of schools (e.g. Boulton and Coldron, 1998) show that even where equity issues are central to decision making within a school, there are a range of individual contextual factors that affect decisions to apply. Research by Moreau et al. (2008) shows that teachers and governors do not see the "under-representation of women as an

issue" (p.7), and that while equal opportunity policies may be in place, they do not necessarily translate into equitable processes, not least because negotiations with partners such as domestic responsibilities are individual and private issues outside the scope of school policies.

There is very limited work on the experience of women who are in leadership roles in education. Hall (1996) and Coleman's (2001, 2004) studies stand out and they show the varied experiences of women. Collard (2005) adds to this by showing: "there is no distinctive, female leadership style in schools but multiple forms which appear to be dependant upon a variety of contextual and historical factors…(and)…differences between women principals are significant" (p.87). Indeed, Reay and Ball (2000) argue that all too often researchers essentialise the experience of women in leadership roles and there is a need to study the formation and evidence about identities within context. Coleman (1996b) shows that women headteachers tend to handle constraints and challenges to their status pragmatically and draw on a range of styles to discharge their role, but still have to "prove their worth" (Coleman, 2000). Work by Bradbury and Gunter (2006) shows that while there is research on women as headteachers, there is a dearth of work on women who are headteachers and mothers. Their work confirms that being both a mother and a headteacher is a central feature of how women understand themselves and their lives and shows how the two areas of women's lives are in constant tension. Specifically, the women headteachers talk about the expectations of them as headteachers and as mothers and how they might not achieve recognition for their professional achievements but they face criticism if their personal lives and families suffer.

Endurance of gendered cultures

While barriers to promotion have dominated the literature, it can be argued that this tends to position women as being in a deficit position and so there is a need to reveal social practice through a study of cultural norms, or what Schmuck (1986) describes as "those subtle and often unintentional behaviours and practices which perpetuate gender-based employment patterns and which result in a minority of women exercising leadership in schools" (p.181-182). Research is concerned to reveal and give visibility to how organisations are gendered through discourses "that designate spaces said to be in need of white women's ministrations" (Schick 2000: 309) and so can be dominant in particular settings, and this can deflect attention from where they are absent. This is illustrated by Acker's (1990) account of how there is a gendered division of labour, with the symbolic display of language and ways of doing things. Notably, gender as a practice is learned through social exchanges, as well as the display of identity through dress, deportment and general manner. Consequently, as Davey (2008) argues, "gendering processes, like political processes, concern informal influences that are largely unacknowledged, and thrive on ambiguity" (p.653). There are a number of illustrations of this, where, for example, there is the discourse of teaching as 'women's work' and how this is generated and circulated in ways that impact on decisions about the work that women and men do in schools. So there is evidence that primary teaching is seen to lack the status and skills necessary to attract men to join and to keep them in the classroom (Cammack and Philips, 2002; Chan, 2004). For those men who work in primary education, evidence has been provided of how through their practice men "unintentionally reproduce traditional forms of masculinity" (Sargent, 2000). In secondary education, there is evidence of women who have faced what Paechter and Head (1996) call "gendered marginality" in subjects such as design and technology. Such experiences are often unrecognised in everyday practices and assumptions and so need research to uncover them.

It seems that historical legacies are enduring, where male hegemony is being made and remade over time (Heward, 1999) and in the current situation this is evidenced by the work of Blackmore (1997, 1999) and Forrester (2005), who have shown that managerialism (e.g. performance management) has worked to disadvantage women because it requires a form of performativity that is contrary to how many women wish to work. Certainly there is also evidence that informal judgements about performance show that when a man makes a mistake "everyone appears to be good natured about it"; however, for a woman, "I know for a fact that they're far less charitable, not to my face of course, but behind my back" (p.171). We do not fully know male views of performativity and how they may or may not be disadvantaged by it, though recent work by Blackmore and Sachs (2007) quoting Sinclair's work, shows that managerialism that strengthens masculine forms of leadership (e.g. bullying, workaholicism and club networking) has become "a prison for both men and women because of the expectations of heroism, physical and emotional toughness, and self-reliance" (p.264). Research has resulted in clear understanding of the issues

for women, but so far there are some contradictory findings about securing changes. It seems that women's experiences of leadership in educational institutions can be complex and varied over time (Issac et al., 2009); on the one hand, women can reproduce gender relations (Gannerud, 2001) and on the other, women teachers can work against the grain and are activists in their interpretation of their role in social change (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2005), and that schools can make a difference through challenging cultures and practices (Coldron and Boulton, 1998).

Giving recognition to gender or marginalising it as an issue needs explanation where Rusch and Marshall (2006) talk about "gender filters", which they define as:

"internal schema individuals use to navigate gender-related issues or gender dynamics in educational settings. The filters appear as reactions or responses to situations where gender equity is a subtext. The responses, based either on explicit reasoning or tacit assumptions, express a value position for gender equity" (p.232).

Rusch and Marshall (2006) identify eight such filters and these are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Gender Filters and Leadership (based on Rusch and Marshall, 2006)

Filter	Descriptor
Anger	Anger is used to control gender issues, not least through the use of power and privilege, to silence anyone who challenges the way things are done.
Denial	Denial is used to prevent discussions about gender issues, not least the assumption that professional practice is gender neutral and "any references to gender equity or gendered perspectives were treated as irrelevant or time wasting" (p.233).
Posturing and intellectualising	Posturing and intellectualising is evident mainly in training programmes where there are claims for equity but the content and behaviour do not match this.
Uncomfortable comfort	Uncomfortable is through overtly supporting equity issues but when a particular case arises, the comfort comes through silence and retreat leaving the person without support.
Rose-coloured glasses	People look through rose-coloured glasses when they experience gendered behaviours but present an explanation that "allowed people to avoid confronting issues or to repress them" (p.239). Consequently, they "sustained a secret set of interests, values, external behaviours and gendered interactions that actually reinforced and reified filters that sustain inequity" (p.239).
Defining moments	A defining moment is when a person has their eyes opened to gender inequity and with a "promise to engage and challenge, to disrupt existing patterns and to assist in learning ways to reduce gender tensions" (p.240).
Care and counselling	Care and counselling are used by people through "teachable moments" (p.241) so that a person is helped to recognise what could be a defining moment.
Outsider within	A person who adopts outsider within is someone who is respected by colleagues, who can "navigate gendered interactions" but they do not belong to "the privileged administrative inner circle" (p.243).

The first two filters of anger and denial "reinforce an institutionalised view of leadership that leave women, feminist men and people of colour feeling…isolated, set up for failure". The filters in the second set, which include posturing, uncomfortable comfort and rose-coloured glasses are "subtle and contradictory, but increasingly institutionalized ways that educational administration maintains its inequitable and sometimes sexist traditions" (p.237). The filters in the third set, which include defining moments, care and counselling and outsider within, hold possibilities for change because they can "disrupt the institutionalized practices, highlight equity as an important value, and frequently modify conduct" (p.239). Within the albeit limited data about SLTs in England there is evidence from Wallace and Hall (1994) of possible denial, with some possibilities for teamwork as a defining moment, and from Coleman of examples of the first five filters. The use of the filters is helpful because it enables actual practice to be examined, not least because it explains why gender endures as a power process even if it is denied. Rusch and Marshall (2006) summarise why this is important:

"Most of the eight filters we identified led to actions that reified the traditions of gender inequity, thus, reinforcing the institutionalized practices that protect the privilege of a dominant White-male profession. This set of filters silenced ideas and people who might disrupt the privileges of dominance" (p.232).

They go on to argue that three of the filters (defining moments, care and counselling, outsider within) may be helpful because they "mediated conduct in gendered relationships and led to actions that advanced equity" (p.232) and so the evidence from Wallace and Hall (1994) about the nature of teamwork based on shared and espoused collaborative values is a possibility here.

Endurance of power structures

A focus on embedded social practices requires an analysis that examines how power systems work. For example, the rise of school leadership as the means to transform national standards by New Labour has drawn on models of leadership that are presented as gender neutral or promote 'feminine' behaviours, but researchers' claims are based on masculine assumptions and values (Blackmore, 1999, 2005; Deem, 2003; Gunter, 2001). While there are calls for distributed leadership, it begins with the headteacher as the reference point and does not begin with professional practice or teaching and learning (Gunter, 2005a). Illustrative of this is Leithwood et al. (2006), who present *Seven Strong Claims About Successful School Leadership* for the NCSL without engaging with the issues of male and female employment in schools and there are no references made to gender research. A second example comes from the DfES/PricewaterhouseCoopers (2007) report on school leadership where reference is made to the under-representation of women in senior roles, with governors presented as the problem in regard to "what a headteacher should look like" (p.105). What is missing from this report is a critical analysis of models of leadership and the gendered assumptions about effective leadership. The implications for the construction and reworking of gendered practices is not engaged with regard to the recommendation that a chief executive need not have Qualified Teacher Status (QTS).

This official literature, as commissioned by the Government and the NCSL, is, in Raffo and Gunter's (2008) terms, functional and so increasing the number of women who have leadership roles will not deal with the problem of models of literature that are of themselves gendered (Billing and Alvesson, 2000). Furthermore, it seems that practitioners may not gain access to socially critical research that not only challenges the preferred models of leadership but also presents other ways in which school structure and cultures, and hence professional practice, might be configured and developed. Concerns about the knowledge base are evident in the English field (Gunter, 1997; 2001; Gunter and Fitzgerald, 2008; Hall, 1999) and internationally (Strachan, 1999; Thrupp and Willmott, 2003; Trinidad and Nomore, 2005; Young and McLeod, 2001), where the case is made for approaches to leadership to challenge existing power structures, particularly the male-female and leader-led binary (Bowring, 2004), and to be based on an inclusive approach to values, particularly in relation to teaching and learning. In an international review of leadership preparation programmes, research by Coleman and Fitzgerald (2008) on gender and by Bush and Moloi (2008) on race identifies problems with

current national training programmes in England; it is argued that social justice issues need to feature in the content and learning process for all participants so that a "critical consciousness" is developed within the profession (Coleman and Fitzgerald, 2008: p.133).

The operation of roles and hierarchies in ways that are potentially gendered has been examined by Ozga (2000), who makes the case that the causal link between teacher practice and student outcomes in policy raises issues of gender and competence: "research on appraisal in education and elsewhere indicates that women consistently undersell themselves in such self-promoting systems, and also draws attention to the gendered division of labour in teaching, where women are more likely than men to spend time and effort on unremarked tasks that do not carry weight in the appraisal process" (p.230-231). Developmental and peer appraisal was replaced by performance management where Ozga's analysis still resonates, not least by Mahony et al.'s (2004) analysis of the impact of the threshold assessment process introduced as a result of the *Teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (DFEE, 1998) Green Paper. Mahony et al.'s (2004) ESRC-funded project found that:

"…individualistic, competitive and performative model of promotion and progression recently introduced in schools construct cultures that are at odds with professional cultures of teaching and particularly hostile to women. Furthermore, there is evidence that the sense of permanent visibility is leading to increased levels of self-surveillance that are being manifested, for example, through teachers being 'much more careful about keeping bits of evidence because you never know when you're going to need it' (respondent)" (p.146).

Mahony et al. go on to argue that performance management is a "masculinizing agenda" (p.147) where "relational justice" (p.146) is altered as new power relationships are formed through the ordering and sorting of people. The ways in which work is undertaken is questioned and "categories and cohorts of teachers will find themselves being privileged (or not)" (p.146). The focus in all performance systems on the individual means that the social relational aspect of gender as a power process seems to be removed, but in reality remains and can reveal itself in common sense stereotyping of what men and women 'naturally' want and need.

While the advent of site-based management from 1988 has led to arguments that teamwork and visioning require feminine attributes such as listening and supporting, it is also argued that this is deflecting attention away from the substantive issue that women may not wish to apply for headship because of how the role is conceptualised (this could also apply to men who reject masculine models). Research shows that leadership has been, but need not be, disconnected from teaching and learning (Gunter, 2005b) and that practitioners question such a separation in ways that impact on their decision to seek promotion (Young and McLeod, 2001). Blackmore (1999) presents detailed empirical evidence from teachers in Australia about the challenge for women in handling the promotion of more feminine styles. She shows that leadership in its current configuration is a barrier to equity, not least because transformational models stressing feminine attributes are not new but remain concerned with the exercise of power over others to deliver externally determined organisational change. She presents an agenda for leadership that is about developing activism and working for social justice and the need for mentoring and educating the next generation of leaders in a range of knowledge and ways of bringing about change (Blackmore, 2005). Notably, Coleman (2004) shows in her research in England that women want mentoring and they gain from role models. Developing from this is research evidence from New Zealand about co-principalship (Court, 2007) and how sharing leadership by women constructs professional practice in ways that are different from the team approaches where unity is seen as essential. Consequently, through establishing power sharing, the women headteachers were able to challenge what they had inherited. As Court states: "these three women drew creatively on different feminist and non-feminist understandings of teamwork and collectivity, to challenge and change in their school the previously hierarchical structures, practices and understandings of professional leadership" (p.12).

Reform of teaching and teachers' work over the past 30 years has been underpinned by a form of professionalism that is regarded as gendered through all sectors of education (Blackmore,

1999; Deem, 2003; Gunter, 2001; Leonard, 1998; Ozga, 2000). It has put emphasis on organisational efficiencies and effectiveness and has not given attention to working with children and issues around learning (Lingard et al., 2003). Hence, the concept of teacher as rational agent who is delivering educational change is highly gendered in its assumptions about identity and motivation (Dillabough, 1999). There is evidence that women can and do resist these forms of gendered professionalism and work to reframe teaching in ways that are political and activist (Smulyan, 2004a, 2004b). Furthermore, as already noted, the so-called 'feminisation' of teaching is highly problematic and more research is needed about how the larger representation of women has impacted on how the profession is understood and practised. There are contradictory views about whether feminisation is a problem of too many women or how the number of women is conceptualised and politicised. Overall, the larger number of women is seen in a negative light and Weiner (Weiner et al., 2000) has engaged with this by considering the productive possibilities for the profession. How gender issues are conceptualised varies from those who see not enough women in senior roles or not enough men in early years teaching as a technical problem to be solved to those who examine cultures and identities formed within and through gender relations in schools and our wider society (Connell, 2002).

There is evidence of a range of research designs from surveys (e.g. Coleman) through to in-depth narratives (e.g. Hall); there is evidence that there are studies of gender as power relations from a woman's perspective but little work on or with men; there is evidence of studies of women as a gender issue but also there are claims made of the need to examine ethnicity (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2005; Davidson et al., 2005), class (Maguire, 2005), sexuality (Lugg, 2003) and age (George and Maguire, 1998; Grambs, 1987). Work by Davidson et al. (2005) shows that while there are distinctive patterns within the workforce in relation to numbers and attitudes (e.g. lack of ethnic groups in senior manager/headteacher roles), the diversity of the workforce requires research to look at a range of variables. This has a number of implications for research, for example, just as research into leadership and gender may be framed in ways that disadvantage women, it is the case that research into leadership assumes that all teachers are "non-queer" (Lugg 2003). The way power structures shape research means that "women as educational leaders have been theorised about as if they form a collective identity based on their gender and the sharing of common experiences and struggles" (Fitzgerald, 2003, p.432). In raising this, Fitzgerald goes on to examine what this means for Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand, where she argues that whiteness needs to be problematised because it "is constructed and positioned as the norm" (p.442). Hence, research and conceptualisations about and for leadership need to be based on studies framed through "intersections" in ways that enable the complexity of identities to be described and understood. Holvino (2008) argues that there is "the simultaneity of race, gender and class in organizations" (p.14) and so there is a need to engage with this in ways that challenge the research community regarding how they position themselves. She raises questions about who will fund such work and how those in dominant positions undertake research in ways that will reveal this and generate opportunities for those who are currently 'othered' to be recognised and heard. These matters are part of a bigger issue about how the field understands itself, its claims and the way power works. For example, Marshall (2000) states the following about research:

"The child who said, 'Yikes! That emperor has no clothes!' was like the young scholars today who are researching the issue of women in school leadership. The methodological and theoretical leaps of the past three decades lend support to those who actively research questions that challenge the emperor. The repressed truths about persistent underrepresentation of women in educational management positions, and the ways the scholars, the knowledge base, the professional culture have perpetuated this repression, are a naked embarrassment. Though the child and the scholars may be shushed for challenging hegemony, they know what they see" (p.699).

Marshall goes on to note that there is a need for people to recognise that social practice is not gender neutral and she lists a number of researchers who are doing this work, but no one on the list is from the UK. What this report has done is to identify the silences in the English field

and how models of leadership have, to paraphrase Marshall, a 'shushing' effect on research questions, design and conceptualisations.

1.4 Summary

Our analysis of the current evidence base about gender and leadership is that the volume of research evidence remains limited in England. This is particularly the case in regard to SLTs as a particular focus of this project. Notably, there is limited evidence in regard to succession planning and the appointment process. What does exist identifies that while women dominate the profession numerically, leadership remains a male dominated career. White men and women dominate the profession and leadership positions, although there is some regional variation in regard to gender. The reasons identified for the situation focus on organisation and cultural barriers and how power processes operate in ways that discriminate. The way leadership is officially conceptualised and trained is identified as problematic, with a lack of recognition of issues of social justice and equity.

Part Two

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Aims of the Study

To investigate:
- gendered patterns in career progression and identify what, if any, differences emerge in relation to phase;
- gendered patterns in career progression and identify how career breaks and family responsibilities interplay with and impact differentially on career trajectories;
- gendered patterns in leadership aspirations and identify what, if any, differences emerge in relation to phase;
- the barriers and enablers to career progression and identify what, if any, different patterns emerge in relation to phase and gender;
- gendered perceptions of equal opportunities in the appointment process, career management and progression;
- the structure of SLTs and, in particular, what gendered patterns can be identified in the ways they operate.

2.2 Sampling Strategy, Distribution and Instruments

The sample comprised two distinct components. Sample 1 was a selected sample of schools from across the UK that had advertised a post on the leadership scale within the last three years. Sample 2 comprised members of the NASUWT in senior leadership roles (headteacher, deputy headteacher and assistant headteacher) or middle leadership roles (teachers on TLR posts or equivalent).

Sample 1

Sample 1 was a sample of 5,000 (maintained) schools from England and Wales that had advertised headships (in 2007/08), deputy headships (in 2005/06 and 2006/07) and assistant headships (in 2005/06 and 2006/07). The purpose of targeting schools with recently appointed leadership posts was to maximise data on recently appointed senior leaders to inform better estimates of current proportions of men and women appointed to these posts. Three copies of the questionnaire were sent to the headteacher of each school for distribution to members of their SLT. The purpose of this was to allow for comparative analysis within schools in such cases where sufficient multiple copies were received. Also included in this sample were all schools in two local authorities in Scotland and two in Northern Ireland. No details were available of recently advertised leadership posts for these countries.

Sample 2

Sample 2 encompassed teachers from senior and middle leadership posts. The senior leadership group comprised teachers who were in the post of headteacher, deputy headteacher or assistant headteacher. The middle leadership group comprised teachers on TLR posts or equivalent. All teachers were sent a copy of the questionnaire and an accompanying letter outlining the aims of the research directly from the NASUWT.

Identical questionnaires were distributed to the two samples. They contained questions structured in five main sections: qualifications and career history; leadership structures in current school; strategic career planning; barriers and enablers to career/leadership aspirations; and experiences and perceptions about leadership (including promotion, equality, working lives and leadership styles).

Respondents from both samples were incentivised by a prize draw for £100 of book vouchers. The questionnaires were distributed to both samples in mid to late November 2008 with Freepost envelopes for return by 15 December 2008. Respondents were assured of anonymity and the confidentiality of information provided and asked if they were willing to be interviewed.

2.3 Returned Survey Sample

A total of 1,156 teachers responded to the survey (representing an overall 8% response rate) and were included in the analysis. From the instrument distributed to selected schools with recent leadership appointments (Sample 1) there were 464 responses. From the instrument distributed to NASUWT members (Sample 2) there were 692 responses. The returned sample provided a balanced and robust data set on which to undertake analysis in relation to the main variables of phase, sex and post and also provided good representativeness of the underlying teacher workforce in respect of all the main variables as outlined below.

Sex of the Returned Sample

Of the 1,156 returned samples, 1,144 indicated their sex and of those, 28% (n=317) were male and 72% (n=827) were female. The sex balance in the returned survey is directly comparable to that of the teacher workforce overall in which women teachers constitute 70% (DCSF, Jan 2008).

Country and English Government Office Region of the returned sample

Of the returned samples, 1,093 identified the local authority in which they were employed and this information was used to identify the country, and, in the case of England, the Government Office Region (GOR), in which they were employed (see Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1). Of the returned sample, 6.7% were from the devolved administrations and 87.9% were from England (the remaining 5.4% did not provide details). UK-wide, teachers in England account for 84%, Scotland 9%, Wales 4% and Northern Ireland 3%, in line with the overall population. Within England, the returned sample is largely representative of the teaching population across the GORs.

Table 2.1: Sample disaggregated for Government Office Region and devolved administration

	GOR and devolved administrations	Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent
Valid	London	138	11.9	12.6
	West Midlands	139	12.0	12.7
	North West	156	13.5	14.3
	Yorkshire and Humber	100	8.7	9.1
	North East	43	3.7	3.9
	South West	73	6.3	6.7
	Eastern	109	9.4	10.0
	East Midlands	109	9.4	10.0
	South East	149	12.9	13.6
	Wales	15	1.3	1.4
	Northern Ireland	33	2.9	3.0
	Scotland	29	2.5	2.7
	Total	1093	94.5	100.0
Missing	System	63	5.5	
Total		1156	100.0	

Figure 2.1: Sample disaggregated for Government Office Region and devolved administration
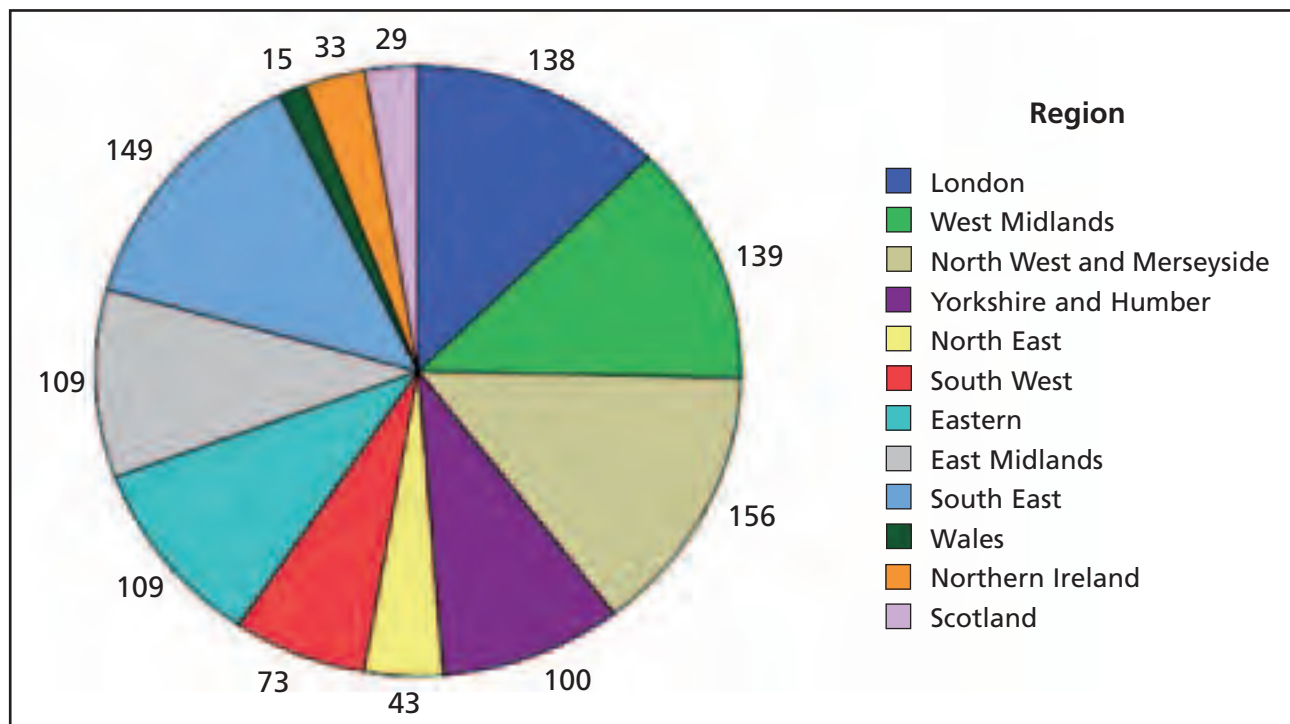
Post of the returned sample

The returned sample generated samples of senior and middle leaders comparable in size for the purposes of analysis. Limitations in the analysis (see sections 1.5 and 1.6) related mainly to the difficulties posed by the gender disparity in the underlying population of primary teachers. Of the respondents indicating their post and sex, 282 (25%) were headteachers, 228 (20%) deputy headteachers, 196 (17%) assistant headteachers and 343 (30%) teachers with TLR (Table 2.2). A further 8% of respondents were in 'other' posts, including 41 (4%) categorising themselves as 'other', 38 (3%) on the upper pay scale (UPS) and 9 (1%) Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs)/Excellent Teachers (ETs).

Overall, 59% of women and 71% of men were in the senior leadership posts of headteacher, deputy headteacher and assistant headteacher.

Table 2.2: Sample disaggregated for sex and post

		Sex of respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
Present post	Headteacher	79	203	282
		25.0%	24.7%	24.8%
	Deputy head	78	150	228
		24.7%	18.3%	20.1%
	Assistant head	66	130	196
		20.9%	15.8%	17.2%
	Post with TLR	68	275	343
		21.5%	33.5%	30.2%
	Other	25	63	88
		7.9%	7.7%	7.7%
Total		316	821	1137

Note: Further data, including breakdown by phase, is included in main body of findings.

Age of the returned sample

The average age of women respondents was 45 years and men was 46 years. Sixty-six per cent of the sample were aged over 40 years and 38% over 50 years. Of the respondents, 368 did not indicate their age; 33% of this group were women and 26% men. Table 2.3 below shows the mean ages of the sample disaggregated for sex and phase.

Table 2.3: Mean age of respondents disaggregated for sex and phase

Ethnicity of the returned sample

	Sex of respondent	Mean	Number	Standard deviation	Grouped median
Primary	Male	44.24	71	11.191	44.00
	Female	44.25	248	9.655	45.56
	Total	44.25	319	9.999	45.36
Secondary	Male	46.77	144	9.110	48.00
	Female	45.43	251	9.210	46.72
	Total	45.92	395	9.185	47.18
Total	Male	45.93	215	9.892	47.29
	Female	44.84	499	9.443	46.25
	Total	45.17	714	9.586	46.55

A total of 1,119 of the returned sample provided details of their ethnicity (Table 2.4). Eight-one per cent of the sample identified themselves as white English and 12% identified themselves as Scottish, Irish or Welsh. Only 3.6% of respondents came from non-white backgrounds in England. No teachers from Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland identified themselves as from non-white backgrounds. Nationally (in England), 6.7% of the teachers come from non-white backgrounds (DCSF, January 2008, Statistics of Education: *School Workforce in England*). Although the non-white return was considerably smaller than in the teacher workforce as a whole, the survey sample was of teachers in promoted posts, in which BME teachers are less well represented (McNamara et al., 2009).

Table 2.4: Sample disaggregated for ethnicity and sex

		All returns (freq)	%	Male	Valid %	Female	Valid %
Valid	Bangladeshi	2	.2	2	0.7	0	0.0
	Indian	5	.4	0	0.0	5	0.6
	Pakistani	5	.4	3	1.0	2	0.2
	Asian – other	1	.1	0	0.0	1	0.1
	African	3	.3	1	0.3	2	0.2
	Caribbean	7	.6	2	0.7	5	0.6
	Black – other	3	.3	1	0.3	2	0.2
	English	906	78.4	238	78.5	668	81.9
	Irish	38	3.3	11	3.6	27	3.3
	Scottish	35	3.0	9	3.0	26	3.2
	Welsh	65	5.6	25	8.3	40	4.9
	White – other	36	3.1	8	2.6	28	3.4
	Mixed – white and Asian	6	.5	1	0.3	5	0.6
	Mixed – black African	1	.1	0	0.0	1	0.1
	Mixed – black Caribbean	3	.3	1	0.3	2	0.2
	Mixed – other	2	.2	1	0.3	1	0.1
	Other	1	.1	0	0.0	1	0.1
	Total	1119	96.8	303	100	816	100
Missing	System	37	3.2				
Total		1156	100.0				

Phase of the returned sample

Forty-four per cent (n=476) of the returned sample were from the primary sector, 50% (n=553) from the secondary sector and 6% (n=69) from special schools. This was directly comparable with the overall workforce – figures from 2009 workforce data indicate that approximately 47% are in primary, 50% in secondary and 3% in special schools in England. Limitations in the analysis as a result of the sample returns (see sections 1.5 and 1.6) related to the difficulties posed by the disparity in size of the responses, reflecting, in part, the underlying population.

When disaggregating phase by sex, women teachers constituted 81% of the respondents in primary, 65% in secondary and 67% in special schools. In England (taking all grades of teachers into account) 85% of primary teachers are female, 57% in secondary and 69% in special schools (DCSF, 2007); in senior positions, males account for greater proportions than their proportion overall in each of the three sectors.

School context of the returned sample

Of the returned sample, 990 reported on the location (urban, rural or suburban) of the school in which they were employed. Table 2.5 below shows that in urban contexts the gender balance of respondents was almost identical (48% of men and 46% of women). However, proportionally more men (24%) compared to women (19%) worked in rural contexts and the reverse was true for suburban contexts (29% men and 35% women).

Table 2.5: Sample disaggregated for sex and school context

| | | Sex of respondent | | Total |
		Male	Female	
	Urban	129	333	462
		47.6%	46.3%	46.7%
	Rural	64	134	198
		23.6%	18.6%	20.0%
	Suburban	78	252	330
		28.8%	35.0%	33.3%
Total		271	719	990
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

2.4 Analysis

Analysis was undertaken with respect to three factors: sex (male and female), phase (primary and secondary), post (headteacher, deputy, assistant and TLR). There were too few teachers who responded to the survey from special schools for their data to be analysed and reported as discrete groups for all questions within the survey. It was not always possible to undertake analysis by all the levels of disaggregation. Responses from posts below TLR, which amounted to 8% of the data set, were included for whole data set analysis but not included as a separate category when considering posts, again because of the numbers involved.

The counts in the three devolved administrations of the UK were too low individually to provide comparative data with the English setting so they were on most occasions combined to give a comparative English against devolved administration perspective. Certain analyses were undertaken in respect of the devolved administrations and the English GORs. In instances where the question did not pertain to the devolved administrations, their returns were removed from the data set entirely; the question regarding the new funding regulations for the NPQH was one such instance.

For questions (mainly perception questions in Section E of the questionnaire) where 'unsure' or 'don't know' was an option for respondents, the analysis has been conducted with these

responses removed to elicit the difference between the groups who expressed an opinion in addition. Overall proportions that expressed 'unsure' or 'don't know' are reported initially along with any notable differences for disaggregated groups. However, individual disaggregated groups had significantly different proportions disagreeing or selecting 'unsure', which did not reflect the difference between groups who expressed an opinion.

In general, when reported in this analysis, only those statistically significant at the 95% confidence level are expressed at disaggregated sex, phase and post levels. In the primary phase, due to the sample size, only headteachers were comparable between the sexes. In the case of the secondary sector, however, each of the four main post groups within the survey sample was comparable.

2.5 Limitations of the Study

As in any survey instrument, respondents were elective and this could well introduce a bias into the findings in terms of attracting disproportionate numbers of returns from those who have common issues and concerns connected to the area of the study. In terms of 'gender', the central focus of this study, an attempt was made to counter the tendency for bias by ensuring the questions were framed in as gender-neutral a tone as possible. From the point of view of the profile of the returned sample, one of the key indicators, responses from men and women teachers were almost exactly representative of the proportions in the underlying population.

The low returns from the devolved administrations made it impossible to speak with authority for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland in respect of the gendered patterns in SLTs in the individual countries. In almost all instances (except where the context of the question made it not relevant), the returns from the devolved administrations have been included in the main data set to give a combined UK perspective. Neither was it meaningful to aggregate the data from the devolved administrations because of the extreme differences in context and the composition of the teacher workforce in the three nations.

The very limited returns from senior and middle leaders in the special school sector compared to those in the primary and secondary phases made analysis at anything other than very basic levels inappropriate.

The pattern of returns, dictated in most cases by the underlying population distributions, made it difficult to speak with authority on the comparison between certain posts. The most extreme example of this would be primary male headteachers against primary female headteachers but generally the disproportionate numbers of female teachers in the primary phase meant that analyses at post level in terms of gendered patterns were not like for like.

The sampling strategy meant that 40% of returns were elicited from schools that had recently advertised a new leadership post (headteacher, deputy headteacher, assistant headteacher). This was advantageous in terms of maximising the number of recent appointments to look at changing trends in appointments, but it may have slightly skewed the sample to more recently appointed senior leaders and also the overall data on length of service in posts and pattern of appointments may have been slightly skewed as a result.

The sampling strategy targeted members of schools' SLTs that consisted, almost exclusively, of teachers on promoted posts on either the leadership scale or TLRs. This meant that only the opinions of those successful in terms of their leadership aspirations were canvassed. In particular, responses were not sought or received from women teachers who had returned to teaching after a career break and had no aspiration, or had not been able, to achieve a leadership post.

Finally, the sampling frame used for this study did not garner sufficient comparative data on BME teachers to allow for data to be disaggregated by ethnicity but some limited comparative analysis is available in a parallel study of *The Leadership Aspirations and Careers and Aspirations of Black and Minority Ethnic Teachers* (McNamara et al., 2009). The latter study drew its sample from a database of the NPQH completers (2003-07) supplied by the NCSL, and BME members of the NASUWT.

Part Three

Chapter 3: Career Profile of Sample

3.1 Current Post

Of the respondents indicating both post and sex, 279 (25%) were headteachers, 228 (20%) deputy headteachers, 199 (17%) assistant headteachers, 343 (30%) in TLR posts and 88 (8%) 'others' (of which 38 were on UPS, 41 in non-teaching posts and 9 ASTs/ETs).

Table 3.1 below indicates the disaggregated proportions of teachers by phase of education, post and sex. Overall, only 59% of women respondents were in senior leadership posts (headteachers, deputy headteachers and assistant headteachers) compared to 71% of men. Disaggregated by sector, the trend was even more marked. In primary, 85% of men responding were in senior leadership posts compared to only 67% of women. In the secondary phase, 63% of men and only 46% of women respondents were in senior leadership posts.

Within the samples of headteachers (across both phases) used for this analysis, there was a clear trend towards greater proportions of female headteachers being appointed in the most recent five-year period than in the five-years prior to that. Only 24% of headteachers that had been in their current post for five-years or less were men, whereas in the case of headteachers that had for been in post for between five and ten years, 38% were male. When disaggregated for phase, there was very little difference in primary between the proportions of each sex appointed during these two time frames, around 20% in each were male. In secondary settings, however, there were greater proportions of female headteachers appointed in the most recent five-year period than in the five-year period prior to that.

Table 3.1: Sample disaggregated for post, phase and sex

Post title	Primary		Secondary		Special		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Headteacher	40	138	29	35	6	17	75	190
	44.0%	36.0%	15.1%	9.8%	26.10%	37.00%	24.50%	24.10%
Deputy head	26	88	42	46	7	5	75	139
	28.6%	23.0%	21.9%	12.8%	30.40%	10.90%	24.50%	17.70%
Assistant head	11	32	50	83	4	13	65	128
	12.1%	8.4%	26.0%	23.2%	17.40%	28.30%	21.205	16.30%
Post with TLR	12	104	49	157	5	9	66	270
	13.2%	27.2%	25.5%	43.9%	21.70%	19.60%	21.60%	34.30%
Other	2	21	22	37	1	2	25	60
	2.2%	5.4%	11.5%	10.4%	4.30%	4.40%	8.20%	7.60%
Total	91	383	192	358	23	46	306	787
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

3.2 Sex and Age Profile

The profile of the returned sample overall, and when disaggregated by phase, matched the characteristics of the teaching workforce as a whole: 28% (n=317) were male and 72% (n=827) were female. As shown in Figure 3.1, women constituted 81% of the respondents in the primary sector, 65% in the secondary sector and 67% in special schools.

Figure 3.1: The proportions of each sex in sample disaggregated for phase

Primary Secondary Special Sex of respondent

■ Male
■ Female

81% 65% 67%
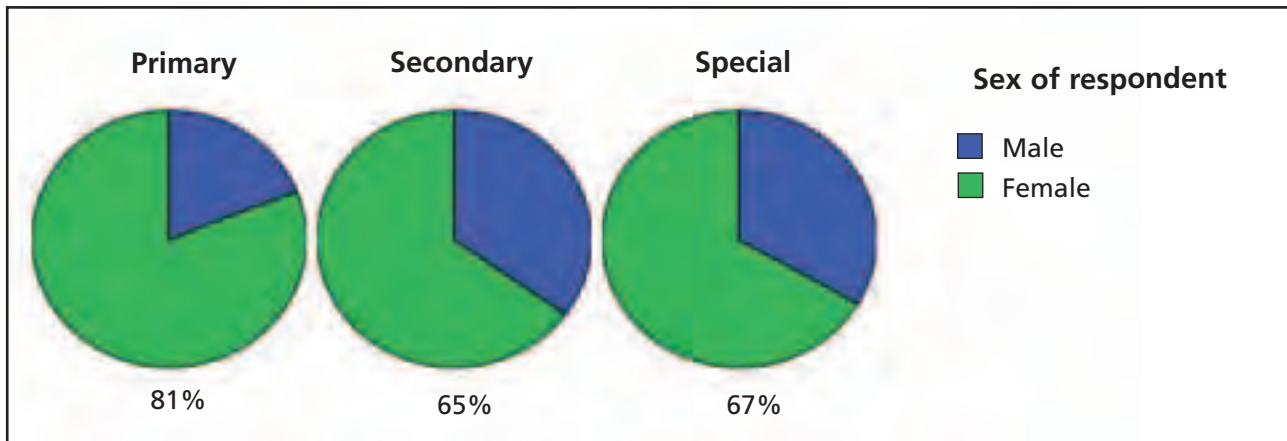
The average age of women teachers in the sample was 45 years and men 46. The distribution of the age profiles was bi-polar, reflecting the spread of ages within the teaching workforce as a whole. The mean age for each of the main four post groups was: headteacher, 50; deputy headteacher, 45; assistant headteacher, 44; and TLR, 43. Comparing the primary and secondary phases, there was a marked difference in the comparative ages of the teachers in these senior leadership posts, secondary being different from their primary counterparts (see Table 3.2), the greatest difference being at deputy headteacher level.

Table 3.2: Mean age of teachers disaggregated by phase and post group

	Primary	Secondary	Total
Headteacher	49.9	51.9	50.2
Deputy	41.4	49	45.3
Assistant	41.2	44.6	44.1
TLR	40.8	43.3	42.6

Figure 3.2: Mean age of secondary teachers in sample disaggregated for sex and post

Sex of respondent

■ Male
■ Female

Headteacher Deputy Assistant TLR
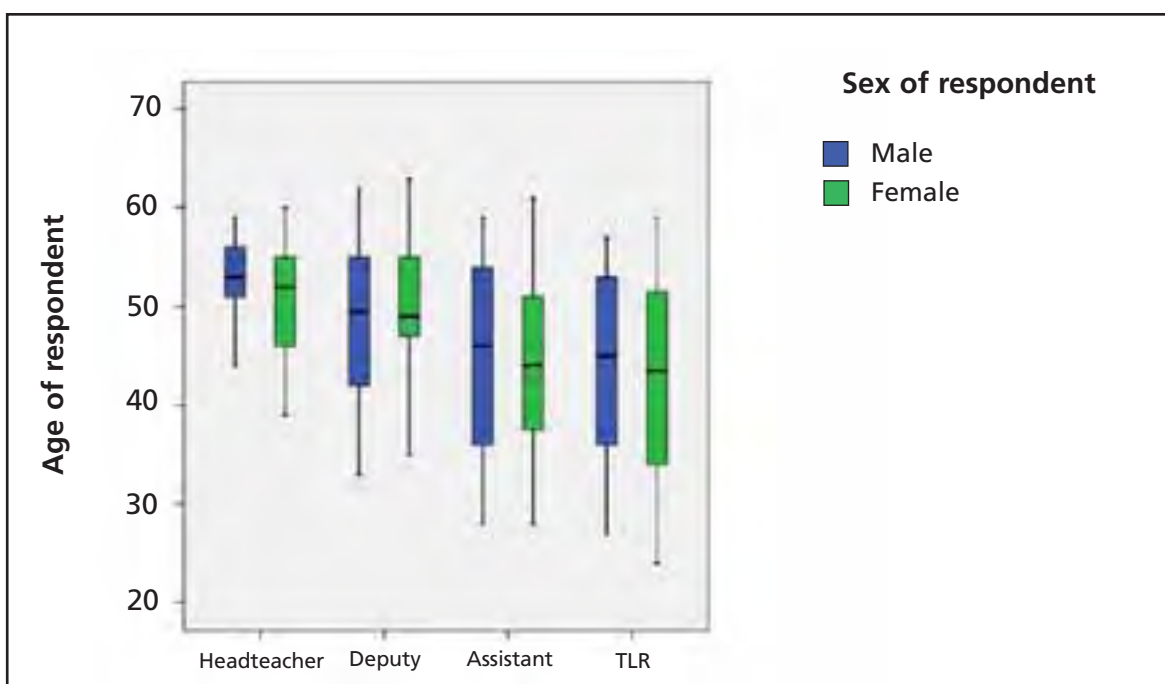
The average age of teachers in promoted posts in primary schools was almost identical for the sexes (44.2 for male and 44.3 for female) despite there being proportionally more men in the senior roles of headteacher, deputy and assistant (84.7% compared to 67.4% female) within the returned sample. There were insufficient numbers of men in the primary sample to compare ages disaggregated by sex in respect of posts other than headship where the figures were almost identical (m=49.8, f=49.9).

The secondary male sample was marginally older at 46.8 years than the women who averaged 45.4 years but comparisons show no statistically significant differences in mean ages. Figure 3.2 of secondary posts disaggregated by sex, shows male headteachers were two years older at 53 years than their female counterparts at 51 years. This trend was reversed at deputy headteacher level where female headteachers were two years older at 50 years than their male counterparts at 48 years. For assistant headteachers and TLR posts, the figures were almost identical.

3.3 School Size and Context

There were no significant gendered trends in respect of school size. Table 3.3 below shows the average numbers of pupil on roll disaggregated by school type, sex and post. In primary, there was a tendency for female headteachers and deputy headteachers to be employed in larger schools than their male counterparts. In the secondary sector, there was a tendency at post levels other than assistant headteacher for men to be employed in schools with a larger pupil roll than women.

Table 3.3: Mean number of pupils on roll disaggregated for sex, school type and post level

Sex of respondent	Post level	Sex	N	Mean no. of pupils
Primary	Headteacher	Male	38	224
		Female	124	247
	Deputy	Male	26	231.7
		Female	81	298.6
	Assistant	Male	8	438.8
		Female	31	382.1
	TLR	Male	11	308.7
		Female	100	315.6
	Headteacher	Male	28	1080.9
		Female	36	1069.5
	Deputy	Male	40	1147.2
		Female	43	1084.3
	Assistant	Male	45	1065.7
		Female	75	1140.7
	TLR	Male	48	1109.8
		Female	154	1092.9

In terms of school size, the very slight tendency for female primary headteachers to be employed in schools with more pupils on the roll was reversed in Chapter 12 where the analysis of data relating to the sex of the headteachers of all primary schools represented in the sample shows that overall, male primary headteachers were employed in larger schools. The tendency in the secondary phase for male headteachers to be employed in larger schools was supported by the data from the larger sample presented in Chapter 12.

Respondents were also asked to identify whether their school was in an urban, rural or suburban context. The proportions of men and women employed in urban contexts were very similar at 48% and 46% respectively. However, proportionately more men than women were employed in rural contexts, 24% and 19% respectively, and the reverse was true for suburban contexts where the figures were 29% for men and 35% for women. There were significant differences (Sig1) when disaggregating for sex and phase of education; slightly more women (49%) than men (47%) taught in urban primary schools but noticeably more men were employed in rural primary schools (31% compared to 19% women) and proportionally more women were employed in suburban primary schools (32% compared to 22% men). There was almost no difference between the sexes in secondary schools.

When disaggregating for post and sex, the only post level to show significant differences was that of headteachers (Sig2). Female headteachers were more likely to be working in urban environments than male headteachers and the greatest difference was in respect to rural schools where 36% of the male headteachers were employed compared to 21% of the female headteachers (see Table 3.4).

When disaggregated by phase, the differences were not significant for secondary headteachers but in the primary sector the differences were significant. Here, 38% of male headteachers were in urban environments compared to 48% of women, 51% of male headteachers were in rural environments compared to 22% of female headteachers and 11% of male headteachers were in suburban environments compared to 30% of female headteachers.

Table 3.4: School context disaggregated by sex and post

Post analysis			Sex of respondent		Total
			Male	Female	
Headteacher	Area characteristics	Urban	37.9%	47.7%	45.0%
		Rural	36.4%	20.7%	25.0%
		Suburban	25.8%	31.6%	30.0%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Area characteristics	Urban	49.2%	44.7%	46.3%
		Rural	21.5%	21.1%	21.3%
		Suburban	29.2%	34.1%	32.4%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Area characteristics	Urban	58.9%	46.0%	50.3%
		Rural	10.7%	15.0%	13.6%
		Suburban	30.4%	38.9%	36.1%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Area characteristics	Urban	54.1%	45.2%	47.0%
		Rural	18.0%	17.5%	17.6%
		Suburban	27.9%	37.3%	35.5%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

3.4 Years in Current Post

Overall, men had been employed in their current posts for an average of 5.9 years compared to 5.1 years for women. The greatest, and significant (Sig3), difference was between male and female headteachers where the men had been in post two years longer on average than their female counterparts. This may result from the increasing proportion of women being appointed as headteachers as mentioned in section 3.1. The differences at the other disaggregated post levels were not significant (see Table 3.5 below).

Table 3.5: Mean number of years in current post disaggregated by post and sex

Post level	Sex	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Headteacher	Male	7.2669	71	6.32788
	Female	4.9778	165	4.30168
Deputy	Male	5.3845	71	5.98939
	Female	5.0667	135	5.09146
Assistant	Male	4.425	60	4.29705
	Female	3.3676	119	2.39184
TLR	Male	5.8923	65	5.75848
	Female	5.4449	256	5.06472
Total	Male	5.7931	267	5.7533
	Female	4.8889	675	4.57134

3.5 Appointment to Current Post

To achieve their current posts, men in the sample had applied for significantly (Sig4) more jobs than women (2.9 to 2.4). Disaggregated by post, at all levels, women applied for fewer jobs to secure a post than men. The most significant (Sig5) difference was at deputy headteacher level where men applied for a mean 3.1 jobs to women's 2.3. When disaggregating for phase and sex, males submitted more applications than females to get their current post in both primary (m=3.3, f=2.4) and secondary (m=2.8, f=2.5) phase at workforce level.

Overall, having made an application, men were also often less likely to get an interview. For example, male headteachers applied for more jobs (before being appointed to their current post) than their female counterparts and were invited to proportionately fewer interviews (the difference is mainly evident for headteachers in primary schools). Overall, women were invited to 2.7 interviews from an average of three applications whereas men were invited to 2.35 interviews from an average of 3.7 applications. It should be noted that the mean averages include those teachers who indicated that they had submitted '0' applications or been invited to '0' interviews from which it was inferred that teachers achieved their current posts through internal processes. This was particularly noticeable in respect of a very small number of men currently in primary assistant headteacher posts and TLR posts where the individuals in question had on average made fewer applications than they had had interviews. This may have been an anomaly resulting from reconfiguration of posts in the 2005 staffing review.

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 below show that the differences were even more interesting when the data was disaggregated by phase. In the primary phase, women made fewer applications for headships than men but had been invited to headteacher post interviews 93% of the time whilst primary men's success rate at getting a headteacher post interview was 48%. The pattern for deputy headships was similar, women making fewer applications for a post, although respective success rates for primary deputy headteachers were considerably more equitable, averaging 81% success rate for women and 84% for men. The small number of male primary assistant headteachers makes any comparison unreliable.

Table 3.6: Applications and interviews required to achieve current post (primary)

Primary schools		Applications (mean)		Interviews (mean)	
Post level	Sex	Mean	N	Mean	N
Headteacher	Male	4.38	32	2.11	35
	Female	3.25	102	3.01	105
Deputy	Male	3.09	22	2.59	22
	Female	2.05	59	1.67	64
Assistant	Male	1.6	5	1.75	4
	Female	2.42	12	1.47	17
TLR	Male	1.29	7	1.5	8
	Female	1.41	54	1.33	60
Total	Male	3.41	66	2.17	69
	Female	2.45	227	2.15	246

In the secondary phase, the success rates were reasonably equitable. Women were invited to headteacher interviews 84% of the time compared to men 87% of the time and the respective figures for deputy headteachers were men 81% and women 93%.

Table 3.7: Applications and interviews required to achieve current post (secondary)

Secondary schools		Applications (mean)		Interviews (mean)	
Post level	Sex	Mean	N	Mean	N
Headteacher	Male	3.08	24	2.70	23
	Female	3.00	27	2.56	27
Deputy	Male	3.09	34	2.50	30
	Female	2.64	33	2.45	33
Assistant	Male	2.86	36	1.97	38
	Female	2.44	52	2.16	51
TLR	Male	2.56	32	1.83	40
	Female	1.88	81	1.69	96
Total	Male	2.89	126	2.18	131
	Female	2.32	193	2.04	207

Chapter 4: Career History of Sample

4.1 Age of Entry to the Profession

The age at which both men and women started teaching was almost identical at 24.3 years and 24.4 years, respectively. The range of age of entry to the profession spanned from the early twenties to the early forties and this was the case across sex, age, post and phase. Although there were instances of individuals entering the profession late (sometimes very late) yet achieving headteacher posts, the vast majority of entrants who achieved leadership posts entered the profession between the ages of 21 and 24. The lack of difference between sexes in relation to age of entry was consistent when the data was disaggregated for phase and post. There were statistically significant differences between the mean starting ages (Figure 4.1) for the differing post levels (Sig6) and these differences also exist when disaggregating for phase. Secondary headteachers' mean starting age was lowest at 23.2 years, rising gradually to teachers in TLR posts whose mean starting age was 24.8 (Sig7). This tendency was also evident in the primary phase where headteachers had the lowest mean starting age at 24.08, rising to 25.29 for teacher on TLR posts as shown in Table 4.1 below (Sig8).

Table 4.1: Mean age of entry by post and phase

	Primary		Secondary	
	Mean	N	Mean	N
Headteacher	24.08	174	23.18	65
Deputy	24.80	114	23.59	88
Assistant	25.05	43	23.73	131
TLR	25.29	118	24.81	204
Total	24.67	449	24.08	488

Figure 4.1: Age of entry disaggregated for sex and post
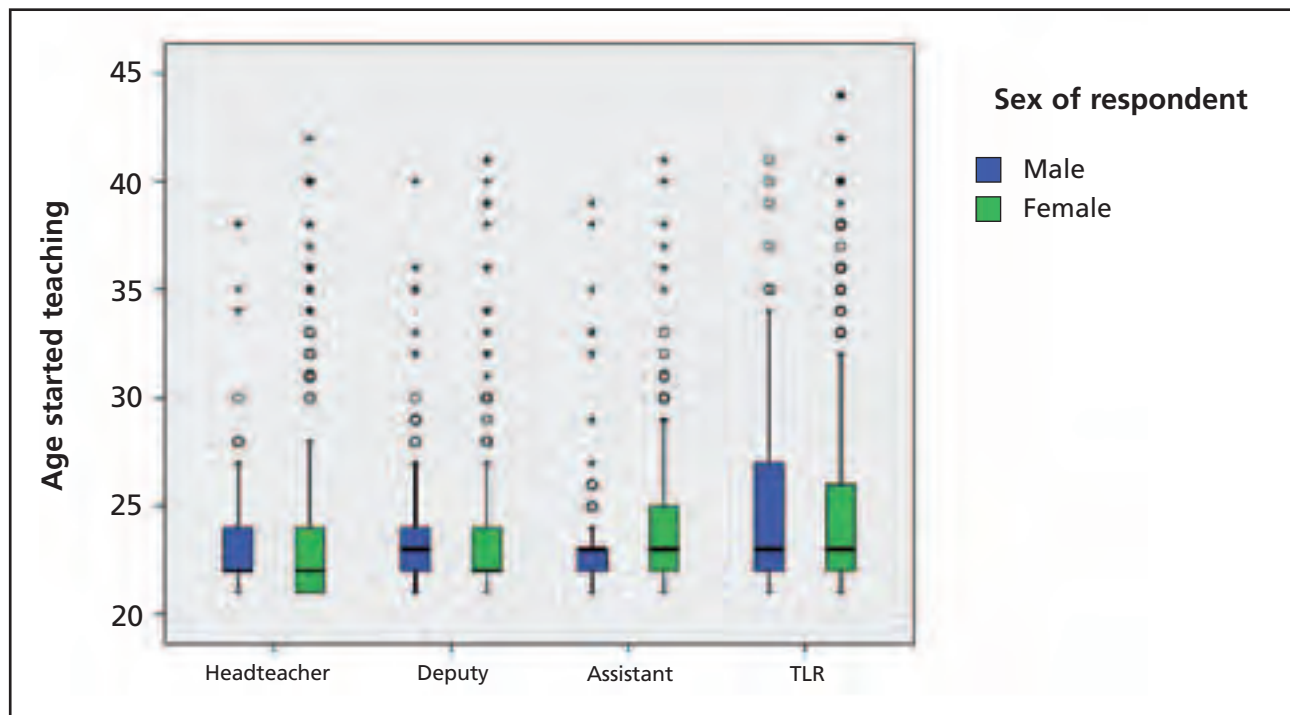
4.2 Years in Service

In addition to the differences in age of entry to the profession, there were trends to be observed in the mean number of years taught by teachers in each post. Overall, men, with a mean of 21.7 years of service, had more teaching experience than women, with 18.8 years of service; although this may reflect the higher proportion of women teachers with TLR posts in the sample.

Table 4.2 below shows that when disaggregating for phase, men had taught more years than women. In primary, the male teachers in the sample had taught for 19.9 years compared to 18.5 years for female teachers. In secondary, the differences were significant at 22 years for men and 19 years for women but again reflected the greater proportion of women teachers with TLR in this phase. Although not statistically significant at each phase individually, there was a notable tendency at headteacher level for men to have a greater mean number of years in post than women. This may reflect the fact that the proportion of women being appointed to headteacher posts in both primary and secondary in the last ten years has gradually increased (McNamara, 2008). As evidenced in the table below, the trend is reversed at deputy headteacher level where women had, on average, more years of service. In the secondary phase, male teachers on TLR posts had more years of service than their female counterparts (Figure 4.2).

Table 4.2: Mean years in service by post and phase

		Primary		Secondary	
		Mean	N	Mean	N
Headteacher	Male	26.18	39	28.77	28
	Female	23.53	134	26.78	36
Deputy	Male	13.24	25	22.93	42
	Female	16.68	86	23.67	45
Assistant	Male	20.09	11	21.48	48
	Female	15.32	31	18.80	80
TLR	Male	12.53	12	17.29	48
	Female	14.39	97	15.90	150

Figure 4.2: Mean years in service of secondary leaders by sex and post
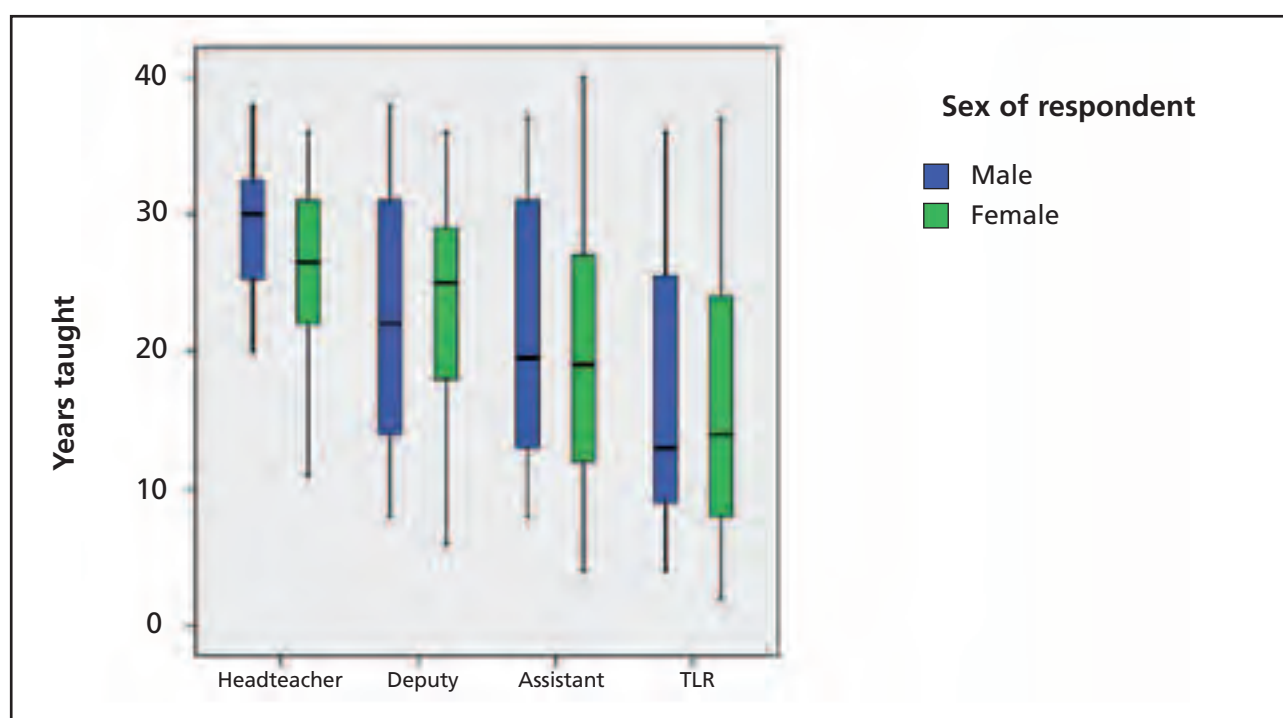
4.3 Previous Appointments

Women teachers had taught in fewer schools on average than their male counterparts (see Table 4.3 below), but, as described above, they had also taught for fewer years, which may, in part, be responsible for this effect. In the secondary phase, where male headteachers had taught in a mean of 5.45 schools compared to 4.51 for females, the differences were significant (Sig9). Only at assistant headteacher level were women more likely to have taught in a greater number of schools than men. There were significant differences (Sig10) between the mainstream schools and special schools; teachers in mainstream schools had, on average, taught in fewer schools than teachers in special schools.

Table 4.3: Mean number of schools taught in during career disaggregated for sex and phase

School type	Sex of respondent	Mean	N	Std. deviation
Primary	Male	3.73	86	1.888
	Female	3.57	371	1.904
	Total	3.60	457	1.900
Secondary	Male	3.58	184	1.722
	Female	3.32	344	1.919
	Total	3.41	528	1.855
Special	Male	5.23	22	2.266
	Female	3.98	43	1.683
	Total	4.40	65	1.975
Total*	Male	3.75	302	1.860
	Female	3.53	791	1.963
	Total	3.59	1093	1.936

*total includes those who did not specify a school type.

4.4 Appointment to Previous Posts: Selection

Teachers in the sample were asked about the four most recent posts before their current role. Analyses were conducted using data from the most recent appointment data available. There were significant differences (Sig11) between the sexes when comparing how many teachers were appointed to internal posts (in the school they were already teaching in) with external posts (appointment to positions in new schools).

In their most recent appointment (prior to appointment to current post) 41% of male teachers and 49% of female teachers were appointed internally to posts in the school that they already taught in. In primary, 34% of male teachers and 44% of females were appointed internally; in secondary, 44% of males and 52% of females were appointed internally. Significantly (Sig12), more women were appointed internally to the role of headteacher, 36% compared to only 10% of men. To a much lesser extent, the tendency continues through deputy and assistant headteacher appointments; 38% of women and 31% of men had been appointed internally to deputy headteacher posts and 71% of women and 64% of men appointed internally to assistant headteacher posts. For TLR posts again, there was a difference between the sexes: men got appointed to fewer internal posts than women teachers (52% to 60% respectively). There were too few examples in the data to compare sexes for all disaggregated phases and post levels.

In the secondary phase, there were notable differences between the sexes when being appointed to TLR level posts; 60% of females appointed to this level were done so internally compared with 52% of males. When comparing those that specified head of department or head of year roles the differences were significant (Sig13); 58% of female teachers and only 43% of male teachers were appointed to internal posts at this level. However, when all appointments to posts below assistant and deputy headteacher level in secondary schools are taken into consideration, the trend between the sexes was not significant and proportionately much closer (m=47%, f=51%). Similarly, the difference was not significant in primary at the level below senior leaders, but, as with all disaggregated groups, female teachers were more likely to have been appointed internally than their male counterparts. Given the nature of the appointment process and variety of promoted positions within the secondary sector, it is perhaps not surprising that a greater proportion of secondary posts (49%) were appointed internally than at primary (42%).

There were clear differences to be observed in the patterns relating to when teachers were appointed to their first senior leadership post. Using details provided of their recent clear history, first appointments to deputy and assistant headteacher level were analysed to monitor any difference in mean years of teaching service and to identify any difference in likelihood of these posts being internal or external promotions. Women in primary schools were more likely to be appointed to their first senior leadership post internally than men (f=45%, n=58; m=36%, n=10). At secondary, the difference was starker, 53% (n=38) of women appointed to their first senior leadership post were appointed internally; 37% (n=21) of men in this sector were appointed internally.

In secondary schools, the mean years of service before being appointed to a first deputy or assistant headteacher post were broadly identical for each gender (m=12.6, f=13.1). In primary, albeit with a smaller sample (m=29, f=132), men were appointed on average earlier than their female counterparts (m=10.0years, f=11.5years). As noted in section 5.2, when comparing those females in primary who have taken a career break within the first five years, there were significant differences (Sig14) in the time it took to gain their first senior leadership post.

Where possible, the first post at headteacher level was noted and there were clear significant differences (Sig15) between each sex in relation to whether their first headship was an internal or external appointment. Only 7% (n=2) of men were appointed to their first headship internally, whereas 39% (n=21) of women were (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Proportions obtaining post internally/externally by sex and post
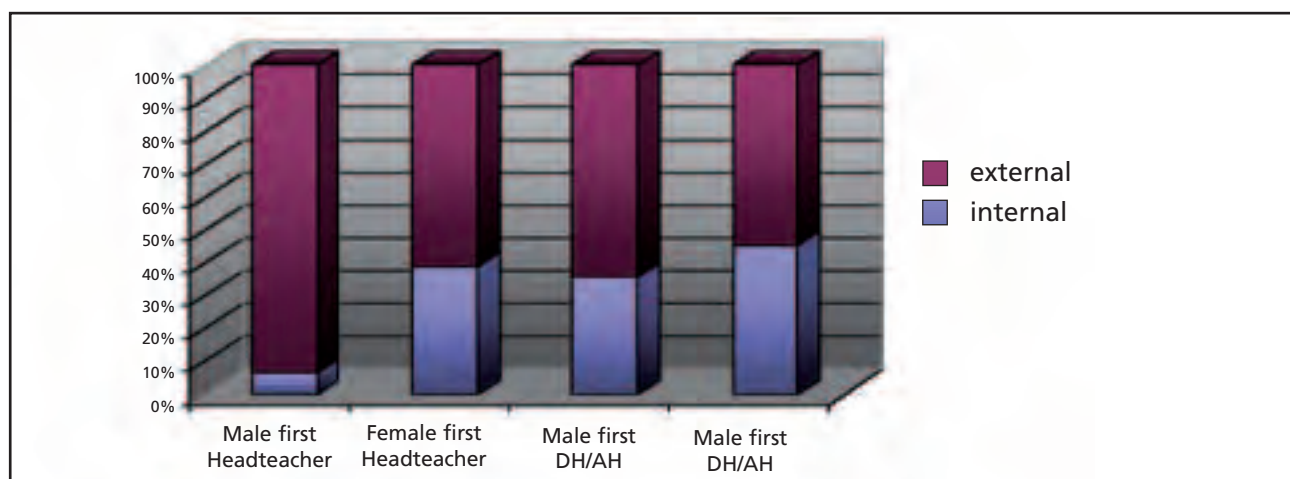
4.5 Appointments to Previous Posts: Recruitment

The respondents were asked about the recruitment process in relation to their most recent appointments prior to their current post and specifically were asked whether the post was advertised externally or internally only. Analysis was conducted using the most recent post where data was available. Thirty-five per cent of women were appointed to posts that were advertised internally only and 28% of men were appointed similarly; the differences were

borderline significant. Between the two main phases there were significant differences between the proportion of posts advertised externally: 72% of primary posts had been advertised externally but only 63% of secondary posts. Eight per cent of males and 70% of females in primary were appointed to posts advertised externally; in secondary, 69% of males' and 61% of females' posts were advertised externally (Table 4.4).

In relation to senior leadership posts, 86% of the female headteacher appointments were advertised externally, compared to 93% of the male headteacher appointments across the two main phases. At deputy headteacher level there was little difference between the sexes and, overall 89% were advertised externally. At assistant headteacher level, 63% of male appointments were advertised externally compared to only 42% of female appointments. There were differences between males and females in TLR appointments; 63% of males and 53% of females were appointed to posts that were advertised externally. Within the appointments to TLR level posts in secondary, differences existed in appointment to head of department/head of year posts; 70% of male and 57% of female appointments were advertised externally. When taking into account appointments to all post levels below senior leadership in secondary, the differences between the sexes were less marked but still evident for appointment to externally advertised posts (m=66%, f=60%).

Table 4.4: Proportions whose job was advertised externally/internally only by sex and phase

				Sex of respondent		Total
				Male	Female	
Primary	Advert type	Internal only	Frequency	16	96	112
			%	20.3	29.6	27.8
		External	Frequency	63	228	291
			%	79.7	70.4	72.2
	Total		Frequency	79	324	403
			%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Advert type	Internal only	Frequency	53	121	174
			%	31.4	39.0	36.3
		External	Frequency	116	189	305
			%	68.6	61.0	63.7
	Total		Frequency	169	310	479
			%	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Advert type	Internal only	Frequency	6	15	21
			%	33.3	38.5	36.8
		External	Frequency	12	24	36
			%	66.7	61.5	63.2
	Total		Frequency	18	39	57
			%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chapter 5: Mid-career Switches And Breaks

5.1 Previous Careers and their Impact on Progression

Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents had followed an alternative career before entering the profession; proportionally more men (33%) than women (28%) and, significantly (Sig17), more secondary teachers (31%) than primary (26%). In primary, significantly (Sig18), more men (34%) than women (24%) were mid-career switchers, yet there was almost no difference between the sexes amongst secondary teachers. The age groups of teachers most likely to have had a previous career were between 36 and 50 years and the group least likely to have done so were 35 and below (see Table 5.1 below). The mean age of the group with an alternative career and those without was almost identical at 45 years although the average years taught was significantly different (Sig19); those with an alternative career had taught for fewer years (15.5 rather than 21.2).

Table 5.1: Age range of sample disaggregated for alternative career prior to teaching and phase

Career prior to teaching		Age range							Total
		35 years and below	36-40 years	41-45 years	46-50 years	51-55 years	56 years and over	Age not specified	
All	Yes	18.0%	38.0%	40.2%	39.2%	24.7%	22.2%	28.7%	28.9%
	No	82.0%	62.0%	59.8%	60.8%	75.3%	77.8%	71.3%	71.1%
Primary	Yes	12.2%	39.1%	45.2%	47.7%	15.1%	21.4%	24.8%	25.7%
	No	87.8%	60.9%	54.8%	52.3%	84.9%	78.6%	75.2%	74.3%
Secondary	Yes	26.5%	37.0%	34.7%	35.8%	31.8%	18.8%	33.3%	31.3%
	No	73.5%	63.0%	65.3%	64.2%	68.2%	81.2%	66.7%	68.7%

This trend was consistent for each post level and when disaggregated by gender the difference was more marked for women than men (see Table 5.2). However, it should be noted that as a proportion of the group who had pursued an alternative career before teaching, there were marginally less in each of the senior leadership posts than their counterparts who had not. The reverse was true for teachers on TLR.

Table 5.2: Mean years of service disaggregated for career prior to teaching and post

Career prior to teaching		Mean	N	Std. deviation	Grouped median
Yes	Headteacher	19.74	71	9.260	17.67
	Deputy	15.39	56	7.852	13.62
	Assistant	15.13	52	7.718	12.40
	TLR	12.75	110	7.690	11.27
	Total	15.41	289	8.538	13.48
No	Headteacher	26.44	204	7.100	28.40
	Deputy	20.94	169	9.660	20.12
	Assistant	20.46	140	9.008	19.80
	TLR	17.16	217	9.927	14.18
	Total	21.26	730	9.636	21.59

5.2 Career Breaks and their Impact on Progression

Thirty-nine per cent of the sample had taken a career break (including maternity/paternity breaks) since starting teaching (see Table 5.3 below). Not surprisingly, there were significant (Sig20) differences between the sexes; 49% of females and 12% of males had taken a career break. Slightly more women in secondary schools had taken a career break than their primary counterparts (50% and 46% respectively). Fifty-two per cent of female headteachers had taken a career break, but only 42% of female deputy headteachers had taken a break. Forty per cent of female teachers have taken a career break for maternity.

Table 5.3: Percentages of sample that had taken a career break by sex and post

Sex of respondent			Post			
			Headteacher	Deputy	Assistant	TLR
Male	Had a career break	Yes	13.2%	9.2%	12.1%	13.4%
		No	86.8%	90.8%	87.9%	86.6%
Female	Had a career break	Yes	52.0%	41.9%	49.2%	46.7%
		No	48.0%	58.1%	50.8%	53.3%

Table 5.4 below shows that the age groups with the smallest proportion of staff having taken career breaks were those under 35 years old; the group with the largest proportion were teachers aged 56 and over. It should also be noted that there was an anomaly (most strongly evident when disaggregated for sex) within the group aged 46-50 years old; here, only 37% of the sample had taken a career break in comparison with larger proportions for the age groups both younger (with the exception of 35 and below) and older. Figure 5.1 shows the proportions by age group for females only.

Table 5.4: Percentages of women that had taken a career break by age group

		All		Female	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
Age range	35 years and below	23.6%	76.4%	31.1%	68.9%
	36-40 years	43.5%	56.5%	56.3%	43.7%
	41-45 years	41.4%	58.6%	52.3%	47.7%
	46-50 years	37.0%	63.0%	43.0%	57.0%
	51-55 years	44.6%	55.4%	60.5%	39.5%
	56 years and over	46.2%	53.8%	67.1%	32.9%
	Age not supplied	38.3%	61.7%	45.6%	54.4%
Total		38.6%	61.4%	48.7%	51.3%

Figure 5.1: Percentage of women that had taken a career break by age group
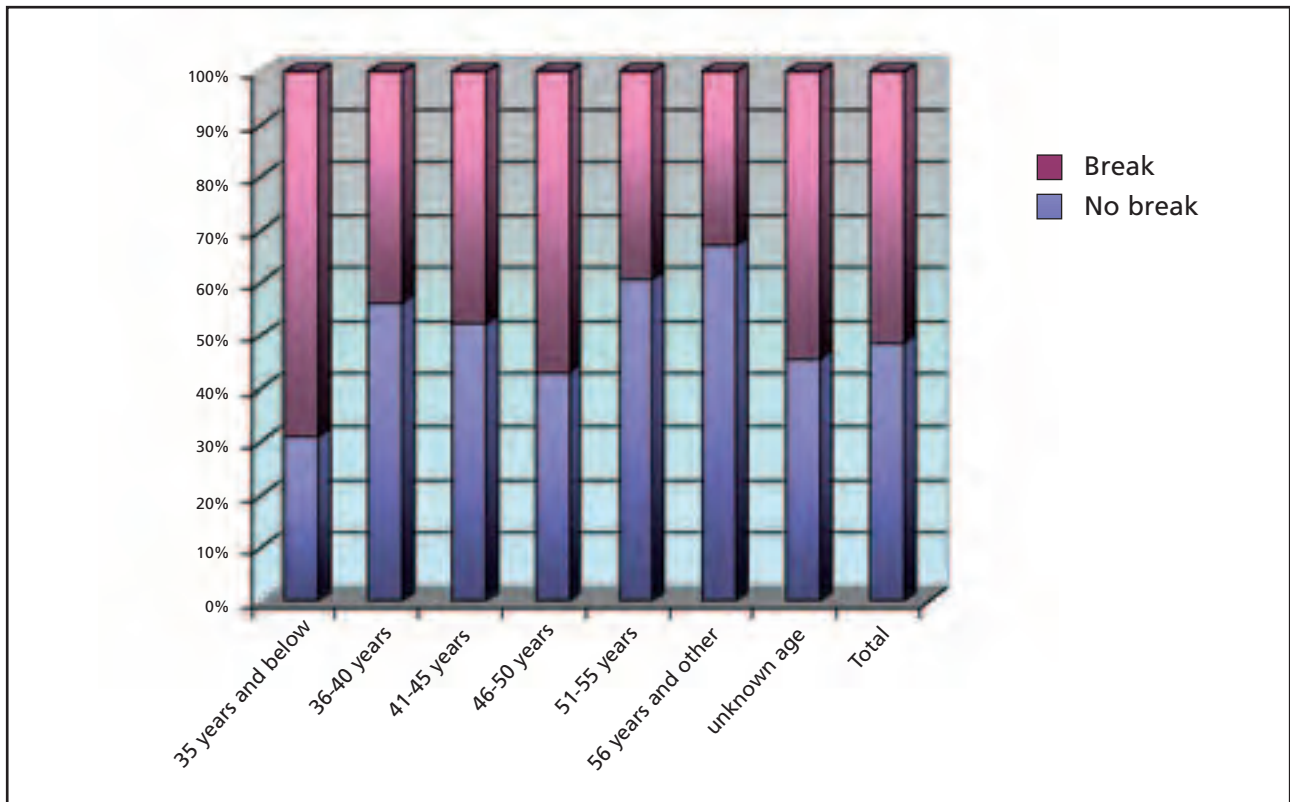
Clearly, the most common break type was for maternity/paternity (78%), 6% of breaks were for a non-teaching job, 5% for travel and the remaining categories (illness, caring responsibilities and study) accounted for around 3% each. For females, by far the greatest reason for a career break was maternity at 81% (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Proportions of common break types for females
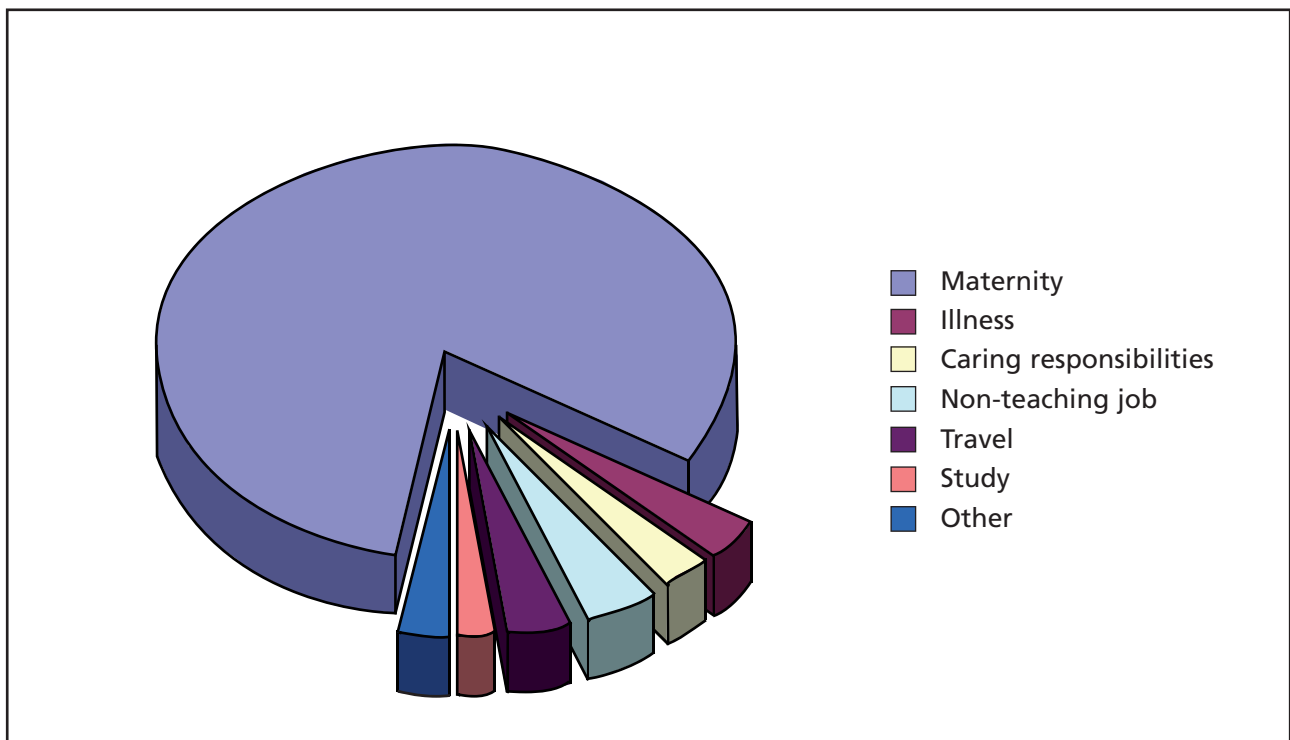
For males taking a career break (n=36), the most common reason was a break for a non-teaching job (n=15), followed by paternity (n=14) and travel (n=8) (see figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Proportions of common break types for males
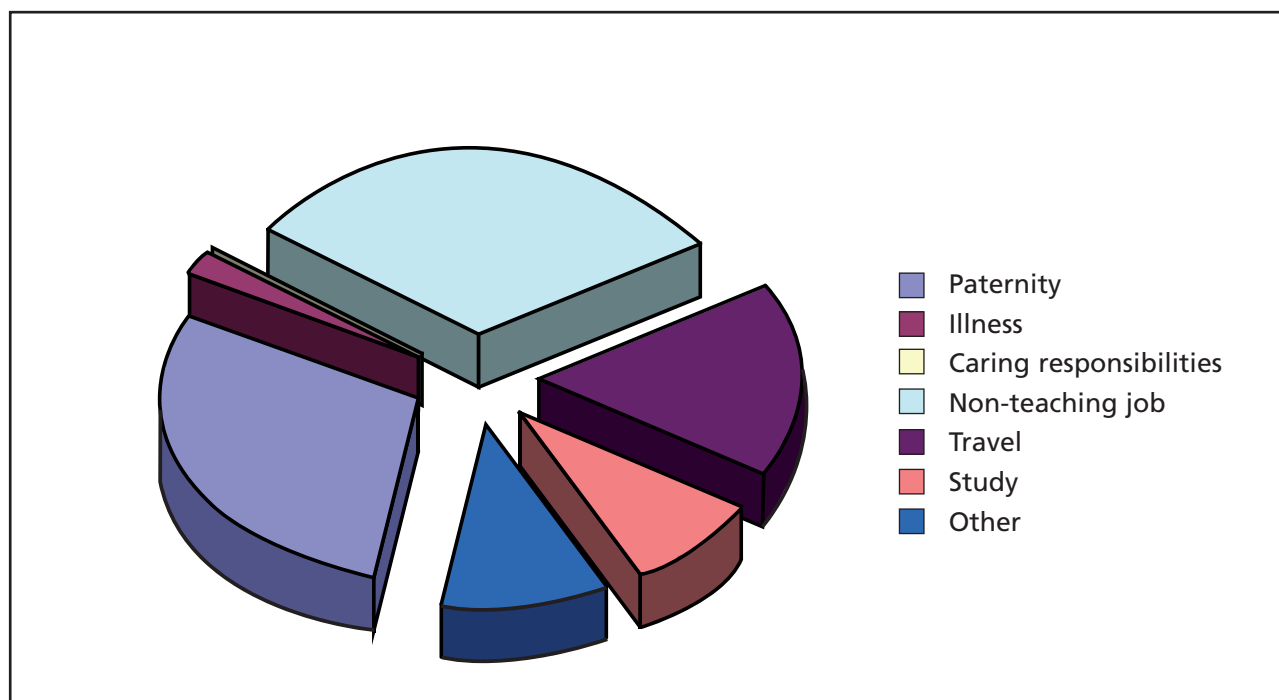
The mean duration of the career break was fractionally over two years; there was no significant difference for the average duration of the most common break type (maternity/paternity) since this was fractionally under two years.

The impact of taking a career break upon career trajectory was evident in terms of the increased time it took to achieve promoted posts. When disaggregating for post level, differences existed between the mean numbers of years taught when comparing those who had taken a career break with those who had not. For example, at headteacher level, those without a career break so far had taught for a mean 24 years whereas those who had taken a break had a mean of 26 years' service and these trends are reflected in a similar difference in age. For women headteachers the difference was significant (Sig21); the mean number of years taught by those who had taken a career break was five years higher (mean=26 years, median=27.0) than female headteachers who had not (mean=21 years, median=20.8). Although, it should be noted that, again, those female headteachers who had taken a career break were older than their counterparts who had not (taken break: mean=51.3, median=53.3; not taken break: mean=48.2, median=49.8). The differences were significant for each of the main dissaggregations by post (deputy=Sig22) (assistant=Sig23) (TLR=Sig24) where female teachers who had taken a break had taught for significantly longer than their counterparts who had not.

When comparing those females in primary who had taken a career break at different times in their career, there were significant differences (Sig25) in the time it took to gain their first senior leadership post: women with no career break took an average 10.4 years to obtain their first post at this level; women who waited longer than five years took 11.9 years; and women who took one within the first five years of teaching took 13.7. From the available data it was not possible to conduct this analysis for posts below this level to monitor if these trends were consistent.

In terms of achieving promotion eventually, the impact of taking a career break upon leadership progression appeared very limited and not significant. There was very little difference between the relative proportions of female teachers in particular posts when comparing a sample of teachers who had taken maternity breaks and those who had not. A sample of teachers with similar age profile (mean age of maternity sample=46.8, n=228; mean age of non-maternity sample=46.2, n=228) was selected to compare whether taking a maternity break, or break, of any duration, had a significant association with differing levels of post. Across the workforce, and across each phase, the differences between the proportions in the

three leadership grades and TLR posts were only marginal. At headteacher level, more specifically, the proportions were almost identical. Only at deputy and assistant headteacher level were there slight differences – more teachers without maternity breaks were in deputy headteacher roles and fewer in assistant headteacher posts (see Table 5.5 below).

**Table 5.5: Proportions of teachers by post that had taken a maternity break**

	No maternity break taken	Maternity break taken	Total
Headteacher	87	84	171
	26.3%	25.6%	25.9%
Deputy headteacher	68	54	122
	20.5%	16.5%	18.5%
Assistant headteacher	48	57	105
	14.5%	17.4%	15.9%
Post with TLR	106	104	210
	32.0%	31.7%	31.9%
Other	22	29	51
	6.70%	8.80%	7.80%
Total	331	328	659
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

There was also no evidence to support the concern that the current trend for women to delay taking a first career break until later in their career had any significant impact upon their career progression other than the additional length of time it took to achieve the promoted post, which was directly proportionate to the length of time out. When comparing two samples of women teachers who had their first break after longer than five or ten years' teaching experience with a sample who had taken a maternity break within the first five years of teaching there was no significant trend towards a greater proportion of those teachers being in particular posts or stages of career progression. Teachers who waited longer were no less likely to advance to senior positions. Fourteen per cent of the sample had taken more than one break, 4% three breaks, 1% four breaks and only one respondent detailed they had taken five breaks. Again, there was no evidence to support a view that taking multiple breaks or breaks of longer duration were likely to impact upon the ability to reach senior posts. Similar proportions of teachers in each post level were identified when comparing samples of teachers who had taken more than one career break with those who had taken one or no break. However, there were insufficient teachers in the data who had taken breaks of substantially longer duration (i.e. five to ten years) to conduct analysis of this group; only 5% of respondents had taken a break, or cumulative breaks, of longer than five years and only 1% over ten years.

5.3 Returning to Work After a Career Break

Overall, 75% of those taking a career break returned at the same level, 18% at a lower level and 7% at a higher level. By far the most frequent break type was maternity/paternity. Following this type of break, 16% return at a lower level, 3% at a higher level and 81% at the same level. For those taking a break for reasons other than maternity, there was a tendency for there to be greater impact on career progression: 24% returned at a lower level, 12% at a higher level and 64% at the same level. There were significant (Sig26) differences between the level to which teachers returned if the length of the break was more than two years compared to breaks of less than two years. Thirty-four per cent of those returning after a career break of more than two years returned to a post in a lower grade and 56% returned to a post on the same grade. However, only 13% of those taking a career break of two years or less returned to a lower grade and 81% to a post at the same grade to the one held before the break (see Figure 5.4). Six per cent of those taking a break of two years or less and 10% of those taking a break over two years returned to a post at a higher level.

Figure 5.4: Level at which respondents returned to work disaggregated for length of break
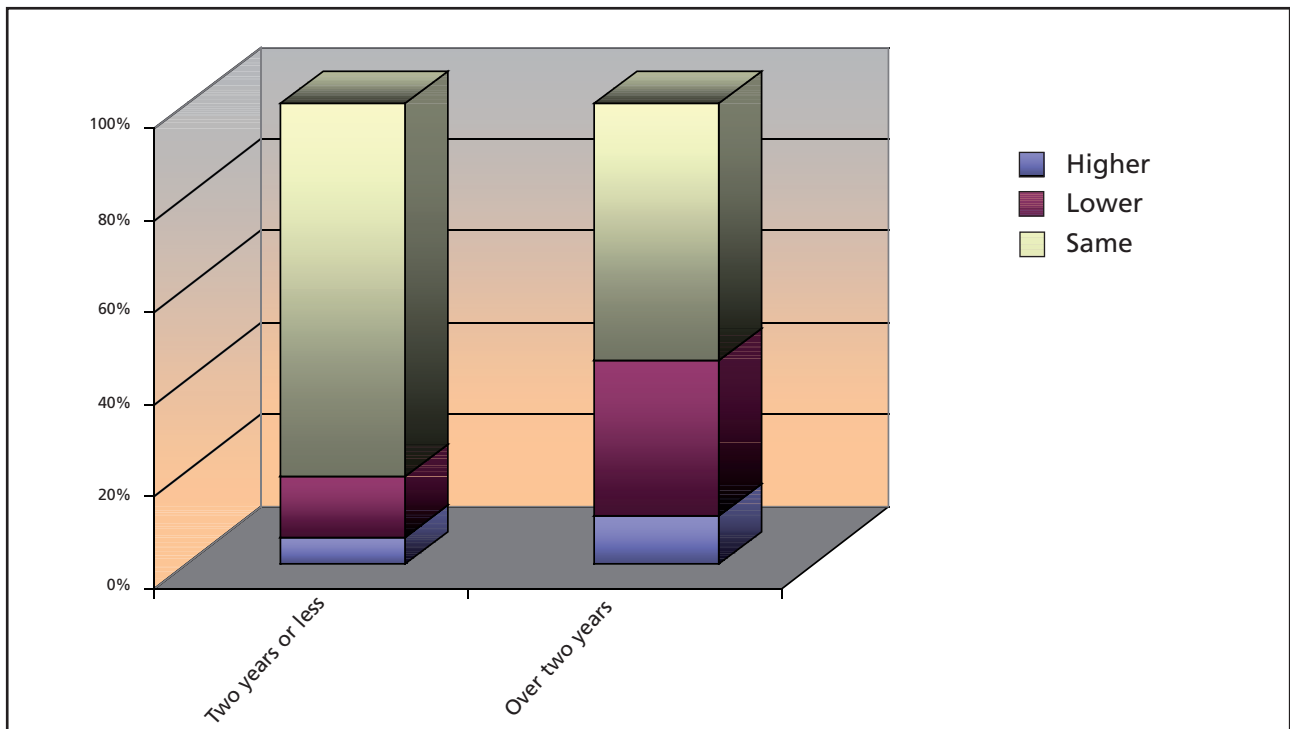
After returning from maternity breaks, 64% returned full time, 27% returned part time and 9% returned to supply posts. For non-maternity career breaks (male and female), a similar proportion (66%) of teachers returned to full-time work but greater proportions took on supply roles (19%) and less returned part time (15%).

When asked whether career breaks had hindered their leadership ambitions, responses varied. Many felt that career breaks, and maternity breaks in particular, had slowed their progress or caused them to miss opportunities that would otherwise have been available. However, a large proportion (47%) of those commenting thought that their break had not hindered their leadership ambitions with some respondents choosing to qualify this by noting that they lacked ambition anyway. Others qualified it by saying that the effects of taking the break had been as expected (i.e. that the pace of change within education while they were away from teaching had been marked and there was a need to 'catch up' with lost experience and knowledge) and therefore it did not pose a barrier. Nine per cent of those commenting felt it had slowed down progression, with 18% stating that juggling family commitments following the break(s) was an issue, as was the lack of part-time leadership roles (7%).

Chapter 6: Working Lives

6.1 Balancing Two Careers

Overall, 32% of the respondents' careers took precedence over their partners' careers; 17% indicated that their partners' careers took precedence over theirs and 34% indicated that neither partner's career took precedence (for 17% the question was not applicable). There were significant (Sig27) differences between the sexes in this regard; 42% of male teachers but only 28% of female teachers had careers that took precedence.

Figure 6.1 below shows the percentages across groups reporting that their careers took precedence over their partners' career. Male headteachers' careers (49%) were most likely to take precedence; least likely were female teachers in TLR posts (22%) as is evidenced below. At sector level, the difference was most marked for men; 46% of secondary male teachers in the sample indicated that they had careers that took precedence over their partners' in comparison to 33% for men in primary. For female teachers, the difference was less marked with only 31% of those in secondary and 28% of those in primary having careers that took precedence. At post level the differences are again marked between the sexes. For male and female headteachers there was little difference in the primary phase (38% of male headteachers and 34%of female headteachers having careers taking precedence). However, in the secondary phase 59% of male headteachers but only 39% of female headteachers had careers that took precedence. The trend was also evident, to a lesser degree, in deputy and TLR posts in secondary schools.

When disaggregated for post level, it was noted that male teachers were less likely to select 'not applicable' for the senior level posts than their female counterparts. For TLR posts the position was reversed with more male teachers (29%) indicating that the question was not applicable than female TLR teachers (18%). It is assumed that those who indicated 'not applicable' were single. When conducting the analyses with 'not applicable' removed, the main trends were still present: male teachers at all post levels were still clearly more likely to have careers that take precedence than their female counterparts. The proportions of teachers identifying that their careers did not take precedence (by indicating 'no' rather than 'equal') were broadly comparable at all senior post levels. The difference between sexes in this regard is largely evident in greater proportions of females identifying equality with their partners' careers than males.

Figure 6.1: Proportions of sample whose careers took precedence over their partners' careers
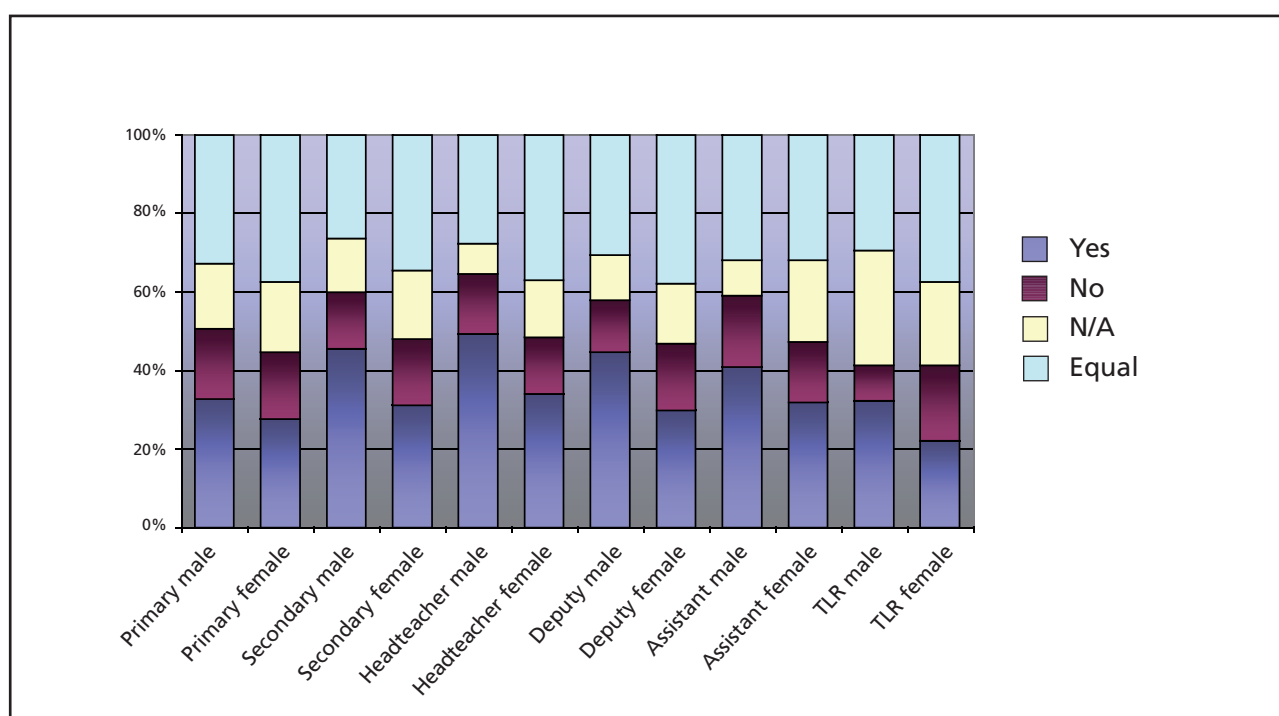
6.2 Decisions on Planning a Family and Childcare

Planning a family

Twenty-nine per cent of the sample had seen decisions on planning a family affected by their career aspirations, 49% hadn't and for 23% of respondents the issue was not applicable. There were significant (Sig79) differences between the sexes with 32% of women's careers having been affected in this regard compared to just 20% of men.

Figure 6.2 below shows the percentages across groups reporting that decisions on planning a family had been affected by career aspirations. Teachers on TLR posts were most likely to think their decisions on planning a family had been affected by their careers (34%) and headteachers least likely, where only 22% thought this was the case. Disaggregated by sex and post, males were consistently less likely to think their careers had affected such decisions. For males there was no difference between phases but for women secondary teachers were significantly more (Sig28) likely to let their career affect their decisions on planning a family than their primary counterparts (39% to 28%). Significantly (Sig29), only 5% of male primary headteachers had adjusted their career aspirations in this regard, whereas 24% of female primary headteachers had done so. The difference was less evident, but still present, for headteachers in secondary schools. Significant (Sig30) differences existed for secondary teachers on TLR posts; 42% of the women in this group had let career aspiration affect their family planning decisions compared to 21% of the men.

Disaggregated for post level, all comparisons for senior level posts had greater proportions of male teachers for whom the issue was 'not applicable'. For TLR posts the trend is reversed.

When excluding the teachers for whom the issue was not applicable, the trends were consistent in that males were less likely to find decisions on planning a family affected by career aspirations. When disaggregated for post and sex, male headteachers (18%) were least likely to report their careers had been affected by decisions on planning a family, whereas female TLR teachers were most likely to report their careers had been affected by decisions on planning a family.

Figure 6.2: Proportions whose decisions on planning a family were affected by their career aspirations
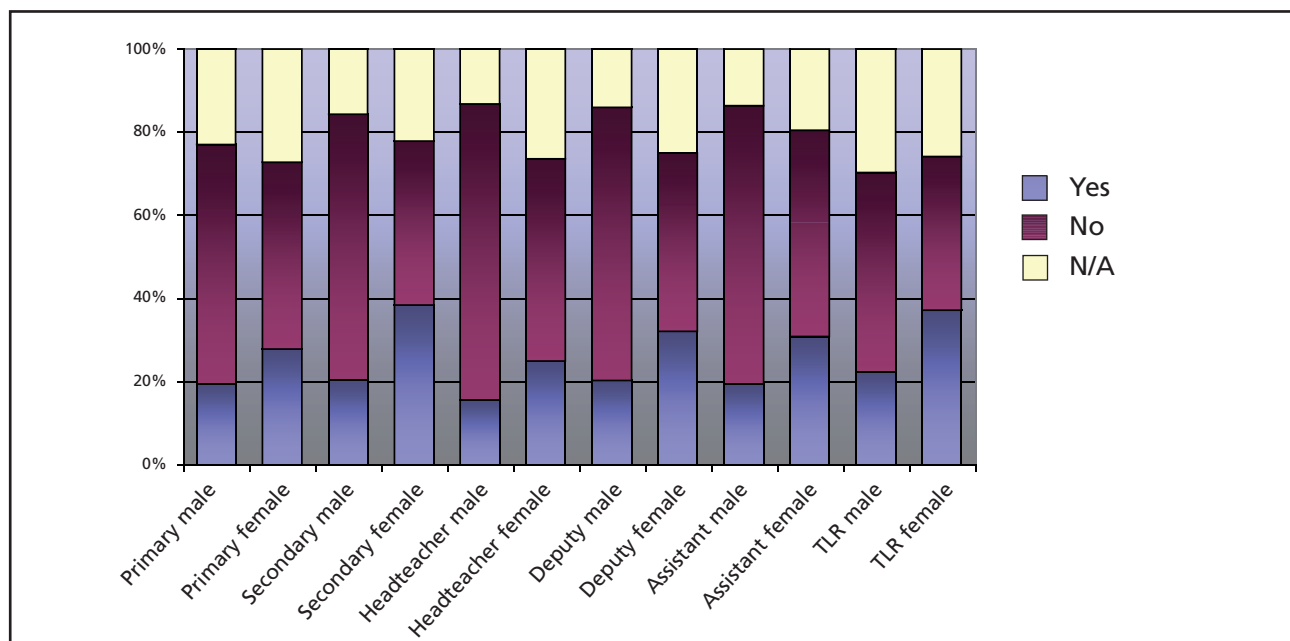
Childcare arrangements

Twenty-one per cent of respondents reported that childcare arrangements determined their career choice, 40% of the sample reported this was not the case and for a further 39% the matter was not applicable. Figure 6.3 shows the percentages across groups for whom childcare was a determining factor in terms of career planning. Unsurprisingly, there were significant differences

(Sig31) between the sexes: more women (25%) than men (11%) felt childcare arrangements determined their career choice, and for 29% of men and 43% of women childcare was not an issue.

Proportionately, over twice as many women were likely to have childcare arrangements determine their career choices than their male counterparts. Greater proportions of female teachers at all post levels identified the issue as 'not applicable', possibly indicating that fewer have children of an age for whom this issue is a concern. Only 22% of male headteachers identified with 'not applicable' but 43% of male TLR teachers cited this; for females, 37% of headteachers chose this option while 48% of female TLR teachers did. At disaggregated post level there were significant (Sig32) differences in the main phases when comparing the two sexes. Male headteachers and deputies were least likely to have the issue determine their career choice (9% and 8% respectively). Women in all posts had broadly similar proportions (around 25%) for whom the issue determined their career choice. There was little difference in proportions when disaggregating for phase of education.

When comparing the two sexes after removing teachers for whom this question was 'not applicable', the differences were even more significantly marked. For male headteachers and deputies only a tenth let childcare arrangements determine their career choice, but for women the proportion is nearly two fifths; nearly a quarter (23%) of male TLR teachers agreed with the sentiment, but half (51%) of female TLR teachers said this was the case.

Figure 6.3: Proportions whose childcare arrangements determined their career choice
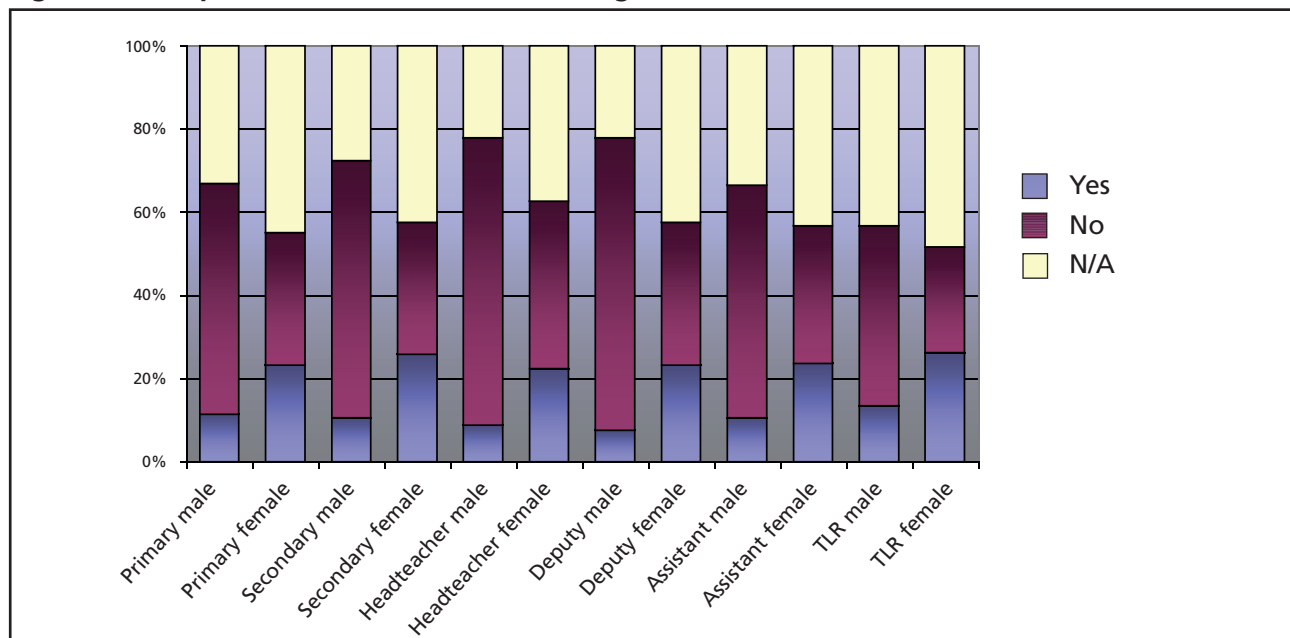
6.3 Workload/Work/Life Balance, Flexible and Part-time Working

Workload

Sixty-seven per cent of the respondents reported that their career aspirations had been affected by workload/work/life balance issues. Significantly more women (69%) than men (60%) felt this had affected their aspirations.

Figure 6.4 shows the percentages across groups reporting that workload/work/life balance considerations had affected their career aspirations. Headteachers were least likely to report that work/life balance considerations had impacted upon career aspirations (45%), whereas teachers in TLR posts (79%) were most likely. In terms of the sector as a whole, concern was more in evidence in the secondary phase. Sixty-nine per cent of teachers in secondary schools reported that their careers had been affected compared to 64% of teachers in the primary phase. Between the sexes at post level, the greatest difference (Sig33) was observed at deputy headteacher level where 75% of females and 53% of males thought that the issue had affected their career aspirations.

Figure 6.4: Proportions whose career aspirations had been affected by workload/work/life balance issues
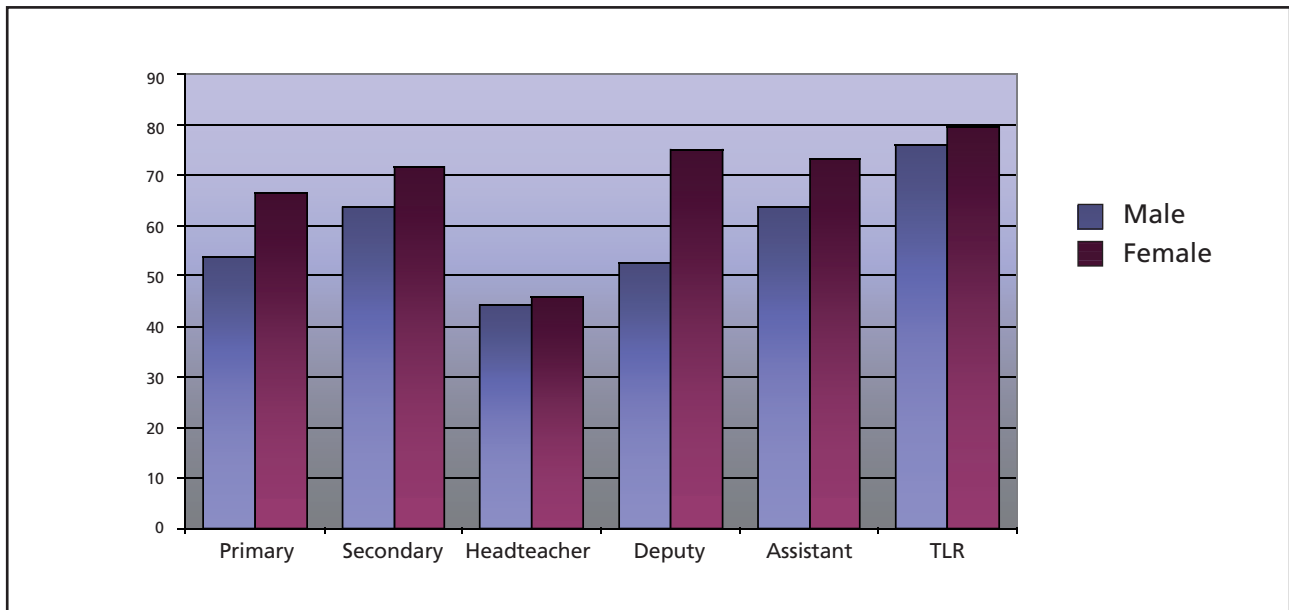
When disaggregating for age as well as sex (see figure 6.5), there were interesting trends to be noted. Most evident was that women teachers of 45 years and under were significantly more likely to have allowed workload/work/life balance issues to affect career aspirations than their male counterparts. The starkest difference was that just over four fifths of female teachers aged 36-40 indicated that the issue had affected career aspirations whereas only three fifths of male teachers in this age group did so. For teachers above 45 years the difference between the sexes in this regard was much less evident, although female teachers in all disaggregated age groups were more likely to agree with the statement than their male counterparts.

Figure 6.5: Proportions whose career aspirations had been affected by workload/work/life balance issues by age group
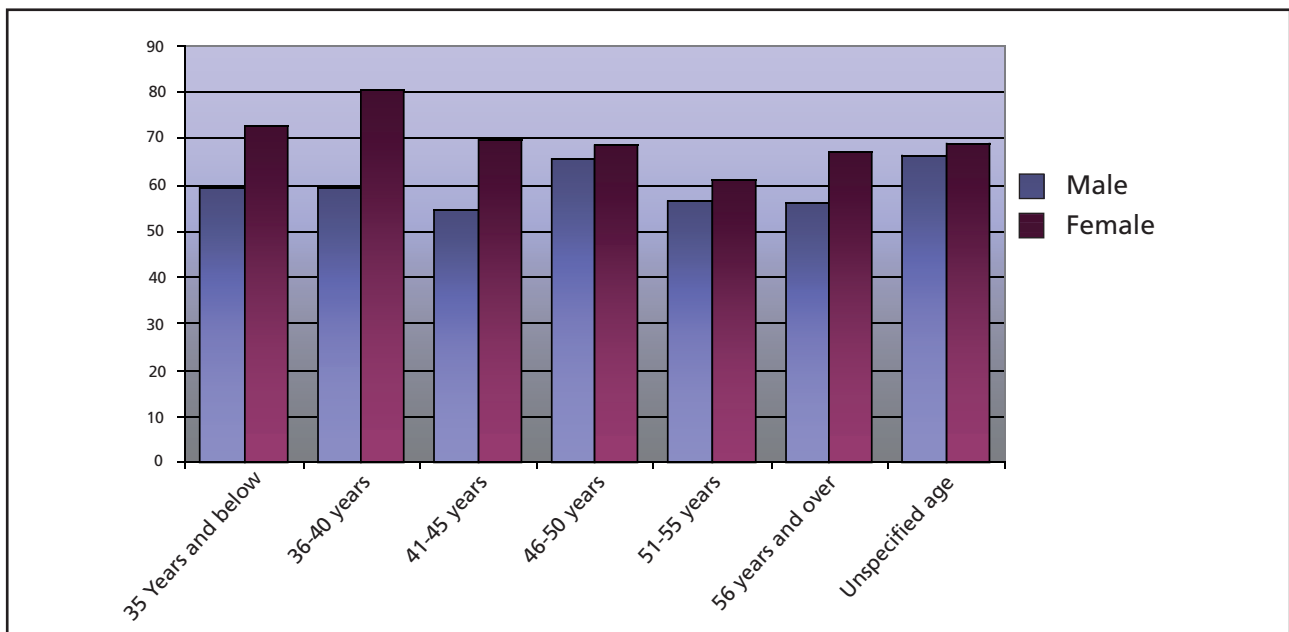
Flexible and part-time working hours

Forty-nine per cent of the sample reported that they would like the option of more flexible working hours or part-time working and 5% were already working part time (3% male, 6% female). There was a significant difference between the sexes with 50% of women and 46% of men reporting that they would prefer the option of flexible or part-time working hours (Sig34).

Figure 6.6 below shows the percentages across groups who reported they would prefer part-time or flexible working hours. The group that most favoured the option were teachers on TLR posts (54%) and the group least interested were headteachers (42%). The differences between the sexes were not significant when disaggregated by post. In general, there is a slight trend towards teachers in secondary schools (50%) favouring more flexible hours/part-time work than their counterparts in primary schools (46%). Women teachers in secondary TLR posts (63%) were comparatively more likely to favour the option compared to their male counterparts (51%).

Figure 6.6: Proportions that would like the option of flexible or part-time working
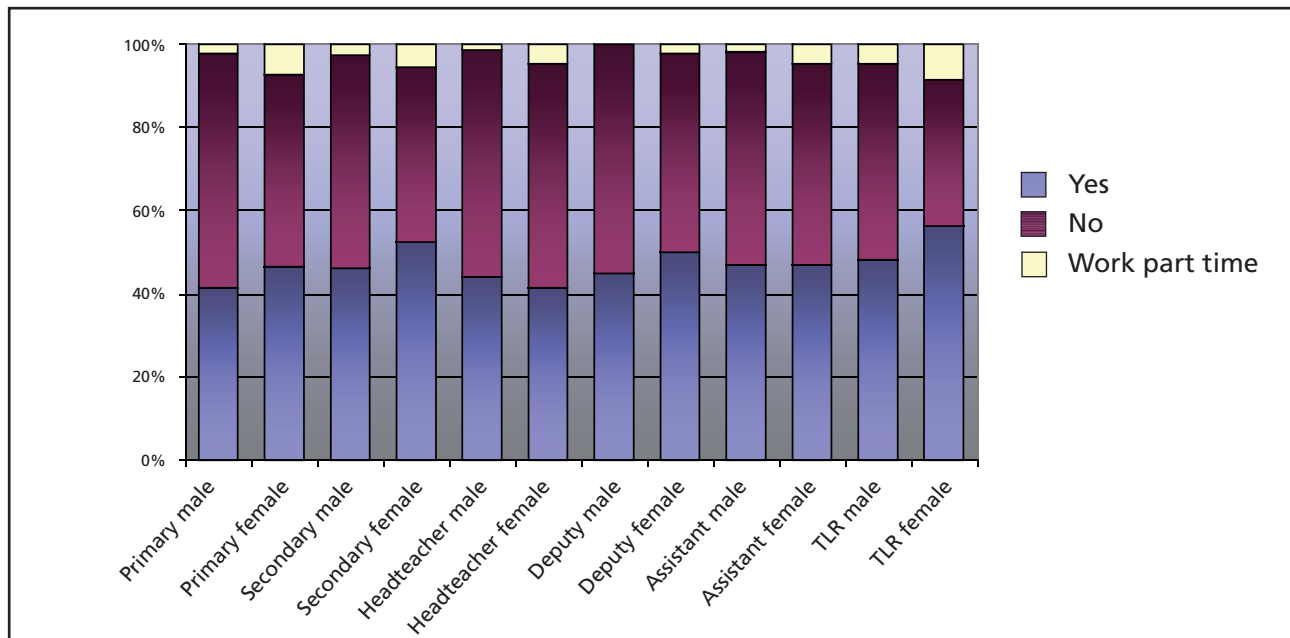
When disaggregating for age and sex (excluding those already working part time) there were interesting trends to be observed (see figure 6.7). For all disaggregated age groups aged 55 or less over 50% of female teachers would like the option of more flexible working hours/part-time working. Only in age group '56 and over' were male teachers more likely to desire the option and in this case the difference was very noticeable as 59% of males in this age group and 38% of females agreed they would like the option.

Figure 6.7: Proportions that would like the option of flexible or part-time working by age group
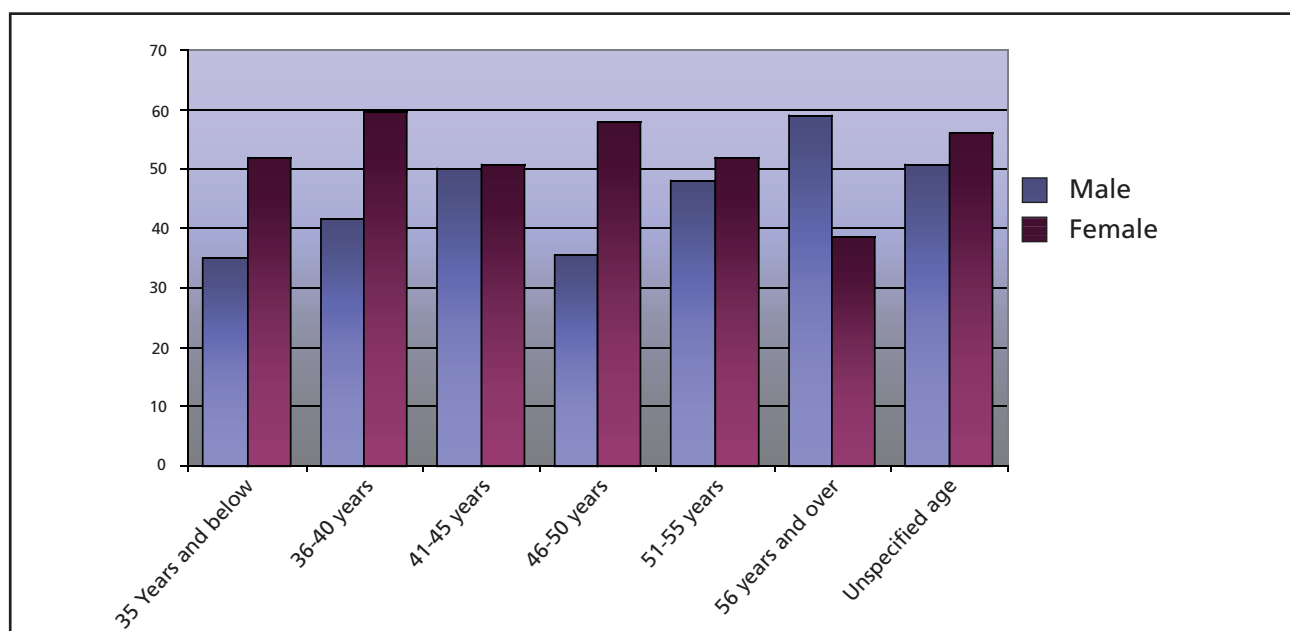
Chapter 7: Aspirations and Career Planning

7.1 Motivations for Seeking Current Posts

Respondents were asked to rate (on a scale of 1-5) how motivated they were by ten specified reasons to seek their current post and their responses were averaged and ranked. Teachers who provided no data for particular categories were deemed to have very low/no motivation in respect of it. Seeking a fresh challenge was the greatest motivation (see Figure 7.1 below) and the four other main motivations were professional ambition, leadership ambition, aspiration to be a role model and advice – each rated above the mid-point of the scale. Other issues such as attainment of qualifications, dissatisfaction in prior school/role, finance, relocation and redundancy were low in terms of motivation – each rated below the mid-point of the scale. Only advice, which was more of a motivation for women than men, had a significant (Sig35) difference. At post level, there were significant differences between the levels of motivation ascribed to the categories by headteachers and TLR teachers – the exceptions being advice, redundancy and dissatisfaction in prior school/role. The differences between these two groups were largely understandable given the relative difference in career stages. Teachers on TLR posts were most likely, of the main disaggregated post groups, to identify financial concerns as a motivational factor. The three categories – leadership ambition, professional ambition and seeking a fresh challenge – were identified by all post levels with descending level of importance ascribed to the motivation; senior leaders were more motivated by these reasons than teachers in less senior roles.

Figure 7.1: Motivating factors for move to current post disaggregated for post level
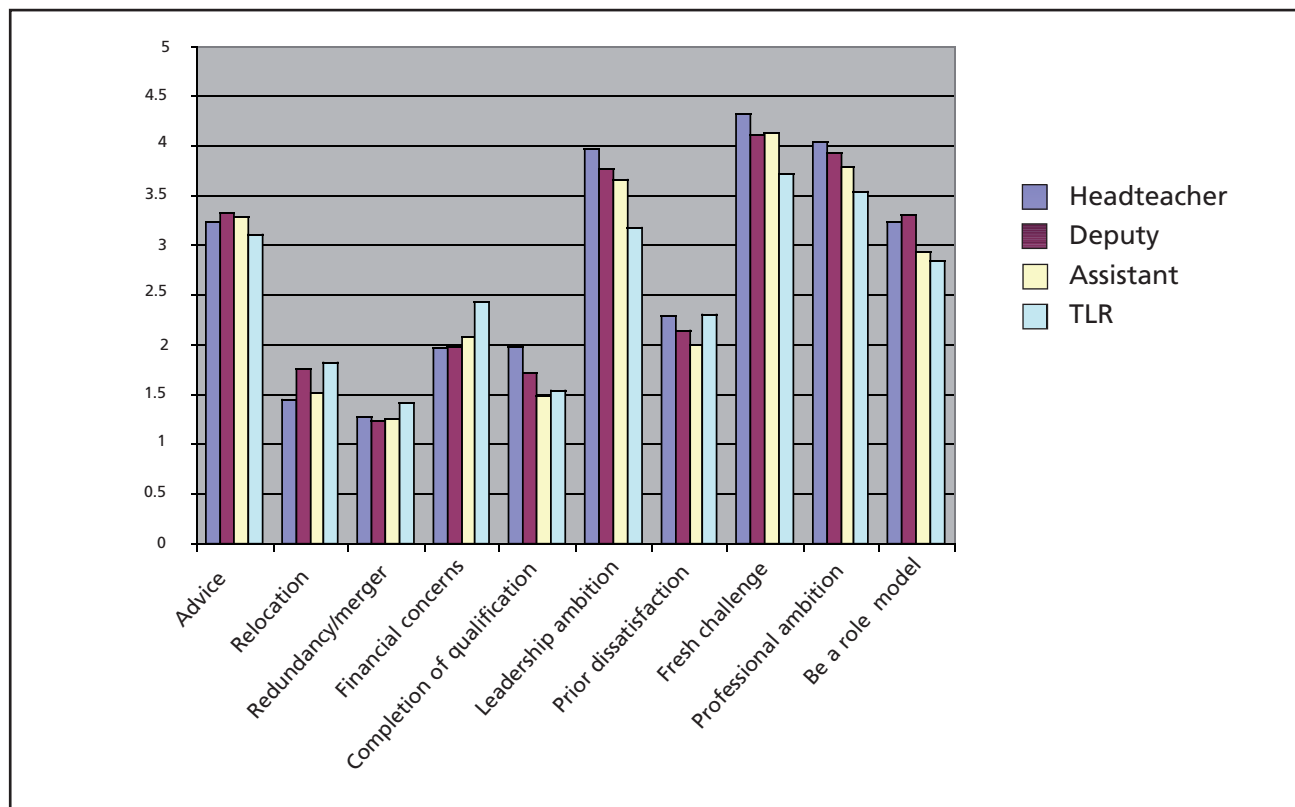
Disaggregated for post and sex, professional ambition is the factor with the greatest difference (Sig36), with male headteachers being more motivated by this reason than their female counterparts, particularly in primary (Sig37). Disaggregating for sex and phase of education, again, advice is significantly different between the sexes in primary (but not in secondary). In secondary, relocation (Sig38) and dissatisfaction in prior school (Sig39) were significantly different; in both instances females were more likely to be motivated by the factor.

7.2 Levels of Ambition

The respondents were generally ambitious: 75% considered themselves to be either 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious, 21% reported being 'not particularly' ambitious and only 4% considered themselves to be 'not at all' ambitious (see Figure 7.2 below). Seventy-seven per cent of women reported being 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious, compared to 72% of men, although fewer aspired to be a headteacher (see section 7.3 below). The pattern in respect of the two main teaching phases showed no differences overall but females were more likely to describe themselves as 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious in both phases than their male counterparts. At post level, there was little difference between the sexes when disaggregating for phase. Seniority on the leadership scale was reflected in levels of ambition; the most ambitious group were headteachers and the least ambitious were teachers with TLR posts. Only 70% of teachers in TLR posts were 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious compared to 72% of assistant headteachers, 80% of deputy headteachers and 85% of headteachers. Only 1% of headteachers were 'not at all' ambitious compared to 6% of teachers on TLR posts.

Figure 7.2: Levels of ambition by post and sex
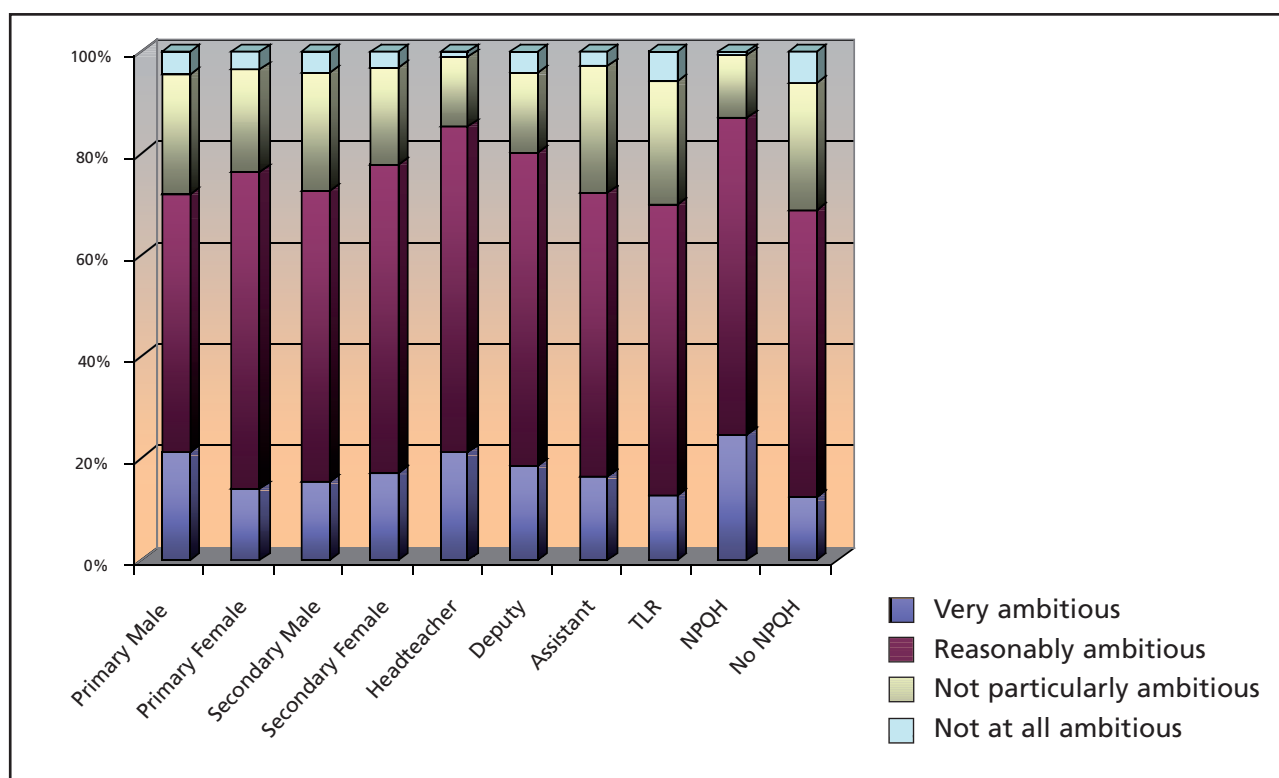
Teachers with the NPQH had significantly (Sig40) higher levels of ambition than those without. Eighty-seven per cent of teachers with the NPQH were 'very' or 'reasonably' ambitious compared to only 69% of other teachers. Similarly, there were significant (Sig41) differences between the levels of ambition of teachers who had taken a career break and those who had not. Thirteen per cent of teachers who had taken a break reported that they were 'very ambitious' compared to 19% of teachers who had not.

7.3 Progression to Headship

Aspiration to be a headteacher

Of the group not already headteachers only 27% reported that they aspired to be a headteacher, 55% did not wish to progress to this level and 18% were undecided. Despite women identifying more strongly with being ambitious, significantly (Sig42) fewer aspired to be a headteacher. Thirty-five per cent of men, but only 24% of women, wanted to be a headteacher, and 51% of men and 57% of women did not want to be a headteacher. Despite also the predominance of primary women teachers and the fact that overall, primary teachers were more likely to wish to be a headteacher than secondary teachers (31% and 23% respectively), this perhaps reflected the

relative proportion of headteacher posts available in the primary phase compared to secondary. In primary, significantly (Sig43) more male teachers, who were not already headteachers, aspired to headship than their female counterparts (m=52%, f=28%). The pattern was not significant but still noticeable in secondary settings, where 29% of men but only 21% of women aspired to headship.

Only 46% of primary deputy headteachers aspired to headship, only 31% of primary assistant headteachers and a mere 18% of teachers on TLR posts. In secondary, 45% of deputy headteachers, 29% of assistant headteachers and 10% of teachers with TLRs aspired to be a headteacher. There were, however, differences between the sexes: in primary only 37% of women deputy headteachers aspired to headship compared to 77% of their male counterparts; in secondary schools there was little difference between the sexes. Deputy and assistant headteachers with the NPQH were much more likely to aspire to headship than their counterparts without the NPQH. Sixty-three per cent and 49% of deputy and assistant headteachers with the NPQH aspired to the role compared to only 34% and 19% respectively of those without. Proportions of those undecided remained largely unchanged at roughly one fifth.

Qualifications for leadership

There was no observable difference between the sexes in respect of the award of the NPQH in England, now mandatory for newly appointed headteachers: 40% of men and 42% of women had attained the qualification. Neither were there any significant differences to indicate that either sex was being refused opportunities to undertake the NPQH as 6% of men and 7% of women had asked and been refused the opportunity at some point. This said, in the primary sector men had taken an average of 12.1 years before enrolling on the NPQH whereas women took 14.1 years. There was no observable trend in relation to enrolment in secondary; with each sex taking an average of 17 years before enrolling. Only 10% of respondents in England had been awarded the LftM qualification; in this there were no differences between the sexes. The Leadership Programme for Serving Headteachers (LPSH) had been attained by 8% of respondents in England, including slightly more men (10%) than women (8%).

Of those who had obtained the NPQH but were not yet in headship, there were differences in proportions that aspired to that role. Sixty-five per cent of males and 53% of females in this group aspired to headship, 14% of males and 26% of females were undecided and around 20% did not want to progress to headship. In primary, considerably more females than males were undecided as to whether they wished to be a headteacher. In secondary, there was no marked difference between the sexes in this respect.

7.4 Planning for the Future

When considering the implications for the sample over time, the following trends emerged:

Next year

Next year (i.e. the following year – responses were garnered in late November/early December) the vast majority expected to be in the same post (80%) and the overwhelming majority still in teaching. Only 5% specifically identified that they would be out of teaching (3% retired, 1% job outside of teaching and 1% taking a career break). There were no significant observable differences between the sexes in relation to expectations for next year, although greater proportions of the teachers who responded were likely to be in the same post in primary (83%) than in secondary schools (75%). When disaggregating for phase and gender, there was little difference between the sexes in secondary settings but proportionately more female respondents in primary were likely to be in the same post than male teachers (85% and 77% respectively). Teachers in headships were most likely to still be in the same post (90%) but deputies, assistant headteachers and TLR teachers less so (each 77%).

Five years

Respondents' perceptions of where they might be in five years' time were greatly different, reflecting that many of the sample were ambitious. Thirty-two per cent of those responding felt they would be in the same post and 22% no longer in teaching (14% retired, 6% in a job outside of teaching and 2% taking a career break).

Thirty-five per cent of female respondents indicated that they would still be in the same post, but only 22% of males. Twenty-one per cent of male teachers indicated that they would be retired compared to 12% of female teachers. Thirty-eight per cent of the female respondents from primary thought they would be in the same post, but only 20% of male primary teachers – much of the difference reflected in greater proportions of males anticipating advancing to headship in this timeframe and also proportionately greater numbers of males retiring.

Disaggregated for post and sex, 36% of male headteachers anticipated being out of teaching in five years (27% retired and 9% in a job outside of teaching); 27% of female headteachers anticipated being out of teaching in this period (16% retired and 10% in a job outside of teaching).

Ten years

Thirty-five per cent of respondents did not provide a response as to the role they felt they would be undertaking in ten years. Of those that did, nearly half expected to be out of teaching – 34% retired, 12% in a job outside of teaching and 2% taking a career break. In this regard there were only slight differences between the sexes and similarly there were only slight differences between the two main phases.

When considering the implications for the main post groupings, the following trends emerged:

Headteachers

The following year the overwhelming majority of headteachers of each sex and in each phase still expect to be in headship: 97% of primary male headteachers, 96% of primary female headteachers, 93% of secondary male headteachers, and 92% of secondary female headteachers still planned to be in headship in either the same post or in another headship. A five-year time lapse evidenced a change. Fifty-five per cent of male primary headteachers expected to be in headship, but 65% of their female counterparts expected to be so. Thirty-one per cent of the primary male headteachers expected to be retired, but only 18% of their female counterparts (average age of male headteachers=49.8, median 53.0; females=49.9, median 52.2). In secondary schools, 69% of male headteachers and 70% of female headteachers expected to be in headship in five years. After ten years, approximately half of each sex of headteachers in primary expected to be retired and comparable proportions of those who answered expected to be in headship still. Similarly, in secondary, just over half of headteachers of each sex were expecting to be retired in ten years.

Deputies and assistants

In primary, 76% of male deputy or assistant heahteachers expected to be in the same post or a similar role elsewhere the following year; 81% of their female counterparts also expected this. Sixteen per cent of primary males and 9% of primary females expected to be in headship. Few of either sex expected to leave for a job outside of teaching, retirement or a career break. In the five year time span, 44% of males expected to be in headship but only 30% of females; 19% of males and 18% of females expected to be out of teaching for another job, retirement or career break. In ten years' time, 54% of males hoped to be in headship, but only 35% of females. In this timeframe, 38% of both sexes expected to have left teaching but proportionately more males expected to leave for a job outside of teaching and more females for retirement.

In secondary, 85% of male and 87% of female deputy and assistant headteachers expected to be in the same post, or taking another post at the same level, in the next year. Eight per cent of males and 4% of females expected to be out of teaching. In five years' time, 49% of males and 54% of females expected to be in the same post or at the same level. Nineteen per cent of females expected to be out of teaching compared to 25% of males, proportionately more of the latter taking retirement. In ten years' time, 37% of males and 30% of females hoped to reach headship and 40% of each sex expected to be out of teaching, with the overwhelming majority of those retiring.

Teachers on TLR posts

There were too few male TLR teachers to compare the sexes in primary. As a whole, 79% of TLR teachers in the primary phase were expecting to be in the same post the following year and 10%

taking deputy or assistant headteacher roles. In five years, 30% expected to be in the same post, 14% out of teaching, 27% at deputy level and 4% at assistant level. Only 3% expected to advance to headship within five years. After ten years, 21% hoped to advance to headship, 19% to be in deputy level posts and 5% in assistant headteacher roles. Nineteen per cent were expecting to be retired, 5% in a job outside of teaching and 4% taking a career break after ten years.

In secondary, TLR teachers revealed few differences between the expectations of the sexes for what role they would be undertaking the following year, although 80% of males and 72% of females were expecting to be in the same post. After five years, only 25% of each sex expected to be in the same post, 21% of male TLR teachers expected to be out of teaching and 24% of females. Few were expecting to advance to headship within this timeframe but 9% of males and 2% of females aspired to be in deputy headteacher posts – more aspired to assistant headteacher posts (25% and 22% of males and females respectively). After ten years, there were still very few who aspired to headship posts (6% of males and 2% of females) but proportionately more hoped to be in deputy and assistant headteacher roles. Twenty-five per cent and 16% of male TLR teachers hoped to be in deputy and assistant level posts respectively, noticeably fewer women had this aspiration (9% and 8% respectively). Forty-one per cent of males expected to be out of teaching (31% retired and 9% in a job outside of teaching) and 51% of their female counterparts expected to be out of teaching in ten years (29% in retirement, 20% in a job outside of teaching and 1% taking a career break).

7.5 Seeking a New Post

Overall, 26% of the sample were seeking a new post; in this there was no difference between sexes. In respect of phase, only 20% of primary teachers, 33% of secondary teachers and 16% of teachers from special schools were looking for a new post. Disaggregated by post, the figures were: 35% of teachers in TLR positions, 29% of assistant headteachers, 24% of deputy headteachers and only 13% of headteachers looking for a new post. Forty-nine per cent of teachers with the NPQH, not already headteachers, were seeking a new post.

To progress their ambitions, 53% of the sample felt they would have to move school. This was felt by marginally more women (54%) than men (51%), and by 56% of secondary teachers, 51% of primary teachers and 43% of special school teachers. When disaggregated by post, the need to change school to progress their ambitions was felt by 65% of deputy headteachers, 59% of assistant headteachers, 56% of teachers on TLR posts and 35% of headteachers.

Greater proportions than were looking for a new post or felt the need to move to progress their ambitions were willing to move for a new post. Overall, 68% of the sample were willing to move; marginally more men (71%) than women (67%). Disaggregated by school type, 79% of teachers in special schools were willing to move, 70% of secondary teachers and 66% of primary teachers. Understandably, headteachers were least likely to be willing to move (58%) for a new post, deputy headteachers were more willing (70%) and assistant headteachers and teachers in TLR posts most willing to move (both 73%).

Respondents were asked whether they were willing to move locally, regionally or nationally to further their ambitions. Forty-nine per cent were willing to move locally, 24% regionally and 10% nationally. Fifty per cent of females and 45% of men were willing to move locally, 31% of men and 22% of women were prepared to move regionally and 14% of males and 9% of females were prepared to move nationally for a new post.

Chapter 8: Barriers And Enablers To Ambitions

8.1 Barriers to Leadership Progression

Fundamental to the research was the identification of significant barriers and enablers that impact upon teachers of both sexes achieving their leadership ambitions. The respondents were asked to rank from a list of 29 options the four most significant barriers/anticipated barriers to achieving their leadership positions. The order in which respondents ranked the factors was used to create a weighted score that allowed the relative importance that respondents attached to barriers to be factored into the analysis. Because of the difference in size of the various groups used in analysis to disaggregate the data (phase, sex, ethnicity, etc.) the weighted scores cannot be used to contrast across groups but only to compare relative strengths of feeling within a group. The ten most important barriers in terms of their weighted score overall are listed in Table 8.1 below. Table 8.4 shows the top ten enablers disaggregated by sex, phase and post.

Table 8.1: Top ten ranked barriers for all respondents

Ranked barriers (All)	Weighted score	Frequency
Workload	1,702	576
Caring/family responsibilities	1,214	427
Availability of suitable posts	1,012	387
Self-confidence	940	344
My age	824	305
Qualifications and experience	463	187
Recruitment policies/procedures	401	172
Attitude of senior colleagues	400	153
Taking a career/maternity/paternity break	315	124
Access to leadership programmes	309	129

Table 8.2 shows the top ten barriers disaggregated by sex, phase and post. Unsurprisingly, workload was seen to provide by far the greatest barrier to leadership aspirations overall. For all disaggregated groups, this issue was ranked as the most serious barrier. When considering the top ten of each group, there is a marked degree of consistency: only 13 of the 29 categories were recorded amongst the top within all the disaggregated groups. There is also a large degree of consistency with the order in which the factors appear. Caring/family responsibilities were rated as the second most important barrier for all groups except for men, who ranked the issue third (the dominance of females within the sample will weight rankings towards that position). For men, the availability of suitable posts was the second most important (ranked fourth by females). Lack of self-confidence was overall rated fourth but men ranked it fifth and women third. My age, qualifications and experience, recruitment policies/procedures, attitude of senior colleagues, taking a career/maternity/paternity break, and access to leadership programmes all featured in the overall top ten barriers and were almost all cited by all groups of respondents. Importantly, taking a career/maternity/paternity break was ranked seventh as a barrier for women in the sample, but did not rank in the top ten for their male counterparts.

Table 8.2: Top ten ranked barriers by gender

Ranked barriers (male)	Weighted score	Freq	Ranked barriers (female)	Weighted score	Freq
Workload	473	160	Workload	1,212	411
Availability of suitable posts	300	104	Caring/family responsibilities	911	313
Caring/family responsibilities	294	111	Self-confidence	746	273
My age	234	92	Availability of suitable posts	708	281
Self-confidence	187	69	My age	590	213
Qualifications and experience	160	60	Qualifications and experience	303	127
Recruitment policies/ procedures	156	61	Taking a career/ maternity/paternity break	298	115
Attitude of senior colleagues	99	37	Attitude of senior colleagues	296	114
Access to leadership programmes	96	41	Recruitment policies/procedures	240	109
Discrimination (positive or negative)	80	29	Access to leadership programmes	208	86

At post level, the two most important differences in barriers were recruitment policies/procedures and access to leadership programmes. The former were ranked sixth and seventh respectively for headteachers and deputy headteachers but tenth for assistant headteachers and TLR teachers. Access to leadership programmes, perhaps understandably, is cited by proportionately more assistant headteachers and TLR teachers, who both ranked it seventh, whereas the issue did not feature in the top ten for headteachers and deputy headteachers.

My age was consistently ranked fourth or fifth for all disaggregated groups and encapsulated the issue from both ends of the age spectrum: those who felt that their relative youth was considered a disadvantage to their leadership and ambition, and respondents who felt their comparative maturity was holding back their ambitions. My sex, although outside the top ten barriers for both genders, was more significant for females, who ranked it eleventh, than for men, where it was ranked nineteenth. Discrimination was ranked tenth by men and 12th by women.

Respondents were asked what would specifically help them to overcome the barriers. The answers were wide ranging (see table 8.3), reflecting the diversity of issues relating to each of the main barriers identified as most important in the ranked lists. Foremost amongst the improvements that would help teachers was a reduction in workload/improved work/life balance (n=112) and on a related theme, more family-friendly working policies/flexible working (n=63). Other notable issues were greater access to work experience/mentoring opportunities (n=98), improved access to leadership courses/better CPD (n=76), more support from leaders/local authority/governors (n=70). Respondents also acknowledged that greater self-confidence/ambition (n=80) would help them overcome their barriers.

Table 8.3: Strategies to help respondents overcome barriers (frequencies)

Reduced workload/improved work/life balance	112
Work experience/mentoring schemes	98
Greater self-confidence/ambition	80
Access to leadership courses/better CPD	76
More support from leaders/local authority/governors	70
Family-friendly working policies/flexible working	63
More opportunities	54
Age issues/discrimination	44
Improved recruitment policies and procedures	17
Change in role of headteacher – less bureaucracy	14
Reduce gender discrimination/gendered culture	12
Reduce discrimination to teachers with families	11
Move up the ladder without having interview or NPQH	11
Roman Catholic (RC)/church school issues/requirements	6

Table 8.4: Top ten barriers by sex, phase and post

Issues (in rank order) identified as barriers to respondents' leadership ambitions	All groups	Male	Female	Primary	Secondary	Special	Headteacher	Deputy	Assistant	TLR
Workload	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Caring/family responsibilities	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Availability of suitable posts	3	2	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Self-confidence	4	5	3	3	5	4	4	4	4	4
My age	5	4	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
Qualifications and experience	6	6	6	6	8	8	7	6	6	6
Recruitment policies/procedures	7	7	9	7	6	7	6	7	10	10
Attitude of senior colleagues	8	8	8	8	7	6	8	8	9	8
Taking a career/maternity/paternity break	9		7	9				9	8	9
Access to leadership programmes	10	9	10		9	9=			7	7
Discrimination (positive or negative)	11	10		10	10		10	10		
My sex	12						9			
Where I live	13									
Access to mentoring/coaching	14									
Awareness of available posts	15					9=				
Access to CPD opportunities	16									
My age of entry to profession	17									
Succession planning procedures	18									
Other	19									
Involvement in professional networks	20									
Access to Fast Track programme	21									
Social and cultural factors	22									
My faith	23									
Performance management	24=									
My ethnicity	24=									
Membership of trade union	26									
Overseas experience and qualifications	27									
My disability	28									
Language requirements	29									

8.2 Enablers to Leadership Progression

As with the barriers, the respondents to the survey were asked to rank from a list of 29 options the four most important enablers to achieving their leadership positions. Again, the order in which respondents ranked the factors was used to create a weighted score to reflect the relative importance identified to each response.

The ten most important enablers in terms of their weighted score overall are listed in Table 8.5. Two factors were overwhelmingly identified as the most important enablers: qualifications and experience, and self-confidence. Qualifications and experience was cited by nearly twice as many respondents as the factor ranked third. Similarly, self-confidence was a clear second in the rankings and the attitude of senior colleagues a clear third.

Table 8.5: Top ten ranked enablers for all respondents

Ranked enablers (all)	Weighted score	Frequency
Qualifications and experience	2,366	703
Self-confidence	1,513	537
Attitude of senior colleagues	936	372
Availability of suitable posts	714	280
Access to leadership programmes	656	255
Performance management	572	228
Access to CPD opportunities	556	252
Involvement in professional networks	407	203
Access to mentoring/coaching	321	127
Awareness of available posts	296	140

Table 8.6 below shows enablers disaggregated by sex and, again, the top three overall enablers are common to both sexes. Minor changes in rankings were apparent lower down the lists but the only differences in the top ten chosen enablers were that women identified access to mentoring and coaching and men, succession planning procedures.

Table 8.6: Top ten ranked enablers by sex

Ranked barriers (male)	Weighted score	Freq	Ranked barriers (female)	Weighted score	Freq
Qualifications and experience	615	188	Qualifications and experience	1,728	509
Self-confidence	467	165	Self-confidence	1,041	369
Attitude of senior colleagues	259	104	Attitude of senior colleagues	671	266
Availability of suitable posts	219	81	Access to leadership programmes	505	194
Access to leadership programmes	149	60	Availability of suitable posts	484	195
Performance management	135	55	Access to CPD opportunities	431	194
Access to CPD opportunities	125	58	Performance management	424	169
Involvement in professional networks	122	62	Involvement in professional networks	284	140
Awareness of available posts	86	39	Access to mentoring/coaching	268	105
Succession planning procedures	74	30	Awareness of available posts	210	101

Table 8.7 shows the top ten enablers disaggregated by sex, phase and post. The gaps between the weighted scores for some of the comparisons between groupings were quite close around the issues ranked fourth, fifth and sixth in the list. As with the barriers, there was a great deal of consistency across groups. With the exception of the tenth ranked factor for headteachers,

caring/family responsibilities, the entire top ten ranking positions were drawn from 11 of the 29 listed enablers when disaggregated by sex, phase and post level. Some of the differences between the main groups were marginal but there are a few observations worth noting that are comparable with the barriers. Firstly, and unsurprisingly, headteachers and deputy headteachers cited access to leadership programmes as greater enablers than assistant headteachers and TLR teachers. The reverse was true for TLRs and assistant headteachers in relation to performance management where it was seen as much more of an enabler than for headteachers and deputy headteachers. It is probably also of note that headteachers cited involvement in professional networks as more important than any other post level. Of particular relevance to this survey, it should be noted that, overall, my sex was only ranked nineteenth as an enabler; neither sex had a significant difference in regard to this issue.

**Table 8.7: Top ten enablers by sex, phase and post**

Issues (in rank order) identified as enablers to respondents' leadership ambitions	All groups	Male	Female	Primary	Secondary	Special	Headteacher	Deputy	Assistant	TLR
Qualifications and experience	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Self-confidence	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Attitude of senior colleagues	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Availability of suitable posts	4	4	5	5	4	7	5	5	4	5
Access to leadership programmes	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	6	7
Performance management	6	6	7	7	6	4	8	7	5	4
Access to CPD opportunities	7	7	6	6	7	6	6	6	7	6
Involvement in professional networks	8	8	8	8	8	10	7	9	10	8
Access to mentoring/coaching	9		9	9	10	9	9		8	10
Awareness of available posts	10	9	10	10	9			8		9
Succession planning procedures	11	10				8		10	9	
My age	12									
Where I live	13									
My faith	14									
My age of entry to profession	15									
Caring/family responsibilities	16						10			
Recruitment policies/procedures	17									
Other	18									
Social and cultural factors	19									
My sex	20									
Overseas experience and qualifications	21									
Access to Fast Track programme	22									
Workload	23									
Membership of trade union	24									
Taking a career/maternity/paternity break	25									
My ethnicity	26									
Discrimination (positive or negative)	27									
Language requirements	28									
My disability	29									

Chapter 9: Perceptions Of Equality

9.1 Discrimination in Applying for Promotion

Nineteen per cent of the sample reported that they had experienced discrimination at some point in their career when applying for promotion. Overall, 21% of women and 17% of men reported such instances. Figure 9.1, below, shows percentages of reported discrimination in the appointment process disaggregated by group. Despite presumably having applied for more posts in their career, there was no significant increase in discrimination reported by senior leaders in comparison to teachers on a TLR post. Proportions of each sex reporting discrimination were broadly comparable, although the nature of the discrimination varied.

Figure 9.1: Proportions reporting experiencing discrimination when applying for promotion
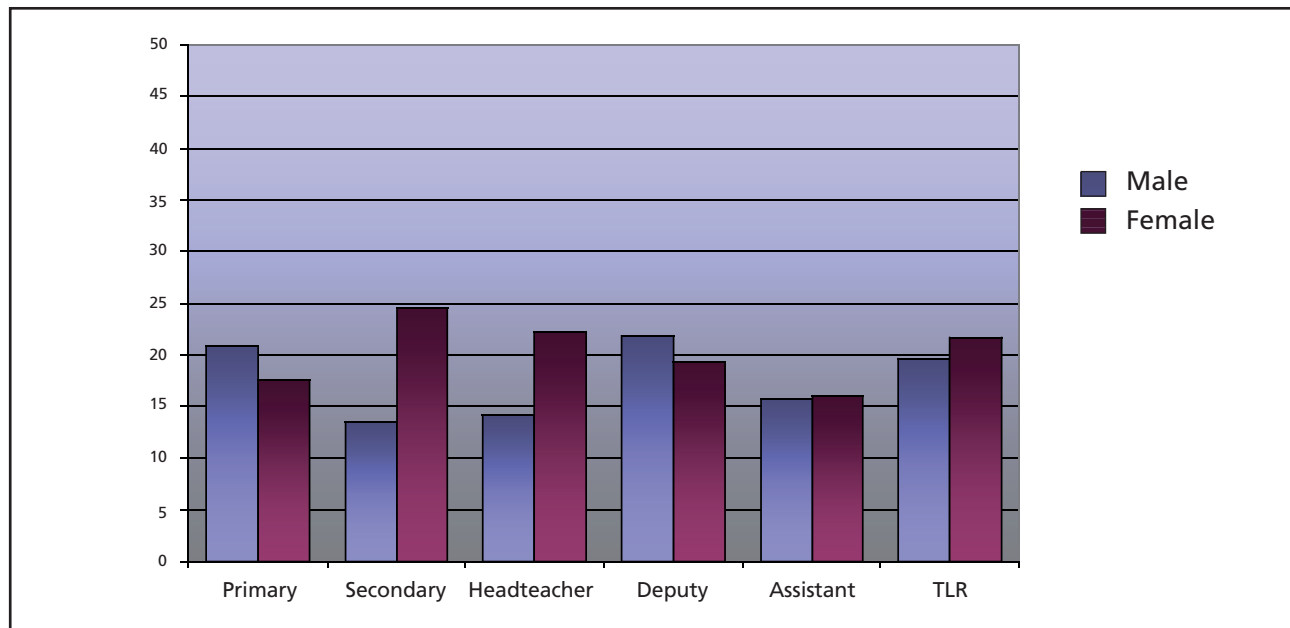
Sex discrimination was the most prevalent form of discrimination reported. It was reported by 9% of respondents and included significantly (Sig44) fewer men (4%) than women (11%). Eighty-six per cent of those who reported encountering discrimination in relation to their sex were women. The difference was not significant for teachers in the primary phase (male, 7% and female, 10%); in secondary, the difference was starkest, significantly (Sig45) more females reported experiencing gender discrimination than their male counterparts (male, 2% and female, 13%).

Low levels of ethnic (1%), faith (2%) and disability (1%) discrimination were reported. Eight per cent of respondents identified the discrimination type as 'other'; of those that specified the type, nearly three quarters identified this as age discrimination.

Noticeably fewer teachers provided a response to the statements following the item relating to discrimination. On most items, approximately a quarter of those who did not perceive they had experienced discrimination omitted the questions. Whereas approximately one eighth of those who perceived they had experienced discrimination omitted the questions.

9.2 Equality in Recruitment and Selection Processes

Perceptions of equality in the appointment to primary headships

Forty per cent of the sample thought it was easier to become a primary headteacher if you were a man; only 10% believed it was easier if you were a woman. Fifty per cent believed sex made no difference. Disaggregating by sex, 34% of male respondents believed men were advantaged and 12% believed women were advantaged, 42% of women thought men were advantaged and only 10% thought women were advantaged.

The tendency to believe that men were favoured was strongest amongst primary teachers. Women in primary schools thought men were advantaged by a ratio of 12 to 1; men in primary schools concurred but by a ratio of only 3 to 1 (see figure 9.2 below). Headteachers in primary also considered that men found it easier to become a primary headteacher. When disaggregated by sex, 43% of women headteachers believed that men were favoured (only 2% believed that women were favoured) and 23% of male primary headteachers considered that men were advantaged (only 3% believed that women were favoured). The group most strongly believing men to be advantaged were women deputy headteachers (52%) and the group that least strongly believed this were male primary teachers (27%).

When disaggregating for the location of teachers' current schools, it is noticeable that respondents in primary schools had the greatest differences. Here, respondents in urban areas were least likely to feel that it was easier for males to attain primary headship (39%) than teachers in rural (48%) and suburban environments (50%). Fifty-four per cent of female respondents in rural and suburban primary schools felt that it was easier for males to become primary headteachers but only 33% (n=7) and 29% (n=5) of their male counterparts thought this was the case.

Figure 9.2: Proportions believing that sex advantaged applicants for primary headship
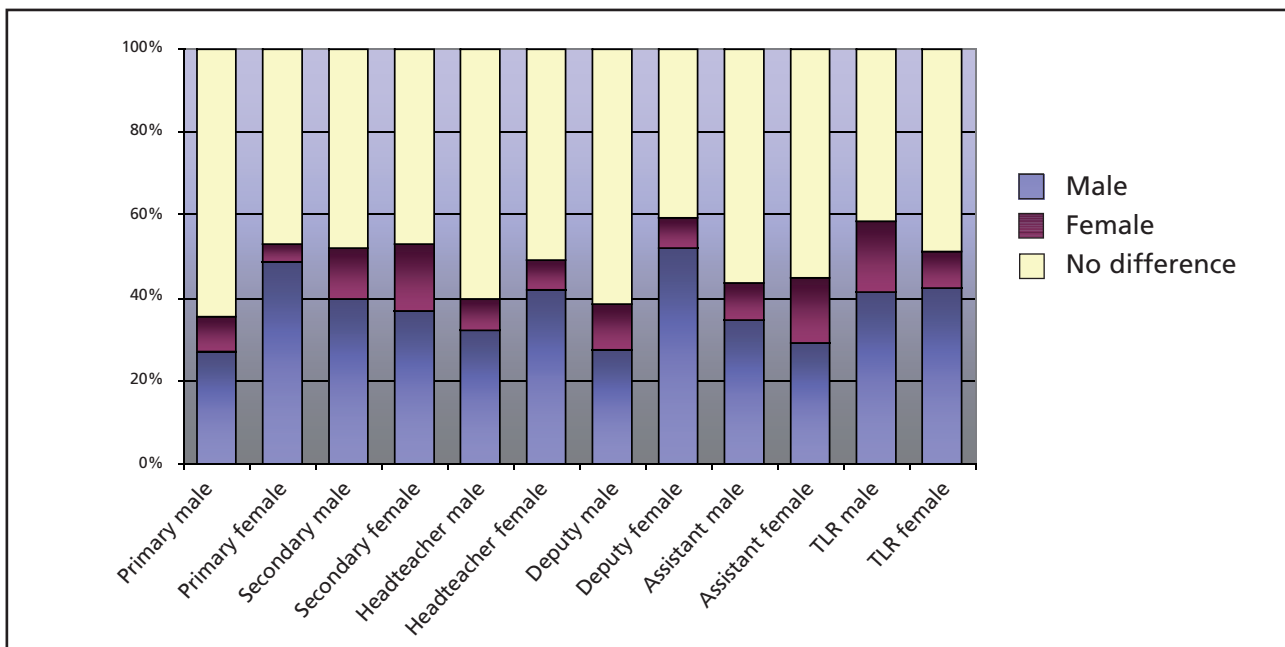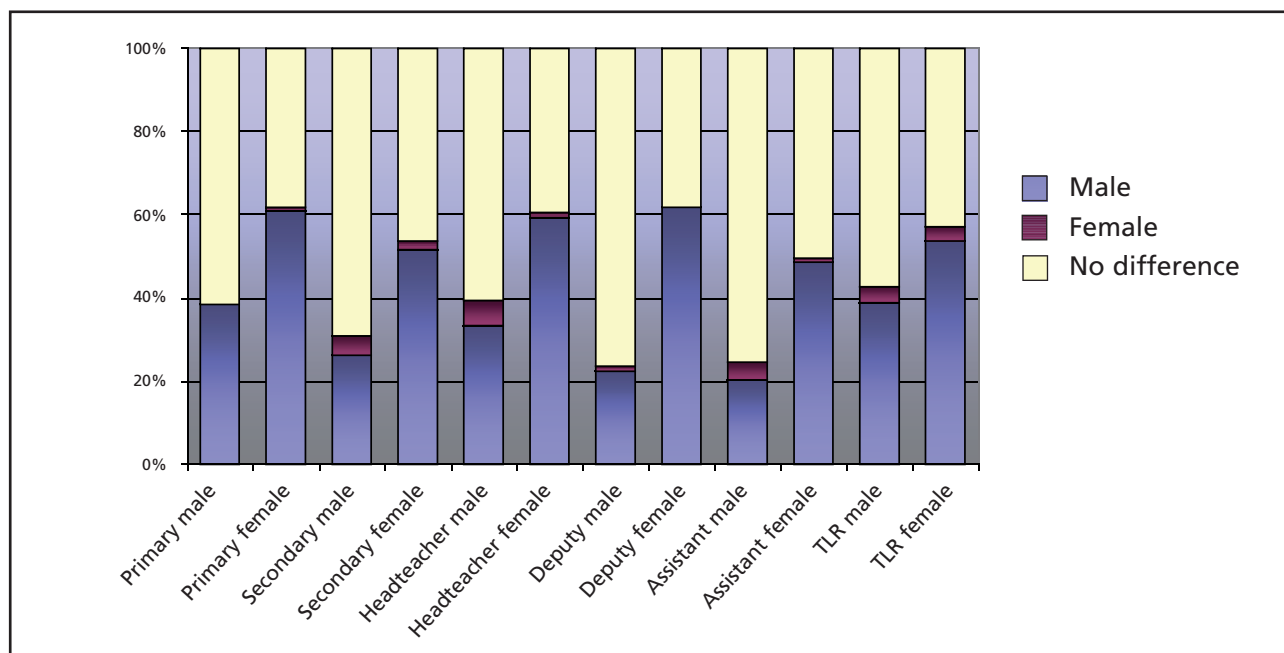

Perceptions of equality in the appointment to secondary headships

Overall, 49% of respondents thought men were advantaged in appointments to secondary headships, only 2% thought women were advantaged and the remaining 49% thought neither sex was advantaged. Although both sexes considered that men were favoured, the perception was strongest amongst women (Sig46). Fifty-six per cent of women thought that men found it easier and 2% that women found it easier whereas only 29% of men thought that men found it easier and 3% that women found it easier.

More primary teachers thought that men found it easier to become secondary headteachers than did secondary teachers. In secondary schools, there was a significant difference between the sexes: 52% of women and 26% of men thought that men found it easier; 2% of women and 5% of men thought that women found it easier (Sig47) (also see figure 9.3). Amongst the group of women deputy headteachers, no-one thought women were advantaged and over 60% thought men were advantaged. For secondary headteachers, 67% of females and only 22% of males believed that it is easier for men to become a secondary headteacher (Sig48).

Figure 9.3: Proportions believing that sex advantaged applicants for secondary headship

Perceptions of discrimination in the appointment process

There were many deep contradictions in the data, one of the most fundamental being that despite both male and female respondents believing overwhelmingly that men were favoured in the appointment to headship in both primary and secondary schools, only 34% believed that gender discrimination was a significant issue in the appointments process. Only 39% of women and 20% of men considered this issue to be significant. The proportions for each sex were similar in the primary and secondary sectors. Headteachers were least likely to think this (28%) and teachers in TLR posts most likely (38%). Of all posts, disaggregated by sex, male headteachers were least likely to think gender discrimination a significant issue (14%), and 33% of female headteachers (see figure 9.4). The differences between the sexes at post level are significant at each of the senior posts (Sig49).

Figure 9.4: Proportions believing that gender discrimination was a significant issue in the appointment process
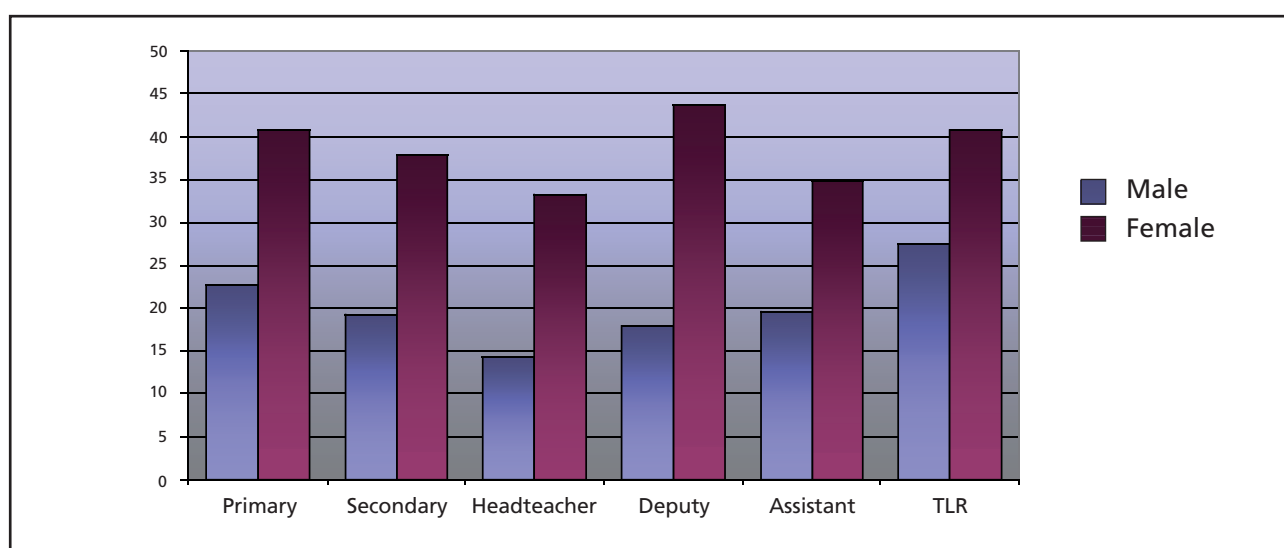
9.3 Impact of Age on Career Progression

Perception of impact of mature entry to the profession on career progression

Only 12% of respondents agreed that entering the profession aged over 30 was a significant barrier to teachers' leadership ambitions, 56% disagreed and 32% were unsure. After excluding unsure responses (male, 28% and female, 34%) only 18% of those expressing an opinion thought that entering the profession aged over 30 was a significant barrier to leadership ambitions.

There was no significant difference between sexes, albeit 20% of men but only 17% of women thought entering the profession late to be a disadvantage. Figure 9.5 below shows the percentages of each group that considered entry to the profession aged over 30 a significant disadvantage. There were significant (Sig50) differences between the four main post groups: 24% of teachers in TLR posts thought it a disadvantage but only 13% of headteachers and 16% of deputy and assistant headteachers. Taking the workforce as a whole, there were significant differences between the main phases; only 12% in the primary sector thought late entry to the profession a disadvantage but 22% in secondary thought it to be so. At disaggregated post level there were no significant differences in the main phases when comparing the sexes. Noticeably more primary male headteachers (19%) agreed it was a disadvantage than their female counterparts (7%). The reverse was true in secondary.

Figure 9.5: Proportions that thought entering the profession aged over 30 was a significant barrier to leadership ambitions
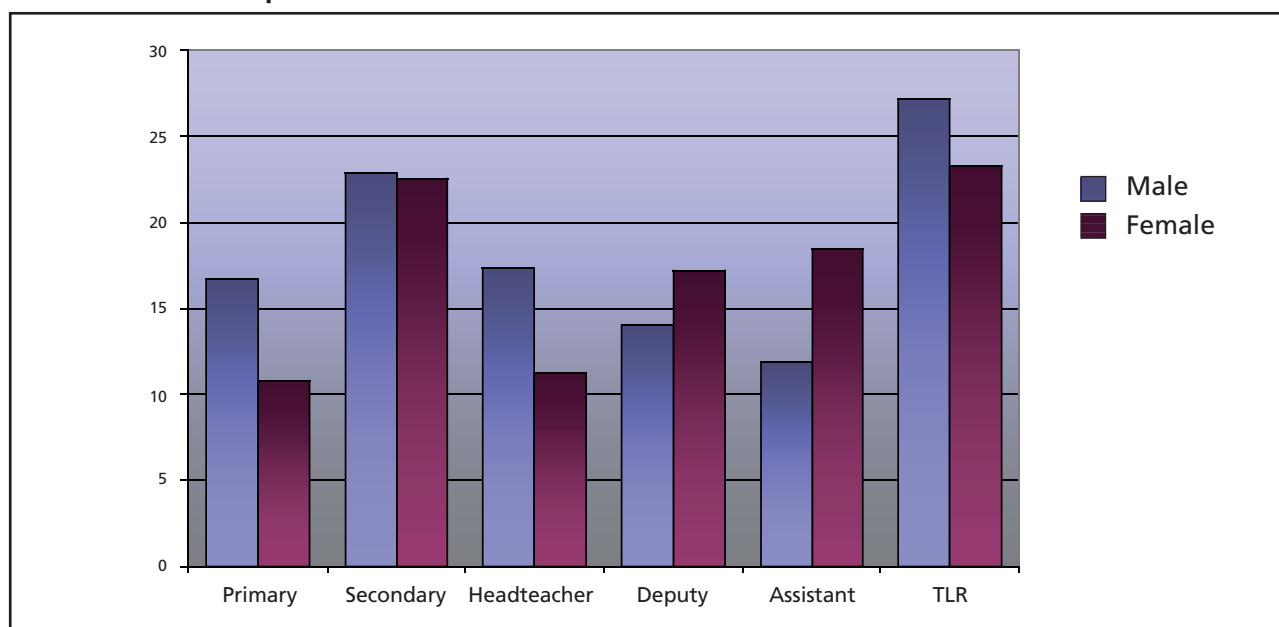

Figure 9.6 below shows that attitudes towards age of entry to the profession were affected by the age of the respondent. Younger teachers were less likely to consider that late entry into the profession was a disadvantage in terms of career progression; only 9% of teachers aged 35 years and below agreed. Teachers aged over 45 years were significantly more likely to think that late entry to the profession was a disadvantage, 33% of teachers in the 46-50 age group thought late entry into the profession a disadvantage.

Thirty-one per cent of teachers who actually entered the profession aged over 30 thought entering the profession aged over 30 to be a significant barrier; whereas only 16% of those who entered the profession aged under 30 thought entering over 30 a disadvantage. Of those who entered the profession over 30, there was a slight difference when disaggregating for sex, where 27% of males and 32% of females agreed. There were greater differences when disaggregating for phase: 39% of this group in secondary agreed it was a significant barrier to teachers' leadership ambitions but only 22% of their primary counterparts. However, it should be noted that 61% of the teachers who entered the profession over 30 in this survey were from primary settings and 35% from secondary schools despite only 46% of the sample being returned from primary teachers and 50% from secondary teachers.

Figure 9.6: Proportions that thought entering the profession aged over 30 was a significant barrier to leadership ambitions by age group

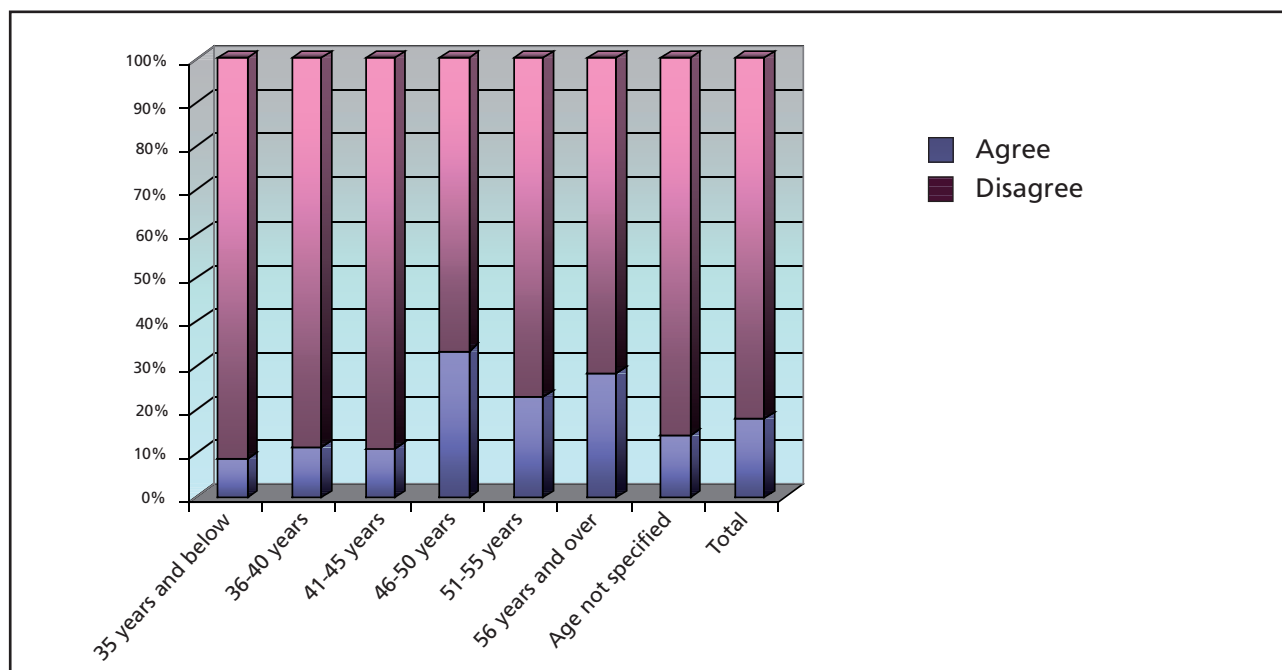## Perception of age discrimination in promotion for senior leadership

Forty-three per cent of respondents perceived that at 30, teachers were thought to be too young for senior leadership. In this regard, males (45%) were slightly more in agreement than females (42%). At post level, teachers with TLRs were the most likely group to think this (46%), with assistant headteachers least likely (35%). Teachers in secondary schools (49%) were significantly more likely to think 30 year old teachers were perceived to be too young for senior leadership than primary teachers (36%). Men in primary (42%) considered this to be true more than their female counterparts (34%).

Teachers at both ends of the age spectrum were most likely to consider the perception to be true; teachers aged 41 to 55 were least likely to agree with the perception (see figure 9.7).

Fifty per cent of the sample believed that teachers were perceived to be too old for a first headship at 50. Slightly more males (54%) agreed with the perception than females (49%). Headteachers were least in agreement (45%) and teachers in TLR posts (54%) were most disposed to believe it true. In particular, male teachers in TLR posts (60%) thought this perception held true and female headteachers (43%) were least likely to think so.

Figure 9.7: Proportions that thought that at 30, teachers were perceived to be too young for senior leadership by age group
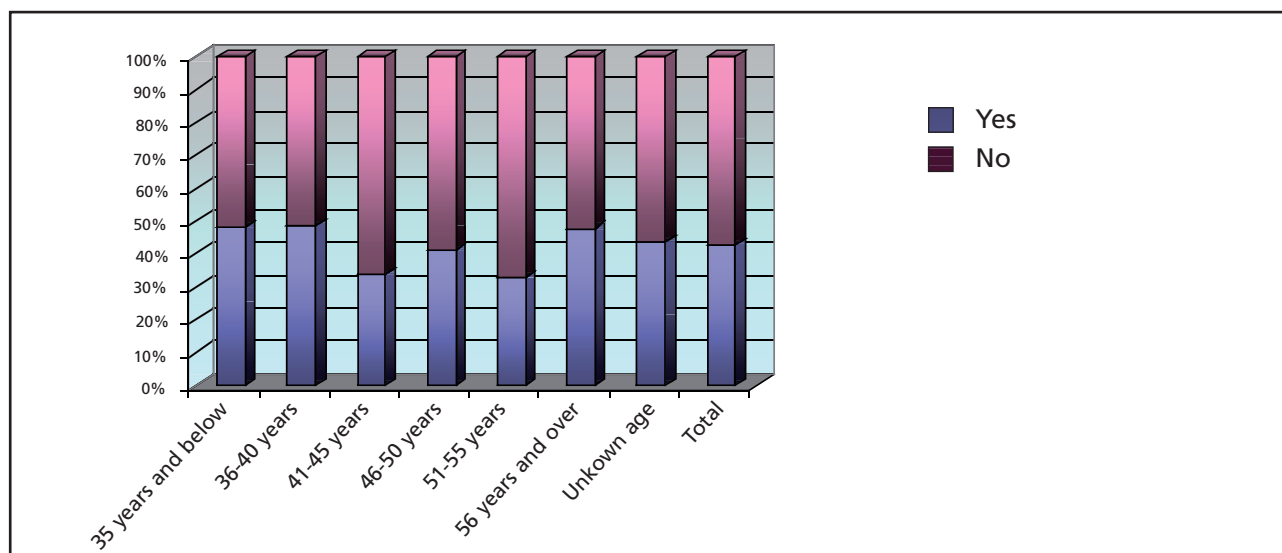
There were significant differences in the way the issue was perceived by primary and secondary teachers. Secondary teachers were significantly (Sig51) more likely to consider teachers too old for headship at 50 than primary teachers (57% and 41% respectively). Headteachers, disaggregated by sex and phase, had differing opinions: only 33% of female primary headteachers agreed that at 50, teachers were considered too old, whereas 68% of their female secondary counterparts thought so. The difference was much less marked for male headteachers in the two phases (50% and 42% respectively).

There were significant differences (Sig52) in the perceptions of the different age groups (see figure 9.8). Younger teachers were much more likely to disagree that at 50, teachers were too old for headship, whereas older teachers were more likely to agree.

Figure 9.8: Proportions that thought that at 50, teachers were perceived to be too old for a first headship
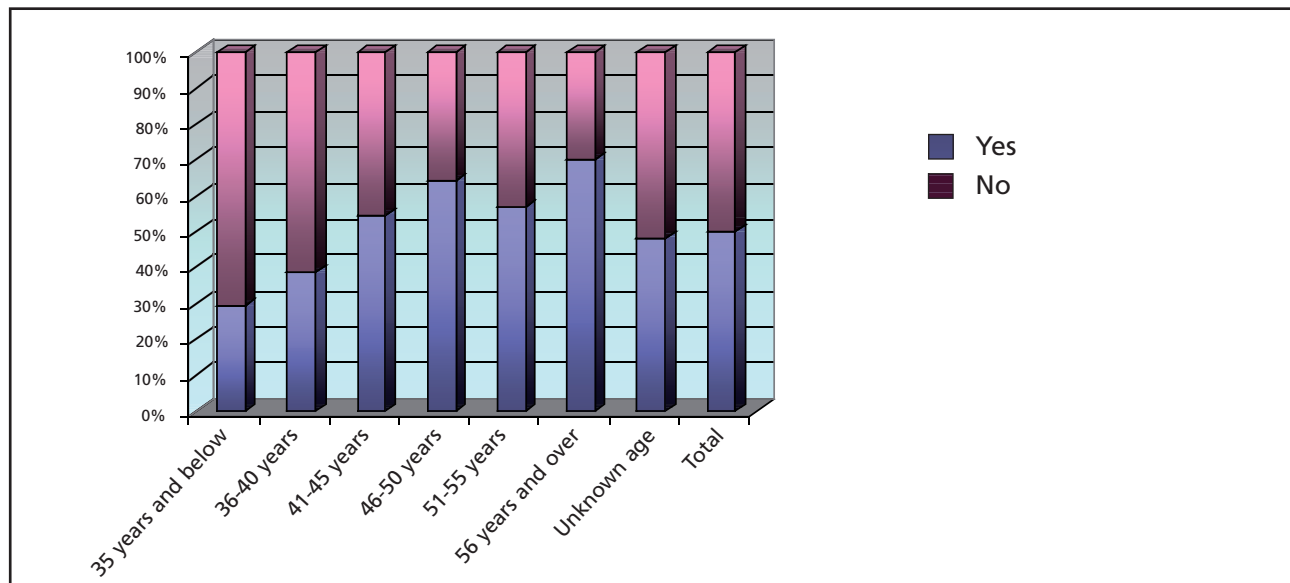
9.4 Impact of Sex on Career Progression

Sixteen per cent of the respondents felt that their sex had had a negative impact on career opportunities, 9% reported a positive impact and 75% thought that their sex had no impact. There were significant (Sig53) differences in this regard between the two sexes. Three times (21%) as many men believed that the impact had been positive than those who thought it had been negative (7%); nearly four times as many women (19%) believed that their sex had impacted negatively than those who believed it had been a positive impact (5%).

Figure 9.9 shows the perceived impact of sex on career opportunities across all the main groups. Although at an overall level, ignoring gender imbalance, there is little difference between the perceptions of the teachers in the two main phases. When disaggregating for sex, there were significant (Sig54 and Sig55) differences between the perceptions of men and women in primary and secondary. Forty-two per cent of men in primary perceived their sex to have a positive impact on their career opportunities and 52% thought it had no impact, whereas in secondary, only 13% thought it had a positive impact and 79% thought their sex had no impact. For primary women, 80% felt their sex had no impact and 16% felt it had a negative impact, whereas for secondary women, over 70% felt their sex had no impact and over 20% felt their sex had a negative impact.

Figure 9.9: Proportions believing that their sex had a negative impact on their career opportunities
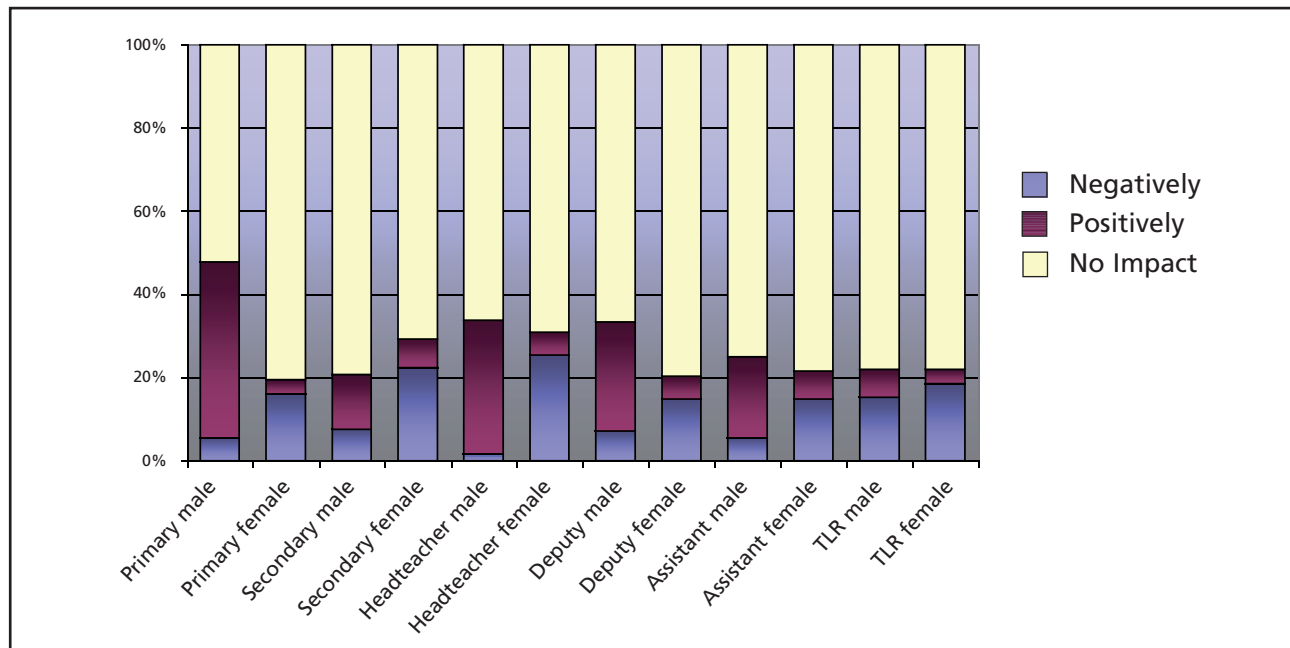
At post level, there were some significant (Sig56) differences. Of those who thought their gender had made an impact, by a proportion of approximately 16 to 1, male headteachers felt their sex had had a positive impact. Their female headteacher counterparts considered there to have been a negative impact by a proportion of approximately 5 to 1. Similar experiences were recorded at each post level when disaggregated by sex with the exception of teachers on TLR posts where both genders felt their sex had had a more negative impact than positive (although 78% thought it made no difference). Although the numbers in the sample are relatively small, in some instances when disaggregated for phase and sex, there were again significant differences between the sexes (Sig57) at headteacher level; 41% of male headteachers (n=29) in primary thought their sex had had a positive impact (3% negative), but only 4% of their female (n=111) counterparts thought similarly (23% negative). In secondary settings, proportionately fewer female headteachers (48%, n=14) than male headteachers (79%, n=15) thought their sex had no impact on their career opportunities.

The group that perceived their sex as having the least negative impact were male headteachers (2%) and the group that perceived their sex to have most negative impact were female headteachers (25%). The group that considered their sex to have the greatest positive impact were primary men and the group that perceived their sex to have the least positive impact were primary women (see chart above).

9.5 Impact of Breaks in Service on Career Progression

A career break was believed to be a barrier to teachers' promotion prospects for 53% of the sample, a figure broadly similar for each sex (male 52% and female 54%). Interestingly, there was a significant (Sig58) difference between the perception of the main teaching groups: 38% of headteachers, 50% of deputies, 51% of assistants and 63% of TLR teachers thought taking a career break was a barrier. The perceptions of each post group when disaggregated by sex are shown in figure 9.10.

Figure 9.10: Proportions that thought career breaks were a barrier to promotion prospects
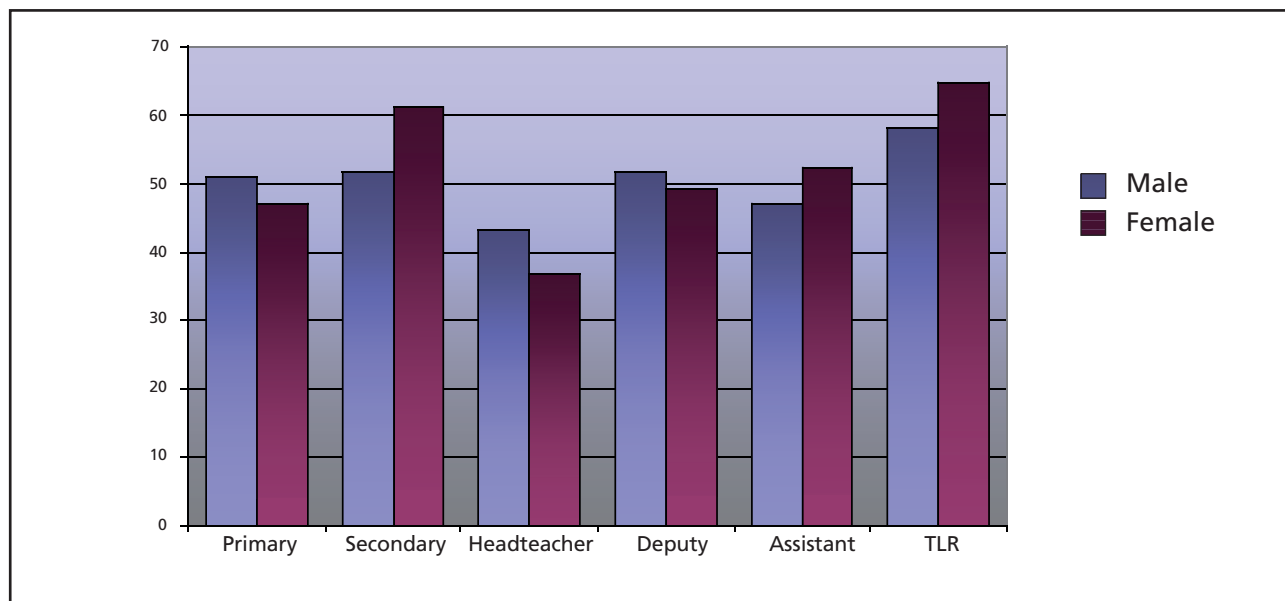
Male teachers in primary and secondary held broadly similar opinions, but secondary women teachers were significantly (Sig59) more likely (61% to 47%) than their primary counterparts to agree with the perception. At headteacher level disaggregated by phase of education, primary male headteachers believed this to be the case more than primary female headteachers (50% to 32%). The position was reversed for secondary headteachers (47% of females and 26% of male headteachers).

Fifty-two per cent of those teachers who had taken a career break thought it was a barrier to promotion prospects. Marginally more teachers (54%) who had not taken a career break felt it was a barrier. When disaggregated by sex, the greatest agreement with the sentiment came from female teachers who had not taken a career break (55%), while the group who least thought it was a barrier were males who had taken a career break (44%).

Chapter 10: Perceptions Of Career Management

## 10.1 Career Development Processes

Performance management and professional development

Fifty-six per cent of respondents agreed that the performance management structure had been supportive of their leadership aspirations, 25% disagreed and 18% were unsure. After excluding unsure responses (males, 21% and female, 17%), 69% of those expressing an opinion agreed with the statement.

Women were more likely than men to agree that the performance management structure had been supportive: 66% of men and 70% of women agreed. Within the returned sample, greater proportions of male teachers in secondary (69%) agreed with the statement than in primary (63%) whereas the situation was reversed for female teachers as significantly more females in primary (75%) agreed with the statement than their secondary counterparts (63%). Figure 10.1 below shows the percentages of each group that considered that the performance management structure had been supportive of their leadership aspirations. There was again a tendency for teachers in the primary phase to be more positive about the performance management structure: 73% in primary agreed it was supportive but only 65% in secondary.

There were significant (Sig60) differences between the four main post groups (see Figure 10.1). Deputy and assistant headteachers (75% and 78%) were most positive about the benefits of performance management; headteachers and teachers on TLR posts were less so (68% and 74%). At disaggregated post level there were no significant differences in the main phases when comparing the sexes. The strongest association with the statement was secondary male assistant headteachers with 81% (female=74%); the weakest association was from secondary TLR teachers (male=56%, female=54%).

Figure 10.1: Proportions that thought that their performance management structures had been supportive of their leadership aspirations
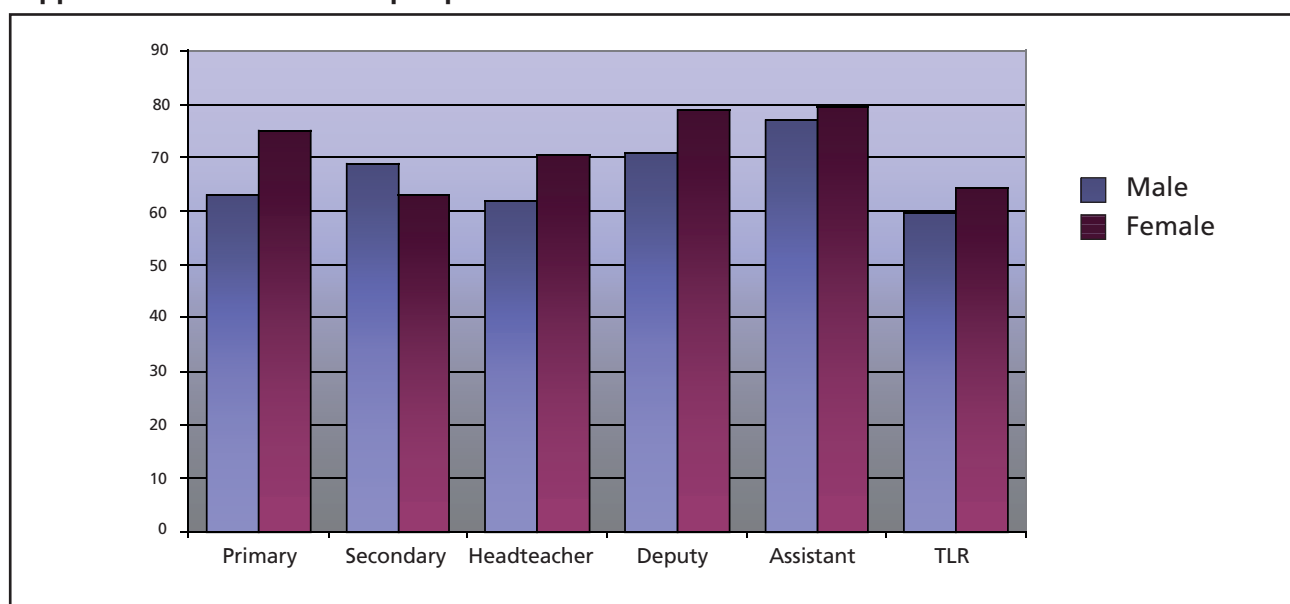
Seventy-one per cent of respondents agreed that CPD provision had been supportive of their leadership aspirations, 18% disagreed and 11% were unsure. After excluding unsure responses (male 13%, female 10%), 80% of those expressing an opinion agreed with the statement.

There was little difference between the responses of the sexes: 78% of men and 81% of women agreed that CPD provision had been supportive. There were significant (Sig61) differences, however, between the four main post groups. Senior leaders had a tendency to be more supportive of the CPD provision and the agreement was strongest from those in positions with the highest seniority: 91% of headteachers and deputy headteachers felt that this was the case, 88% of assistant headteachers but only 63% of teachers in TLR posts. Within the workforce as a whole, there were significant differences between the phases: 88% in primary and 72% in

secondary thought that CPD had been supportive of their leadership aspirations. At disaggregated post level there were no significant differences in the main phases when comparing the sexes. The strongest association with the statement was secondary male headteachers with 96% (female headteachers, 87%) and the weakest association was from secondary teachers on TLR posts (male, 47% and female, 57%).

Effectiveness of the NPQH preparation for the selection process

Twenty-seven per cent of respondents in England believed that the NPQH did not prepare teachers adequately for the selection process and the picture is almost identical for each sex, 55% of the sample were unsure about the adequacy of the preparation and 18% disagreed that it was inadequate. After excluding unsure responses (and blank responses), only 42% of all returned questionnaires gave an opinion. Of these, 60% believed that the preparation for the selection process was not adequate. The proportions that thought the preparation inadequate were almost identical for each sex (male, 59% and female, 60%). Figure 10.2 below shows the percentages of each group that thought the preparation inadequate. There were significant (Sig62) differences between the four main post groups: 71% of deputy headteachers agreed the preparation was inadequate but only 53% of headteachers (assistant=47%, TLR=68%). At disaggregated post level there were no significant differences in the main phases when comparing the sexes – it should be noted that a factor in this is the reduced numbers of cases analysed when 'unsure' responses are excluded. However, some differences were observable: 63% of secondary female headteachers agreed but only 48% of their male counterparts; 53% of secondary female assistant headteachers agreed but only 23% of males. Comparing NPQH holders and those yet to complete, 52% of those that held the qualification agreed that the preparation was inadequate, whereas significantly more (74%) of those without the qualification thought this was the case despite not holding the qualification.

Figure 10.2: Proportions believing the NPQH did not adequately prepare leaders for the selection process
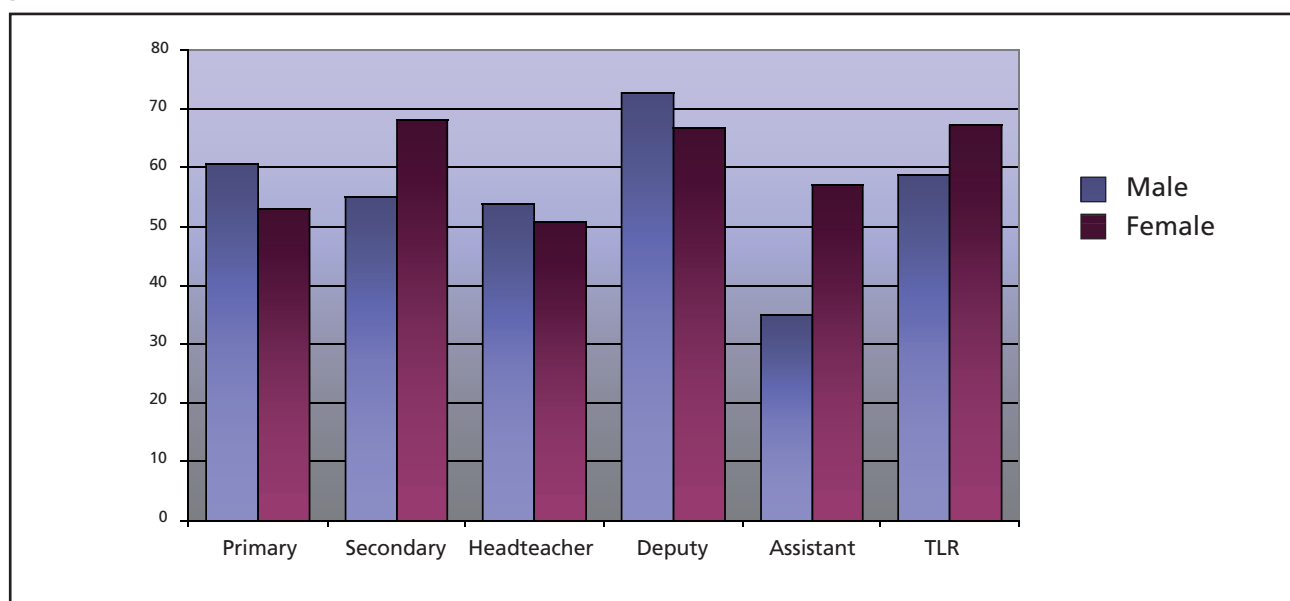
NPQH funding regulations

Thirty-two per cent of respondents in England thought the new NPQH funding arrangements would make becoming a headteacher more difficult,12% disagreed and 56% were unsure, most probably due to the fact that the changes were very recent and the impact had as yet not been felt or considered in detail. This is evidenced by the high proportion of teachers on TLR posts (72%) who were unsure about the changes to regulations, while teachers in more senior posts still contained sizeable proportions who were unsure (headteacher=45%, deputy=51%, assistant=49%). After excluding unsure responses, 74% of those expressing an opinion agreed that the new funding regulations would make becoming a headteacher more difficult.

Overall, within the group that expressed an opinion, 72% male and 74% of females agreed. Figure 10.3 below shows the percentages of each group that felt the new regulations would make becoming a headteacher more difficult. There were significant (Sig63) differences between the four main post groups: 88% of TLR teachers thought this was the case, 80% of assistant headteachers but only 66% of headteachers and deputy headteachers. When disaggregating for sex, phase and post level there were no significant differences between the sexes at post level. Male secondary teachers in TLR posts were most likely to agree (male, 89% and female, 85%) and female secondary deputy headteachers were least likely to agree (female, 33% and male, 63%).

Respondents holding the NPQH were significantly less concerned about the likely (Sig64) impact of the new regulations on becoming a headteacher: 61% felt it would make it more difficult compared to 83% of those not already holding the NPQH.

Figure 10.3: Proportions that thought that the new NPQH funding arrangements would make becoming a headteacher more difficult
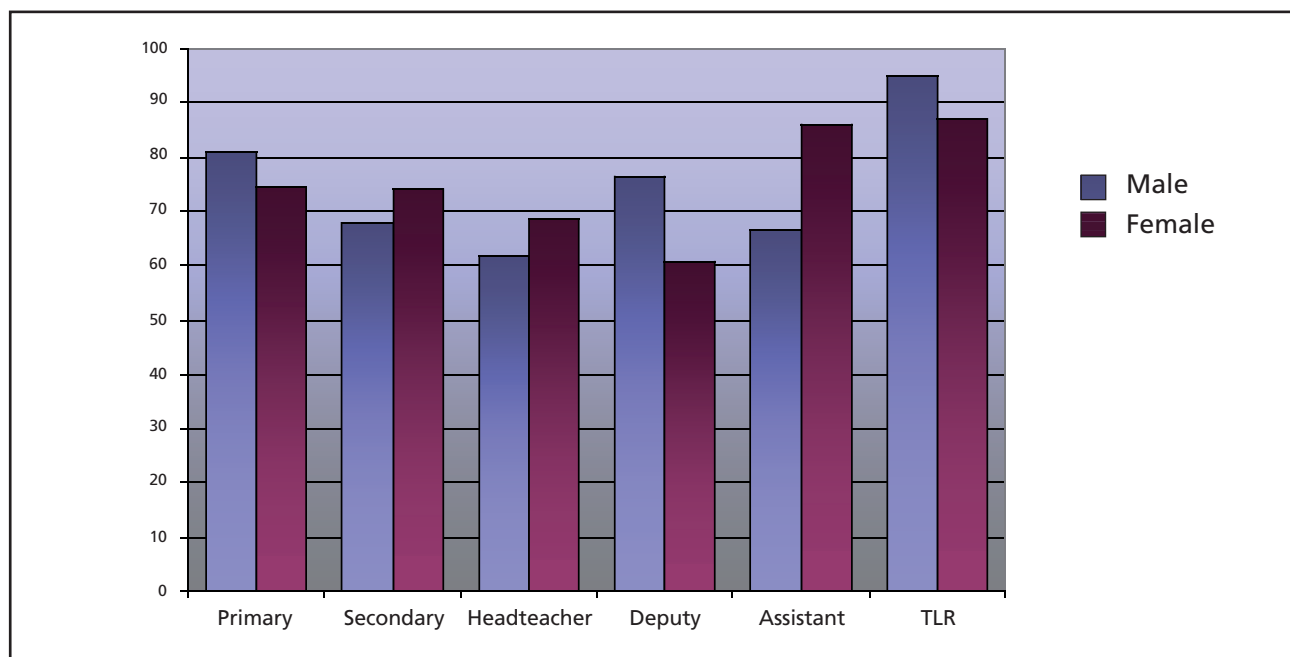
10.2 Career Structures

Pay scales and promotion

Only 18% of respondents agreed that the present system of pay scales and promotion had disadvantaged them, 62% disagreed and 20% were unsure. After excluding unsure responses (male, 18% and female, 21%), 80% of those expressing an opinion agreed with the perception.

Women felt slightly more disadvantaged by the career structure, with 24% of females believing that it had disadvantaged them compared to only 21% of men. Figure 10.4 shows the percentages of each group that considered that pay scales and promotion structures had disadvantaged them. There were significant (Sig65) differences between the four main post groups: 33% of TLR teachers thought this was the case but only 14% of assistant headteachers, 16% of deputy headteachers and 19% of headteachers. Disaggregating by phase, there was little difference: 24% in primary and 22% in secondary felt disadvantaged by the pay and promotion structures. At disaggregated post level, there were no significant differences in the main phases when comparing the sexes. The strongest association with the perception was secondary male TLR teachers with 39% (female=33%); the weakest association was from secondary deputies (male=12%, female=12%). Figure 10.5 shows the proportions feeling disadvantage when disaggregating for age.

Figure 10.4: Proportions believing that the system of pay scales and promotion had disadvantaged them
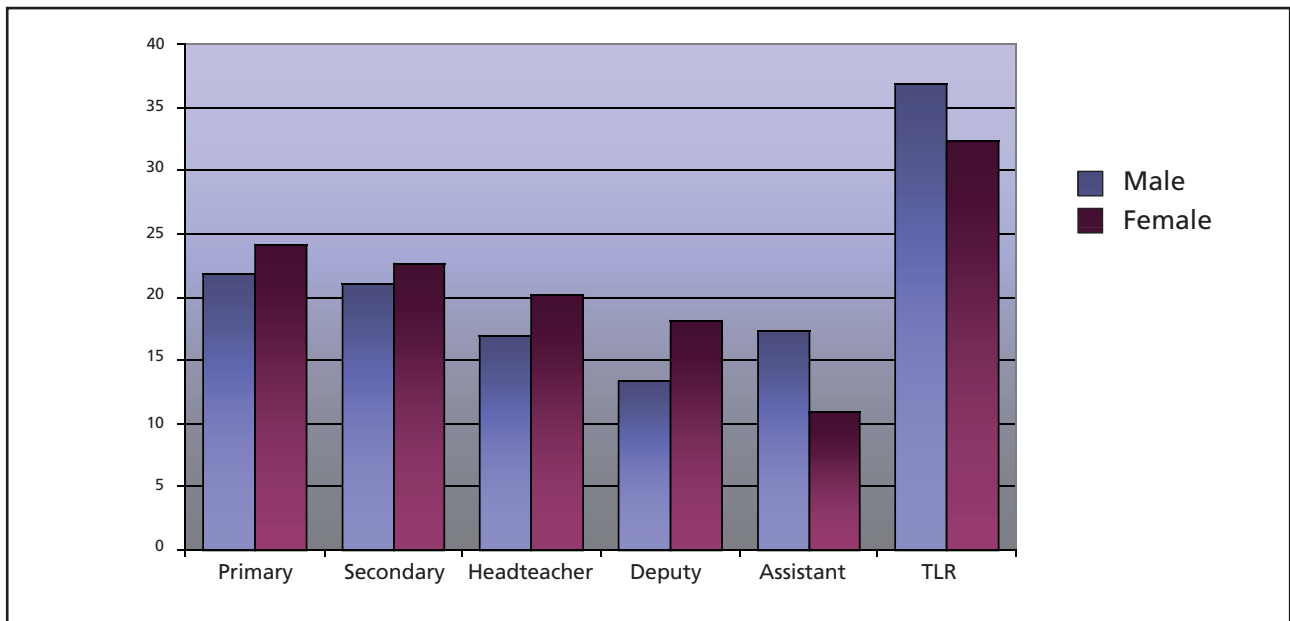
Figure 10.5: Proportions believing that the system of pay scales and promotion had disadvantaged them by age group
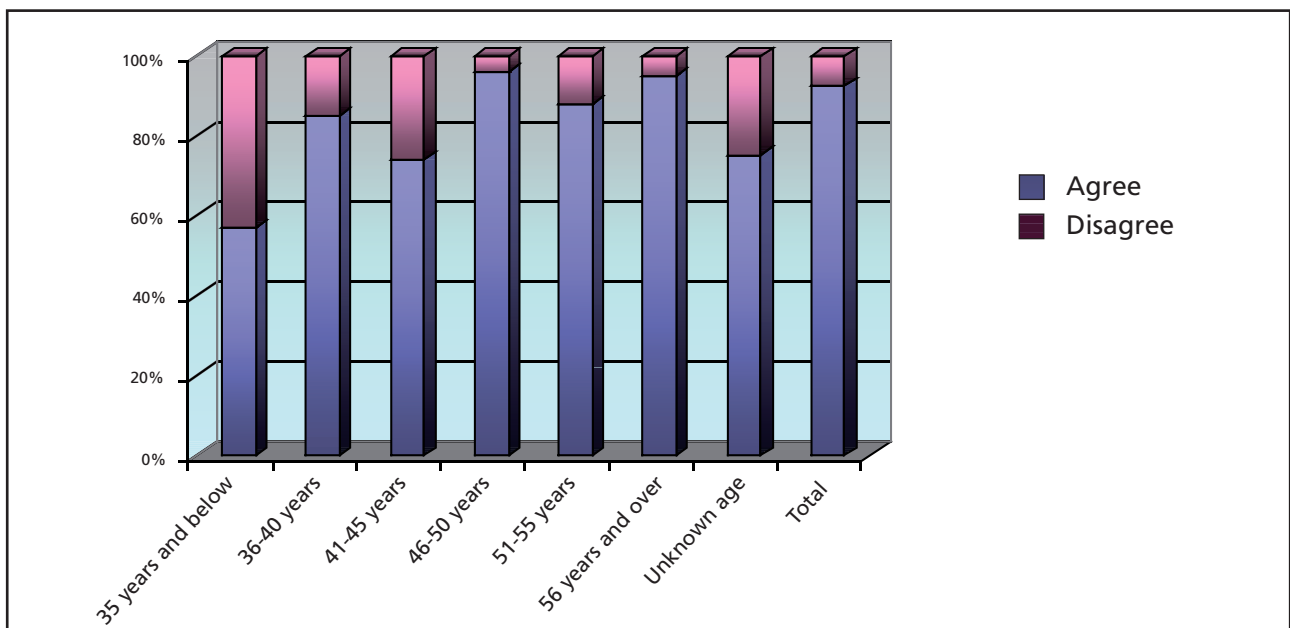
Introduction of assistant headteacher post

Sixty per cent of respondents (in England) agreed that the introduction of the assistant headteacher role had been helpful in facilitating career progression, 13% disagreed and 27% were unsure. After excluding the unsure responses (male, 21% and female, 29%), 81% of those expressing an opinion agreed that the new post had been helpful.

Overall, within this group, 79% of men and 82% of women agreed that the new post had been useful. Figure 10.6 shows the percentages of the various groups that agreed that the new post was helpful in terms of facilitating career progression. There were significant (Sig66) differences between the four main post groups. Unsurprisingly, 94% of assistant headteachers agreed and at other levels, 83% of headteachers, 75% of deputies and 76% of teachers with TLR posts agreed. Taking the workforce as a whole into consideration, the differences between the two main phases (primary=77%, secondary=84%) are only partially explained by the greater proportion of assistant headteachers in the data set from secondary schools; when excluding the assistant headteachers

in the sample, the scale of difference between the phases is still similar. When disaggregating for post in the two main phases, there were some significant differences between the sexes. Female headteachers, in both primary and secondary, were more inclined to agree; 84% of female primary headteachers and 92% of female secondary headteachers agreed compared to 71% and 78% of their respective male counterparts. A significant difference was noted between the attitudes of teachers on TLR posts in secondary where 60% of men agreed compared to 82% of women.

Figure 10.6: Proportions that thought that the introduction of the assistant headteacher post was helpful in facilitating career progression
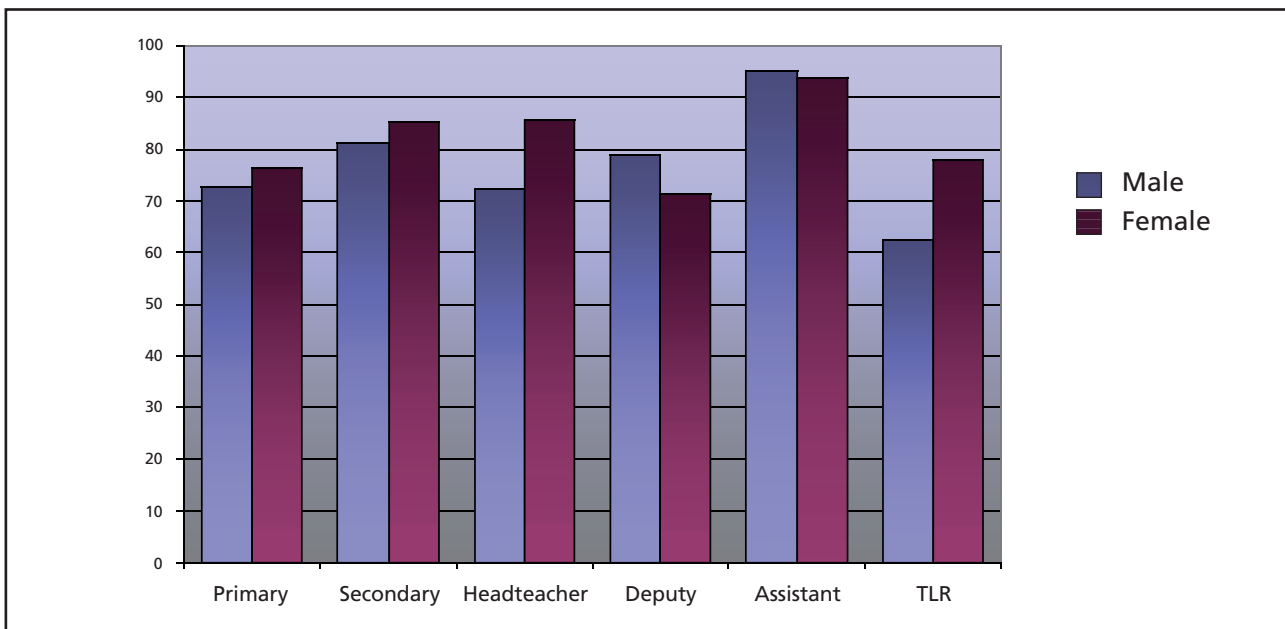
10.3 The Appointment Process

Headteachers' roles in the appointment process

Seventeen per cent of respondents agreed that headteachers wielded too much power in the appointment process, 65% disagreed and 18% were unsure. Greater proportions of teachers on TLR posts (23%) were unsure than those in more senior level posts (headteacher, 10%; deputy headteacher, 17%; assistant headteacher, 20%). After excluding unsure responses (male, 17% and female, 19%), only 21% were of the opinion that headteachers wielded too much power in the appointment process.

Overall, within this group, 19% of men and 22% of women agreed. Figure 10.7 shows the percentages of each group that thought headteachers wielded too much power. There were significant (Sig67) differences between the four main post groups. Disagreement with the perception was strongest in positions with the highest seniority: 5% of headteachers and 13% of deputy headteachers felt this was the case, rising to 22% of assistant headteachers and 37% of teachers in TLR posts. For both sexes, teachers in secondary schools were significantly more likely to agree with the perception, reflecting more TLR roles in secondary and greater proportions of headteachers in the primary returned sample. When disaggregating for post in the two main phases, there were no significant differences between the sexes.

Figure 10.7: Proportions believing that headteachers wielded too much power in the appointment process
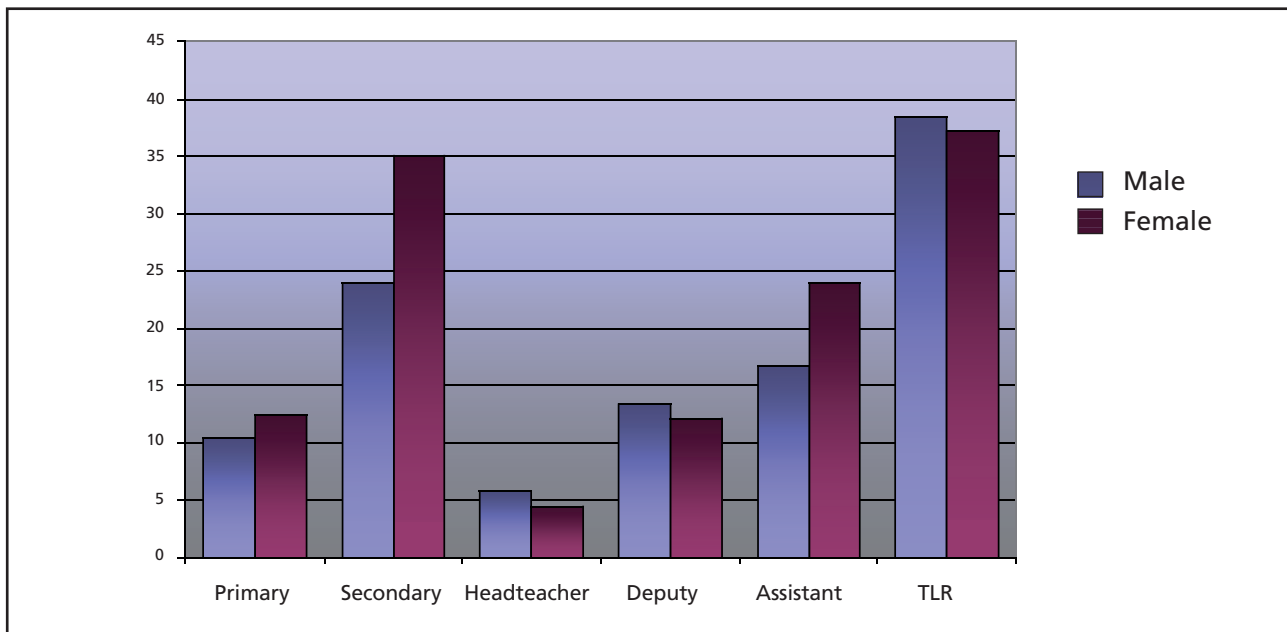
Governors' roles in the appointment process

Thirty-three per cent of respondents thought governors wielded too much power in the appointment process, 44% disagreed with the perception and 23% were unsure. Those in more senior posts were less likely to be unsure: 32% of TLRs were unsure compared to only 13% of headteachers. After excluding unsure responses, 43% of those expressing an opinion agreed with the perception.

Overall, within this group, women showed a greater level of concern about the power of the governors in respect of the selection process: 44% of women but only 39% of men agreed that governors wielded too much power. Figure 10.8 below shows the percentages of teachers across all groups that were concerned about the power of the governors. Assistant headteachers were least likely to be concerned (33%) and headteachers, deputy headteachers and teachers on TLR posts had broadly similar levels of agreement (40%-47%). When disaggregating for post in the two main phases, there were no significant differences between the sexes. Male assistant headteachers in secondary were least inclined to agree (male, 23% and female, 36%); female deputies in secondary schools were most likely to agree (male, 42% and female, 56%).

Figure 10.8: Proportions believing that governors wielded too much power in the appointment process
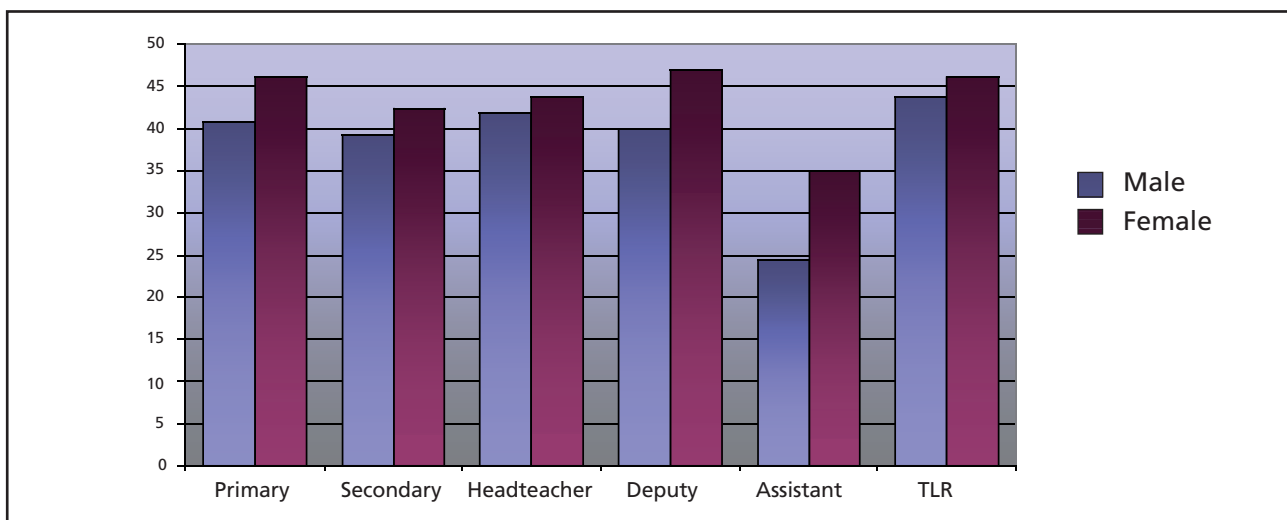
Relative valuing of experience against skills and knowledge

Twenty-seven per cent of respondents believed experience to be valued more highly in promotion than skills and knowledge, 47% disagreed and 26% were unsure. Teachers in TLR posts were most likely to be unsure about the perception. After excluding unsure responses (male, 28% and female, 26%), 36% of those expressing an opinion agreed that experience was valued most highly.

Figure 10.9 below shows the percentages across groups believing experience to be valued more highly than skills and knowledge. Both sexes had identical proportions in this regard and there were no significant differences between the four main post groups or between phases. When disaggregating for post in the two main phases, there were no significant differences between the sexes. The strongest association with the perception was from secondary female headteachers with 47% in agreement (male secondary headteachers, 26%); the weakest association was from female secondary deputies with 21% in agreement (male secondary deputies, 27%).

Figure 10.9: Proportions that thought experience was valued more highly in promotion than skills and knowledge
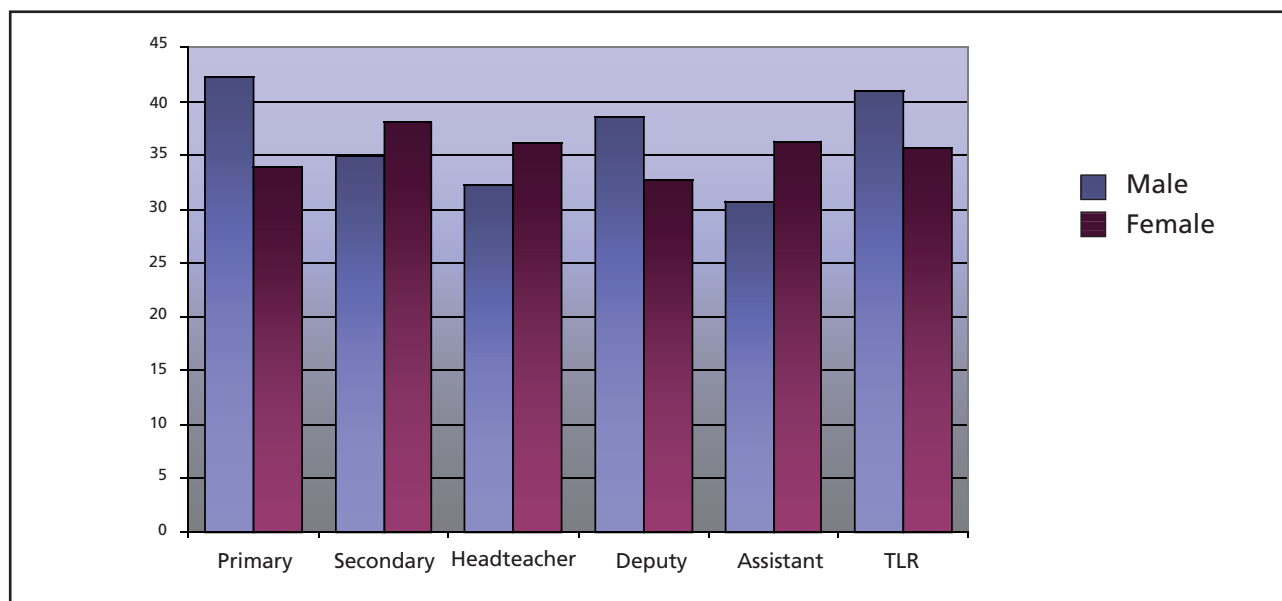
Figure 10.10 shows the data disaggregated by levels of teaching experience. Teachers with fewer years' teaching experience thought that experience was valued more highly in promotion than skills and knowledge in much greater proportions than teachers with greater levels of experience. Fifty-six per cent of teachers with less than five years' teaching experience agreed that experience was valued highly, whereas only 21% of those teachers with over 30 years' experience thought this was the case.

Figure 10.10: Proportions that thought experience was valued more highly in promotion than skills and knowledge by years in service
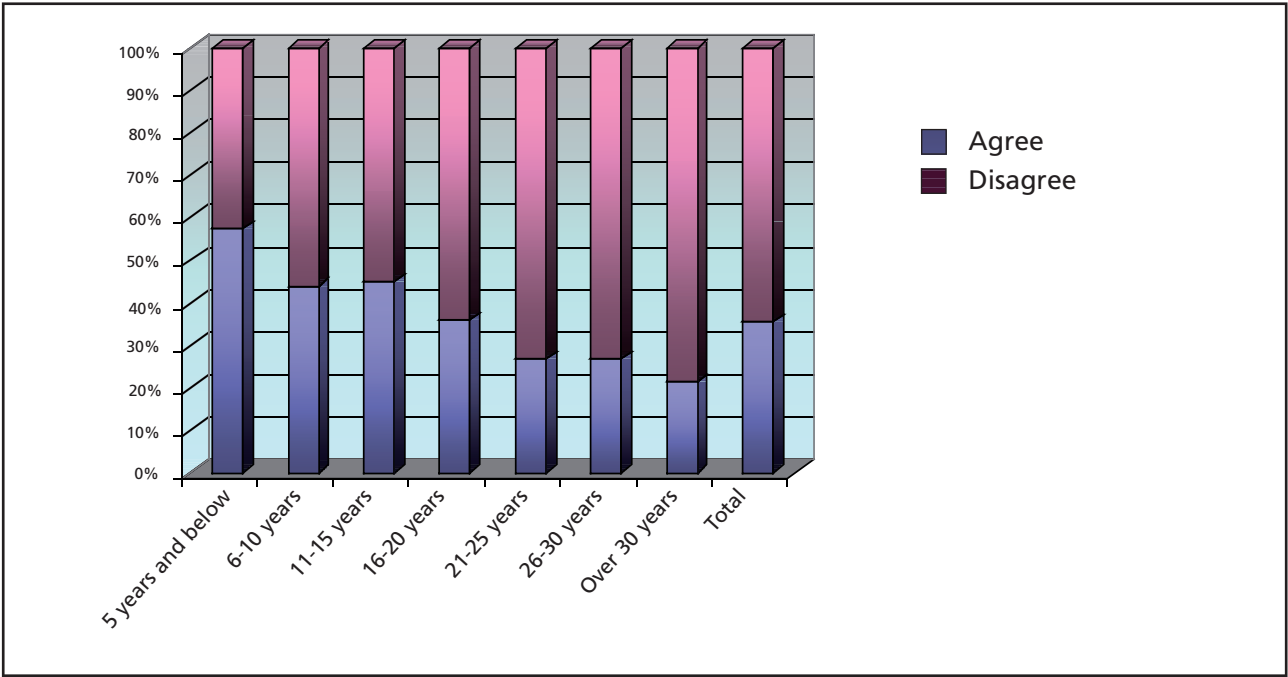
## Chapter 11: Leadership Stereotypes And Characteristics

11.1 Perceptions of Leadership Styles

Gendered leadership styles

Sixty-seven per cent of respondents thought that men and women lead schools in different ways and Figure 11.1 below shows percentage responses across groups. Significant (Sig68) differences were evident between the sexes: 71% of women teachers believed this to be the case compared to only 57% of men. The differences were consistent between the sexes in both primary and secondary phases. Teachers in TLR posts were most likely to see a difference (74%), headteachers least likely (60%). When disaggregated by sex and post level, women were consistently more inclined to agree that men and women led in a different way; at headteacher level, these differences were significant (Sig69). Women teachers and teachers in TLR posts felt most strongly that men and women led in different ways (75%), whereas male headteachers were least likely to agree there were differences (47%).

Figure 11.1: Proportions that thought that men and women lead schools in different ways
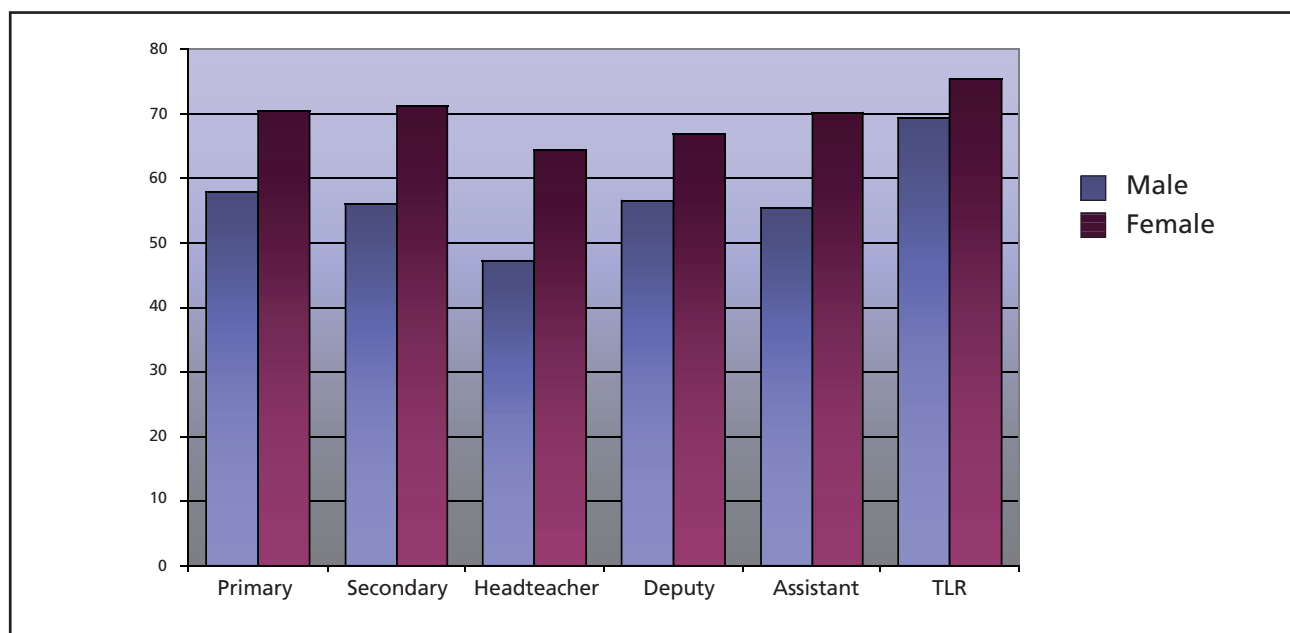
Gendered leadership models

Eighty-two per cent of respondents did not believe that current leadership models were a barrier to the leadership ambitions of either sex; in all disaggregations for post, sex and phase, the overwhelming majority were in agreement. Sixteen per cent of respondents, however, thought that current models were a barrier to the leadership ambitions of women, whereas only 2% identified them as a barrier to men. There was, however, a significant difference between the sexes in relation to this issue: 87% of men compared to 80% women, thought leadership models were a barrier to neither sex, whereas 19% of women felt current leadership models were a barrier to their own sex and only 1% a barrier to men. At post level, the proportions who believed men were favoured in the current leadership models were roughly consistent; however, proportionally fewer teachers in senior leadership posts thought that women were favoured than those in TLR posts (see figure 11.2). Teachers in senior leadership posts were more likely to identify with 'neither'.

Figure 11.2: Proportions that thought that current leadership models were a barrier to either sex
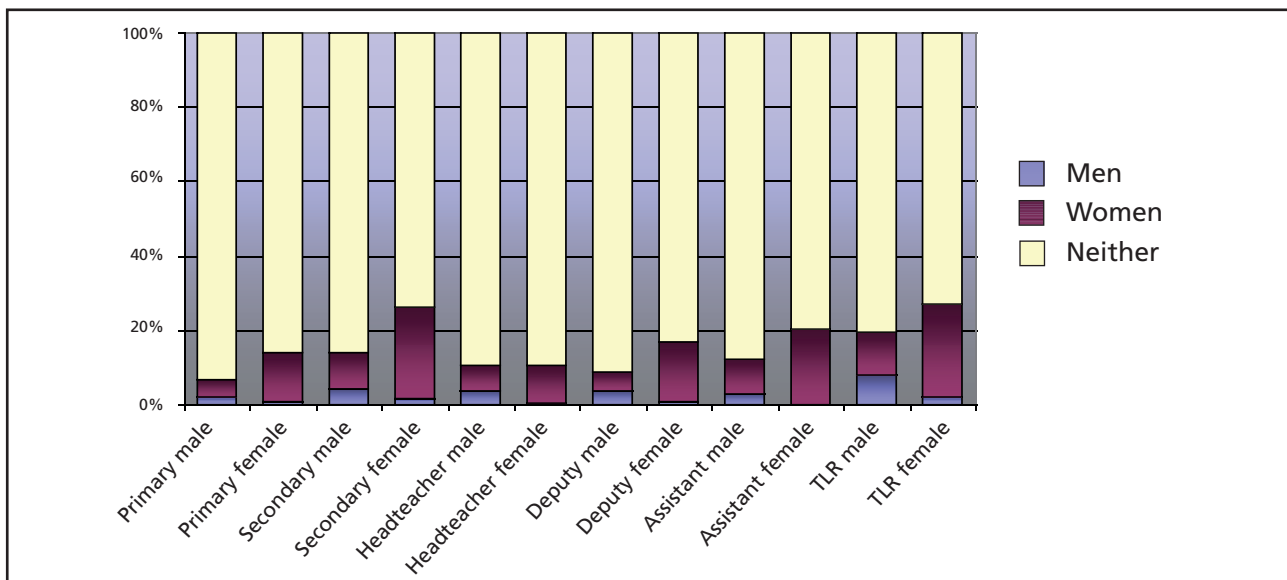
The perception that current leadership models were a barrier to women was felt strongest in secondary schools: 25% of women in secondary schools felt that leadership models were a barrier to women, whereas only 13% of their primary counterparts felt this. For men, there was a difference, but less marked. No secondary headteachers (of either sex) believed that the models were a barrier to men. However, 13% saw a barrier to women. For primary headteachers it was perceived to be more of a barrier for women but 92% believed that neither sex was disadvantaged.

Gendered leadership stereotypes

Fifty-per cent of respondents believed that male teachers were stereotypically seen as better leaders but only 3% thought women were perceived to have better leadership qualities; 47% thought that neither sex was perceived as better. There were statistically significant differences (Sig70) between the sexes: 32% of male respondents thought that men were perceived as better leaders and only 4% women, whereas 58% of female respondents thought that men were seen as better leaders and only 1% thought that women were. When disaggregated by post level, there were differences between the sexes (see Figure 11.3). Teachers in TLR posts were most likely to perceive men as stereotypically better leaders (58%), headteachers less so (45%). Differences between the genders were most stark in headship where 55% of female headteachers but only 21% of male headteachers believed men were perceived as better leaders. Thirty-nine per cent of male TLR teachers believed there was a perception that men were better leaders compared to 63% of women. The proportions in primary and secondary seeing men as stereotypically better leaders were broadly consistent.

Figure 11.3: Perceptions of which sex was stereotypically seen as making better leaders
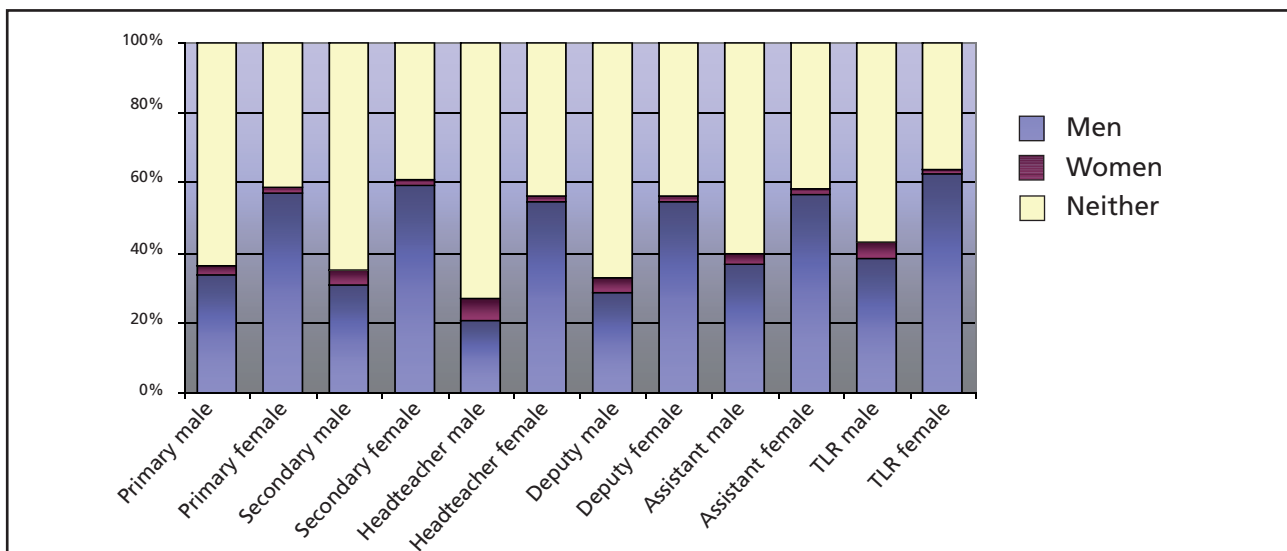
Gendered differences in roles undertaken by the senior leadership team

Forty-five per cent of respondents believed that there was no difference between the kinds of roles undertaken by male and female SLT members, 36% perceived that there was a difference and 19% didn't know. There was a significant difference (Sig71) between the sexes: 39% of females thought there was a difference but only 28% of men. This difference was greatest for teachers in secondary schools: 33% of secondary male teachers thought there was a difference compared to 53% of their female counterparts. Forty-six per cent of secondary teachers perceived a difference compared to 26% of primary teachers (although 12% in secondary and 28% in primary did not know), while 47% of teachers in TLR posts perceived there to be a difference in roles compared to 21% of headteachers (see Figure 11.4). When disaggregated by post, there were significant differences between the sexes at headteacher level (Sig72): male headteachers were less likely to perceive a difference in roles undertaken (13%) than their female counterparts (23%).

Figure 11.4: Proportions believing that men and women SLT members undertook different roles
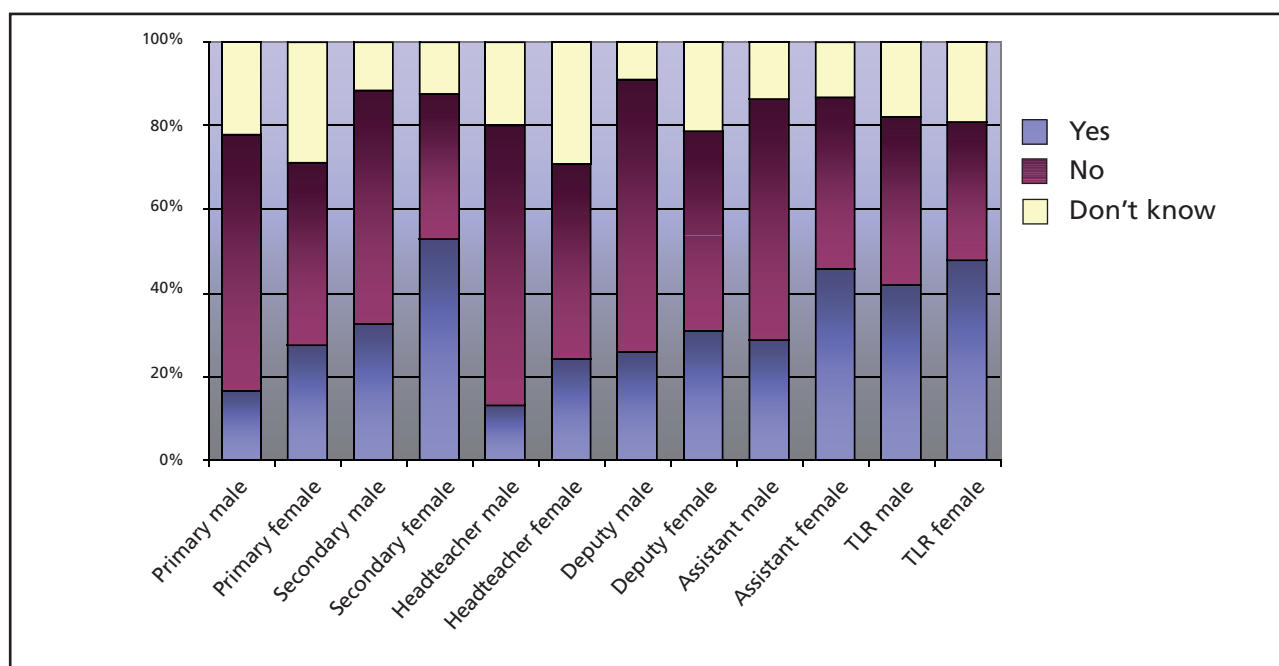
11.2 Leadership Qualities/Characteristics

In an attempt to understand the qualities and characteristics that teachers associated with leadership, we used a set of characteristics originally developed by Gray (1993) in identifying male and female paradigms in his work on training female and male headteachers. Coleman (2002) used Gray's characteristics in a survey of a group of secondary headteachers who were asked to identify from a list of the words those that they felt applied to themselves. The respondents were not given any indication as to which words were ostensibly linked to which gender.

We replicated the procedure employed by Coleman except with our survey being cross-phase and cross-career stage it was possible to disaggregate the data by post and phase, thus giving greater analytic purchase. Tables 11.1 and 11.2 show the characteristics listed with their presumed associated gendered qualities. Figure 11.5 shows the percentages of males and females identifying with each of the characteristics. The main, and statistically significant, difference that existed between sexes was that more women (69%) identified with being intuitive than men (60%) (Sig73). Similarly (Sig74), more men (61%) than women (52%) identified with being objective. Taken as a whole, the sexes did not consistently conform to 'feminine' and 'masculine' qualities of the gender paradigm in Coleman's study. A number of male qualities were identified by proportionately more women and vice versa.

Table 11.1: Percentages identifying with gendered characteristics disaggregated for sex

	Sex of respondent					
	All (n=1,121)		Male (n=311)		Female (n=810)	
	Valid	%	Valid	%	Valid	%
Caring (F)	995	88.1	266	85.5	722	89.1
Aware of individual differences (F)	917	81.2	244	78.5	665	82.1
Tolerant (F)	811	71.8	227	73.0	577	71.2
Evaluative (M)	752	66.5	200	64.3	544	67.2
Intuitive (F)	748	66.2	186	59.8	557	68.8
Disciplined (M)	744	65.8	196	63.0	541	66.8
Creative (F)	640	56.6	163	52.4	471	58.1
Objective (M)	612	54.2	189	60.8	420	51.9
Informal (F)	532	47.1	156	50.2	374	46.2
Competitive (M)	409	36.2	126	40.5	281	34.7
Non-competitive (F)	284	25.1	79	25.4	203	25.1
Formal (M)	213	18.8	68	21.9	144	17.8
Conformist (M)	203	18.0	49	15.8	152	18.8
Highly regulated (M)	191	16.9	42	13.5	147	18.1
Subjective (F)	151	13.4	43	13.8	108	13.3
Normative (M)	48	4.2	19	6.1	29	3.6

Figure 11.5: Proportions identifying with gendered characteristics
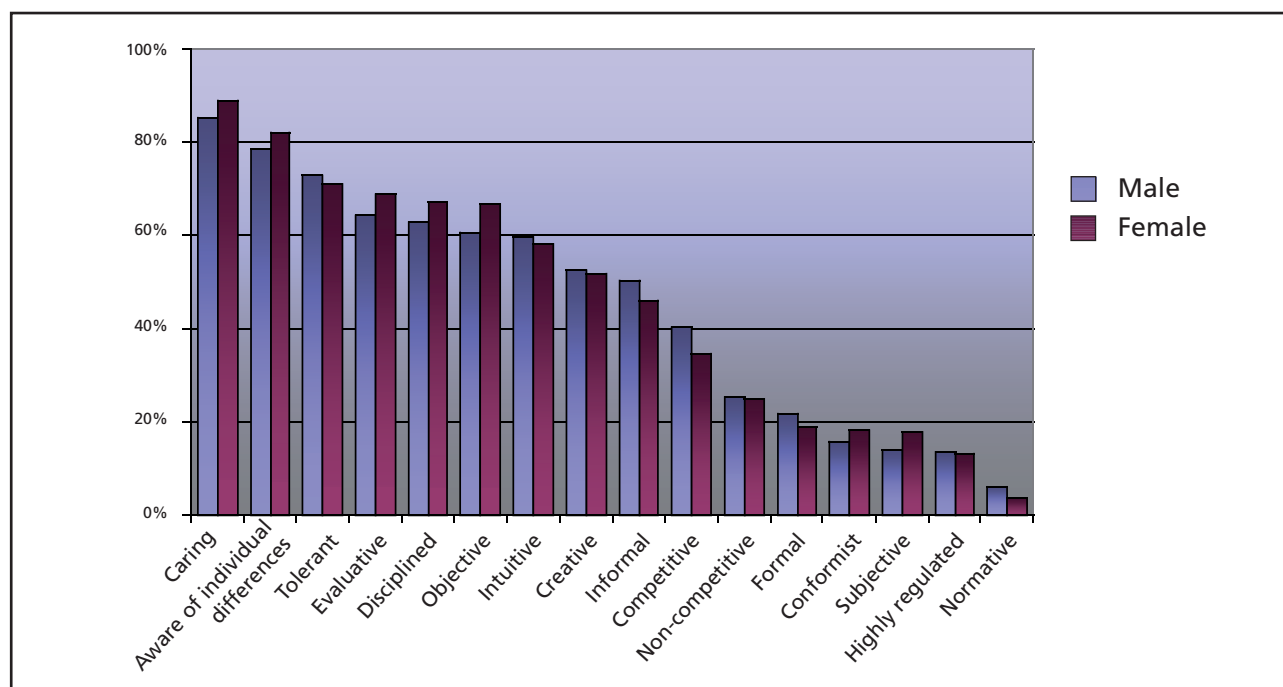
When comparing only the male and female headteachers, the statistically different characteristics identified were different to those in the sample as a whole. Proportionately more females (17%) identified with being highly regulated than males (5%) despite this being recognised as a 'male' trait (Sig75). Formal was also significantly (Sig76) different between the sexes: 25% of men compared to only 10% of women headteachers associated themselves with this characteristic. Counterintuitively, there was almost no difference between the proportions identifying with

informal. However, due to the size of this sample, some of the effect may be in relation to a greater number of primary female headteachers than in the comparative male headteacher group. When comparing secondary male teachers with primary male teachers and comparing secondary female teachers with primary female teachers, these were not consistently significantly different.

When comparing the sample of deputy headteachers across primary and secondary, the two statistically significant differences between the genders were different to those of headteachers. For deputies, more women (75%) than men (61%) identified with intuitive. Proportionately more male deputies (72%) identified with being objective than females (57%). These two differences were also the main differences identified when comparing the sample as a whole (all post levels). At assistant headteacher level, objective is similarly significantly different as 70% of male assistant headteachers and 50% of women identified with this. For TLR teachers, only intuitive is statistically significant in its difference – 62% of females and 48% of males associated themselves with this characteristic.

A number of other comparative analyses were carried out that created significant differences. Although there were differing proportions of each sex in the two phases, it is interesting to note that there were differences between the characteristics identified by each group (see Table 11.2 and Figure 11.6.

Table 11.2: Percentages identifying with gendered characteristics disaggregated for phase

	Both genders			
	Primary (477)		Secondary (540)	
	Valid	%	Valid	%
Caring (F)	433	90.8	465	86.1
Intuitive (F)	322	67.5	342	63.3
Non-competitive (F)	130	27.3	118	21.9
Subjective (F)	55	11.5	74	13.7
Creative (F)	284	59.5	286	53.0
Tolerant (F)	345	72.3	385	71.3
Aware of individual differences (F)	396	83.0	421	78.0
Informal (F)	249	52.2	228	42.2
Highly regulated (M)	73	15.3	96	17.8
Normative (M)	20	4.2	23	4.3
Evaluative (M)	331	69.4	341	63.1
Objective (M)	260	54.5	286	53.0
Conformist (M)	77	16.1	101	18.7
Competitive (M)	164	34.4	216	40.0
Disciplined (M)	290	60.8	381	70.6
Formal (M)	76	15.9	117	21.7

Figure 11.6: Proportions of men and women identifying with gendered characteristics disaggregated for phase
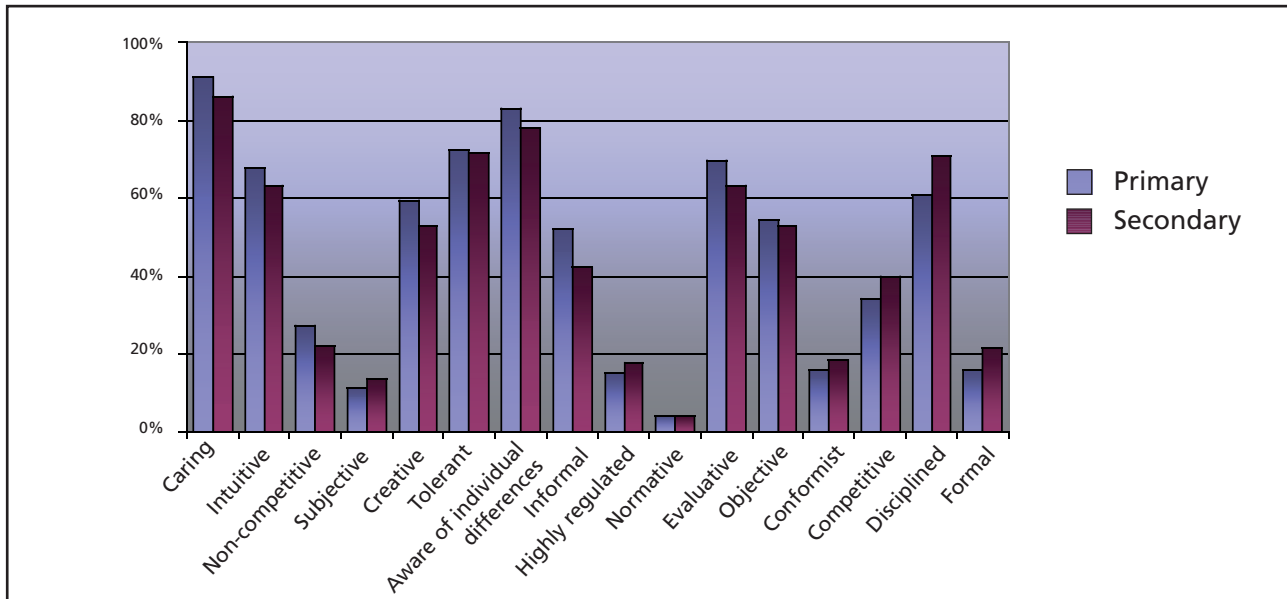
The differences that were evident in the comparison between phases were almost identical if female primary teachers (all posts) and secondary female teachers (all posts) were compared (see Table 11.3 and Figure 11.7). Nine of the sixteen adjectives had significant differences. Caring, non-competitive, creative, aware, informal, evaluative, objective, disciplined and formal were all significantly different between the two groups of female teachers. The most significant difference was in relation to informal, closely followed by creative. Fifty-three per cent of primary female teachers associated with informal compared to 38% of secondary; 63% of primary female teachers associated with creative compared to 52% of secondary. It is also interesting to note that the all barring subjective of the 'female' attributes have greater proportions identifying with these in the primary sector. Six out of eight of the 'male' characteristics were more strongly associated with secondary teachers (evaluative and objective were not).

Table 11.3: Percentages of women identifying with gendered characteristics disaggregated for phase

	Primary female (385)		Secondary female (346)	
	Valid	%	Valid	%
Caring (F)	353	91.7	298	86.1
Intuitive (F)	269	69.9	226	65.3
Non-competitive (F)	105	27.3	72	20.8
Subjective (F)	44	11.4	46	13.3
Creative (F)	243	63.1	179	51.7
Tolerant (F)	278	72.2	242	69.9
Aware of individual differences (F)	327	84.9	269	77.7
Informal (F)	203	52.7	131	37.9
Highly regulated (M)	64	16.6	67	19.4
Normative (M)	14	3.6	13	3.8
Evaluative (M)	271	70.4	213	61.6
Objective (M)	213	55.3	165	47.7
Conformist (M)	62	16.1	73	21.1
Competitive (M)	129	33.5	135	39.0
Disciplined (M)	244	63.4	244	70.5
Formal (M)	57	14.8	77	22.3

Figure 11.7: Proportions of female respondents identifying with gendered characteristics disaggregated for phase
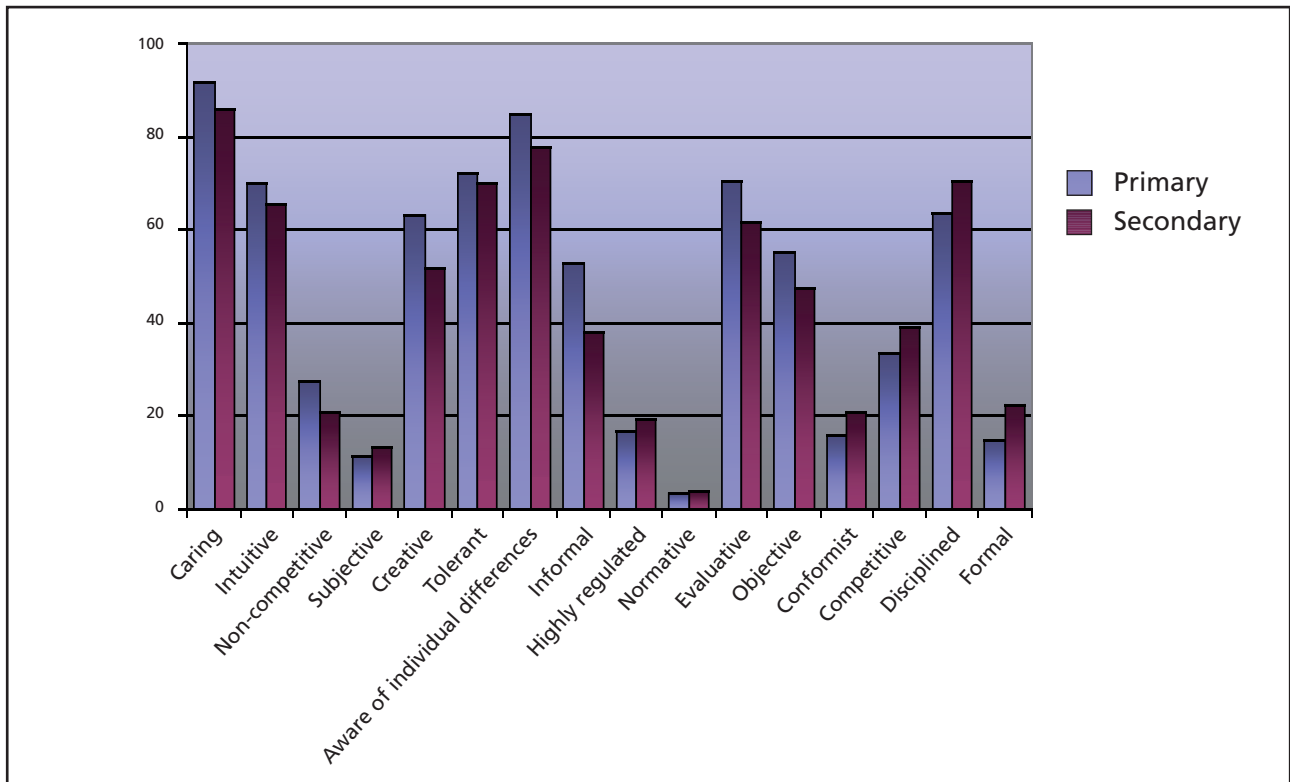
Undertaking a similar comparison for males, albeit with smaller numbers, only one characteristic is significantly different. The secondary male teachers in the sample associated themselves with disciplined to a far greater extent than their primary counterparts (70% in secondary and 48% in primary). In contrast to the female sample, the male teachers did not have a strong association with 'female' traits in primary and 'male' traits in secondary.

When comparing the primary male to the primary female, there are strong differences for three of the listed items: creative, aware of individual differences, and disciplined. In each case, the female teachers had a significantly stronger association than the male teachers. However, the two significant differences in comparing secondary male and secondary female were different to those of primary. Informal and objective were both stronger associations for the secondary male teacher than female: 51% of males identified with informal compared to 38% female, while 63% of males in this group identified with objective and 48% of females.

Chapter 12: The Structure Of Senior Leadership Teams

12.1 Gendered Composition of Senior Leadership Teams

Respondents to the survey provided details of their SLTs. Analysis was conducted to gauge the relative proportions of each gender within the teams and in what position they were employed. A total of 987 respondents gave at least partial details of their SLT after removing multiple entries from individual schools. Where it was possible to ascertain the gender of teachers within the SLTs detailed by respondents, it was noted that there were 1,972 males and 2,894 females (a ratio of approximately 1:1.5). The breakdown of each was: 371 male headteachers and 460 female; 549 male deputies and 624 female; 773 male assistant headteachers and 823 females; and 249 male TLR teachers and 895 females. SLT had on average 4.37 members in primary and 6.92 in secondary. Headteachers of neither sex had any statistically significant differences in the size of SLTs. In primary schools led by men, there were on average 4.6 members of the SLT compared to 4.3 in primary schools led by women. In secondary schools led by men, there were on average 7.0 members of the SLT while in schools led by women there were 6.7. An important factor in this difference in both phases is likely to be that, within this analysis, schools led by males had a higher mean number of pupils on roll (primary=293, secondary=1,100) in comparison with fewer pupils in schools led by females (primary=265, secondary=1,058).

Analysis was conducted to explore the different proportions of each sex in deputy headteacher roles, when there was only one deputy in a school, disaggregating for the sex of the headteacher. In primary (Sig77), 10% of deputies (where there is only one deputy) are male when there is a male headteacher, but 25% of deputies were male when the headteacher was female. In secondary schools led by male headteachers, 59% of deputies (where there was only one deputy), this was also the case for schools led by female headteachers.

Within the groups analysed, there were some noticeable differences. Firstly, within SLTs as a whole, there were differing proportions of each sex at the main post levels (see Table 12.1). In primary, there were very few male teachers on TLR posts on the teams. Of those TLR posts identified within the leadership structures, 89% were female, yet 80% and 79% of assistant headteachers and deputies were female. In secondary, the trend of more female TLRs on the SLT continued but to a lesser degree, 54% of the TLRs were female, but they accounted for only 47% and 41% of assistant and deputy headteachers.

Table 12.1: Proportions of each sex in SLTs by post

	Male deputy headteacher	Female deputy headteacher	Male assistant headteacher	Female assistant headteacher	Male TLR	Female TLR
Primary	71	261	38	151	77	643
%	**21.4**	**78.6**	**20.1**	**79.9**	**10.7**	**89.3**
Secondary	432	296	688	600	135	161
%	**59.3**	**40.7**	**53.4**	**46.6**	**45.6**	**54.4**

When disaggregating this data by the sex of the headteacher, there were some interesting trends indicating slightly conflicting proportions of each sex in senior roles on the SLT. For primary schools with a female headteacher, 75% of the deputies were female; however, in primary schools led by males, 90% of deputies were female; However, when considering TLR posts on the SLT in primary, 13% were male in schools led by male headteachers but only 9% in schools led by females. The trends in secondary schools were less evident, but it is worth noting that 48% of TLRs on the SLT in schools led by men were male and 38% were male in schools with female headteachers. At

deputy headteacher and assistant headteacher level, the proportions were broadly consistent regardless of the gender of the headteacher (see tables 12.2 and 12.3, also see figures 12.1 and 12.2).

Table 12.2: Proportions of each sex on primary SLT by post and disaggregated for sex of headteacher

	Male deputy headteacher	Female deputy headteacher	Male assistant headteacher	Female assistant headteacher	Male TLR	Female TLR
Female headteacher	54	158	25	98	42	408
%	**25.5**	**74.5**	**20.3**	**79.7**	**9.3**	**90.7**
Male headteacher	9	77	9	37	25	161
%	**10.5**	**89.5**	**19.6**	**80.4**	**13.4**	**86.6**

Figure 12.1: Proportions of each sex on primary SLT by post and disaggregated for sex of headteacher
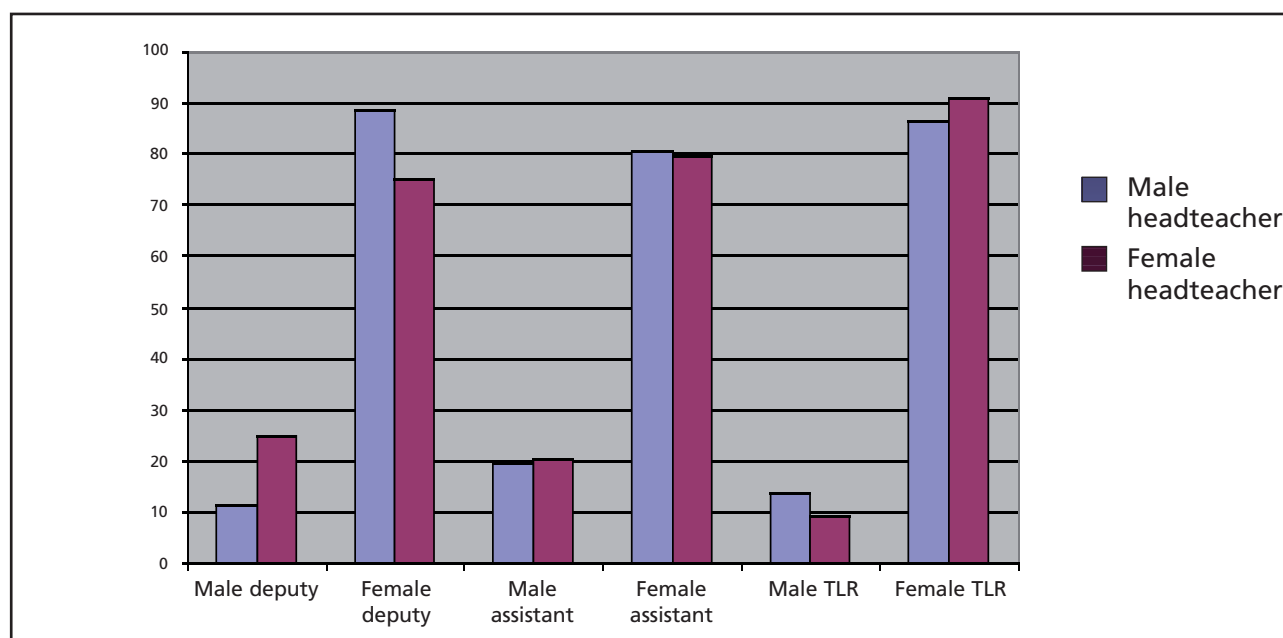
Table 12.3: Proportions of each sex on secondary SLT by post and disaggregated for sex of headteacher

	Male deputy headteacher	Female deputy headteacher	Male assistant headteacher	Female assistant headteacher	Male TLR	Female TLR
Female headteacher	147	93	221	210	28	45
%	**61.3**	**38.8**	**51.3**	**48.7**	**38.4**	**61.6**
Male headteacher	239	179	411	339	92	100
%	**57.2**	**42.8**	**54.8**	**45.2**	**47.9**	**52.1**

Figure 12.2: Proportions of each sex on secondary SLT by post and disaggregated for sex of headteacher
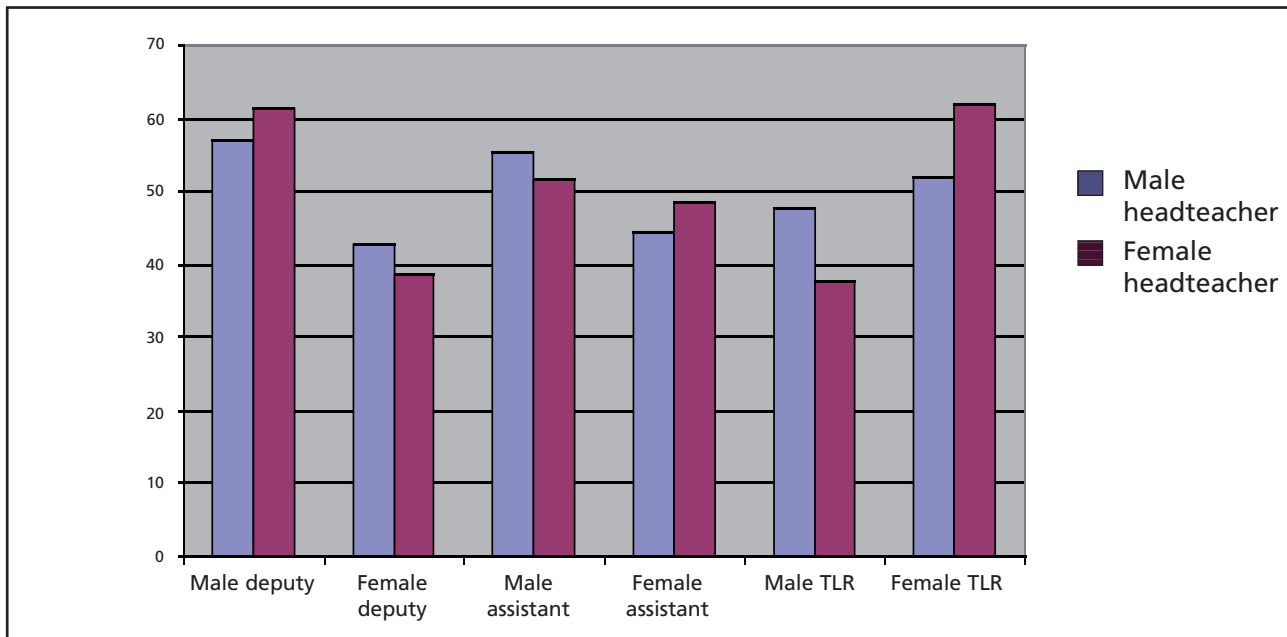
12.2 Frequency of Senior Leadership Meetings

Respondents were asked to describe how the SLTs in their schools operated. In terms of frequency of meeting, there were obvious differences between primary and secondary that reflected the nature of the institutions. Nearly one third of secondary SLTs met more than once a week and 93% met at least weekly. Primary SLTs met with much less regularity, just over half met weekly, 22% met fortnightly and 15% on a monthly/half-termly basis (see table 12.4 below).

Table 12.4: Frequency of SLT meetings by phase

	School type					
	Primary		Secondary		Special	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
More than once a week	17	4.3	139	32.2	5	9.1
Weekly	202	51.7	263	60.9	46	83.6
Fortnightly	84	21.5	15	3.5	3	5.5
Monthly/half-termly	58	14.8	12	2.8	1	1.8
Termly	11	2.8	2	0.5		
Irregular meetings	15	3.8	1	0.2		
Don't meet	4	1.0				

12.3 Roles Undertaken by Senior Leadership Team in Secondary Schools

Respondents provided details of the roles assigned to members of the SLT. An analysis of the roles assigned to male and female deputy and assistant headteachers is shown in Tables 12.5 and 12.6. There was clear evidence that male and female deputy and assistant headteachers undertook significantly different roles and responsibilities. When the data for the two roles were combined,

there were broadly comparable numbers of teachers in each sex, therefore any differences were noticeable (511 males, 475 females). The two areas with the greatest, and significant, differences were pastoral and curriculum responsibility roles. Females undertook pastoral roles to a significantly greater degree than males (105 to 58); conversely, males undertook curriculum responsibilities (93 to 55) more than their female counterparts. The two other roles with the strongest degree of separation were those based around assessment responsibilities and logistical issues (sig) where males undertook these duties in proportionately more instances than females.

Table 12.5: Roles assigned to male and female assistant and deputy headteachers

Roles assigned (frequencies)	Deputy headteacher		Assistant headteacher	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**
Assessment/standards data	17	9	29	26
Phase (Key Stage 3-5)	17	11	77	56
CPD	4	8	13	14
Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator (SENCO)/Inclusion	11	4	15	28
Teaching and learning	15	15	20	28
Curriculum	65	32	28	23
Behaviour/attendance	4	5	13	16
Pastoral/head of year/every child matters	25	40	33	65
Specialism	6	7	32	25
Timetable/logistics	25	10	22	10
Extended school/community/parents	3	5	7	2
Professional mentor/prob./NQTs/induction/ITT	5	2	7	14
Line management/staffing/personnel	8	7	10	13
	205	**155**	**306**	**320**

Table 12.6: Roles assigned to assistant/deputy headteachers by sex

Roles assigned (frequencies)	Combined deputy and assistant	
	M	**F**
Assessment/standards/data/school improvement	46	35
Phase (Key Stage 3-5): 4-6th form	94	67
CPD	17	22
SENCO/inclusion	26	32
Teaching and learning	35	43
Curriculum	93	55
Behaviour/attendance	17	21
Pastoral/head of year/every child matters	58	105
Specialism	38	32
Timetable/logistics	47	20
Extended school/community/parents	10	7
Professional mentor/prob./NQTs/induction/ITT	12	16
Line management/staffing/personnel	18	20
	511	**475**

12.4 School Leadership Styles

Using the descriptions of the model of leadership and the decision-making process provided by respondents, the leadership styles were coded into a number of categories. On the whole, there was little difference between the sexes in terms of their descriptions of the model of leadership in their schools; broadly comparable proportions of each category were assigned by male and female members of the SLT.

There were differences, however, between the leadership cultures of the two main school phases. In primary schools, nearly 40% of senior leaders described the leadership style as 'collaborative/collective' but only 25% of respondents in secondary schools were coded into this category. 'Distributed' leadership styles were also common in primary schools (24%). In secondary schools, only 17% of styles were described as 'distributive', whilst 30% were identified as 'autocratic' or 'top down'. In primary schools, only 9% and 6% respectively were coded into these two leadership style categories (see table 12.7 below).

Table 12.7: Descriptions of leadership style disaggregated for phase

	School type					
	Primary		Secondary		Special	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Distributive	79	23.9	62	17.3	15	26.3
Collegiate	16	4.8	29	8.1	2	3.5
Collaborative/collective	130	39.3	89	24.9	18	31.6
Autocratic	31	9.4	61	17.0	4	7.0
Democratic	15	4.5	26	7.3	7	12.3
Collective with headteacher leading	39	11.8	43	12.0	7	12.3
Top down	21	6.3	48	13.4	4	7.0

Another noticeable difference was the perception that headteachers had of the leadership culture compared to the rest of the staff. Primary headteachers were more likely to describe the style and decision-making process as 'distributive' or 'collegiate' and teachers (who were not headteachers) were more likely to assign the style to 'autocratic', 'top down' or 'collective with headteacher leading' (see figure 12.3).

Figure 12.3: Descriptions of leadership style in primary phase by headteacher and 'others'
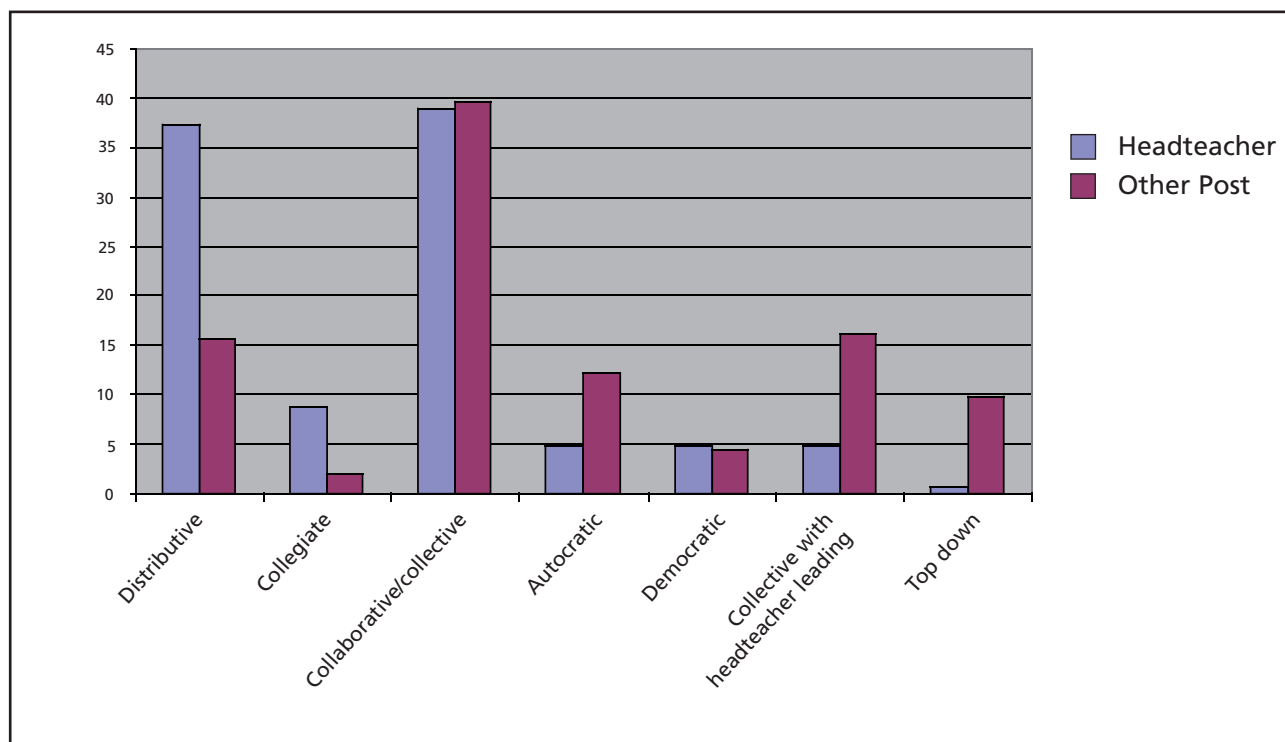
Again, the difference is more marked when comparing the descriptions in secondary schools. Whereas 45% of headteachers felt they had a 'distributive' model of leadership, SLT members (who weren't headteachers) described the operation and decision-making process in very different terms: less than 25% thought it 'distributive',18% thought it 'autocratic', 14% as a 'top down' approach and 12% as a 'collective approach with headteacher leading' (see figure 12.4 below).

Figure 12.4: Descriptions of leadership style in secondary phase by headteacher and 'others'
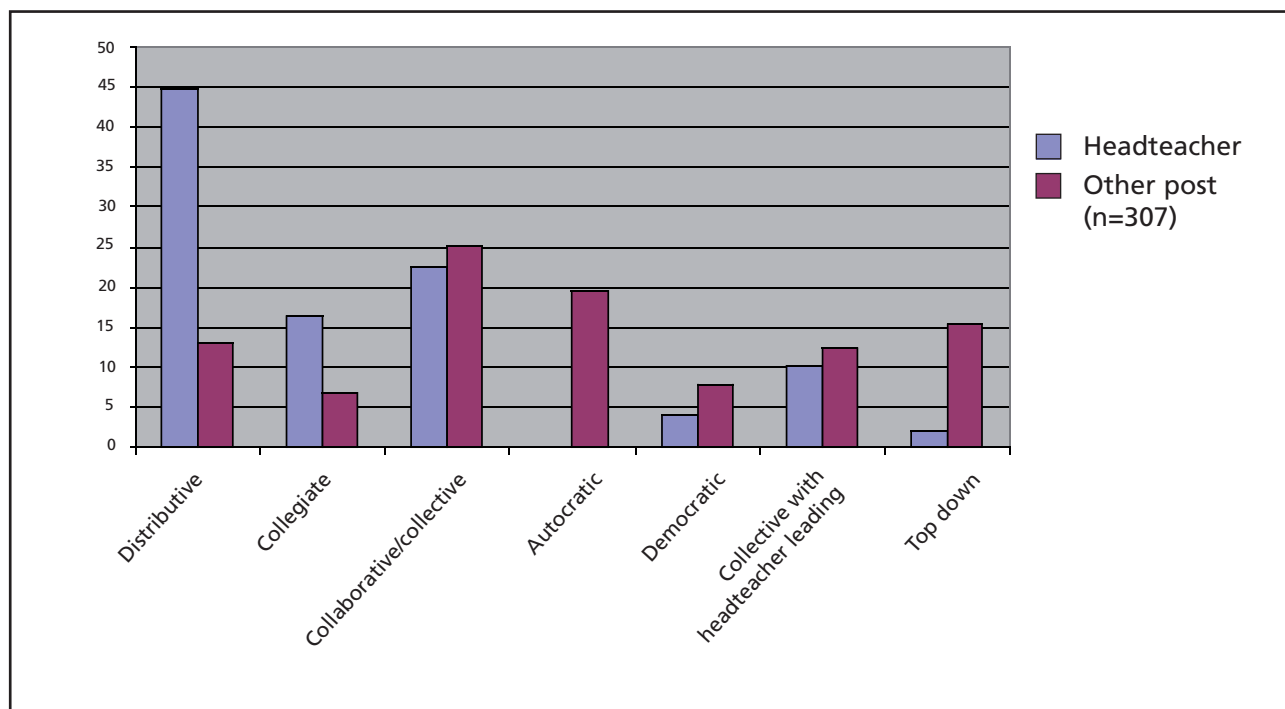
There were also noticeable differences between the way that men and women described leadership styles. Women were three times more likely to describe male headteachers' styles as 'autocratic' than female headteachers. Women were more than twice as likely to describe female headteachers as 'distributive' than male headteachers (see table 12.8).

Table 12.8: Female respondents' descriptions of leadership style disaggregated for sex of headteacher

	Male headteacher		Female headteacher	
	Count	%	Count	%
Distributive	19	11.7	74	26.1
Collegiate	6	3.7	17	6.0
Collaborative/collective	44	27.2	90	31.7
Autocratic	33	20.4	21	7.4
Democratic	11	6.8	21	7.4
Collective with headteacher leading	25	15.4	36	12.7
Top down	24	14.8	25	8.8

Men, on the other hand, were twice as likely to describe as 'distributive' male headteachers than female headteachers, nearly twice as likely to see male headteachers as 'collegiate' and over three times as likely to see women headteachers as 'democratic' (see table 12.9 below).

Table 12.9: Male respondents' descriptions of leadership style disaggregated for sex of headteacher

	Male headteacher		Female headteacher	
	Count	%	Count	%
Distributive	26	26.3	8	13.3
Collegiate	11	11.1	4	6.7
Collaborative/collective	31	31.3	21	35.0
Autocratic	15	15.2	9	15.0
Democratic	4	4.0	8	13.3
Collective with headteacher leading	8	8.1	6	10.0
Top down	4	4.0	4	6.7

Chapter 13: Conclusions

The patterns in respect of gendered representation and cultures in senior leadership remain depressingly familiar, particularly in the secondary phase. It would appear that the discourse of glass walls (Still, 1995) and glass ceilings (Hansard Society, 1990) and skating on thin ice (Hall, 1996) still pertain, despite the datedness of that particular literature. The barriers reported by women leaders are a complex mix of cultural, social, psychological and systemic factors generated variously at individual, family and organisational levels. What makes the extent and variety of barriers encountered more interesting is that this was a study of the 'survivors': women who had attained senior and middle leadership posts, as opposed to the ones who had succumbed along the way.

Although the sample of middle and senior leaders canvassed for this survey was broadly representative of the workforce in terms of sex, women remained disproportionately under-represented in senior leadership posts and over-represented in middle leadership posts. Less than 60% of female respondents were senior leaders compared to over 70% of men. In the secondary phase, the proportions were 46% women and 63% men and in the primary phase, 67% women and 85% men. The latter perhaps supporting the glass elevator (Williams, 1992: p.263) theory, meaning "men take their gender privilege with them when they enter predominately female occupations". Although the overall proportions in the study data show continuing under-representation of women, there is, however, encouraging evidence of a recent increase in the proportion of women being appointed to headships.

The gendered pattern of senior leadership appointments, however, clearly warrants further investigation. There was considerable variation with geographic location and associated contextual and socioeconomic variables, such as the cost of housing in suburban areas and the availability of jobs in rural areas. In the suburbs, three times the number of women primary headteachers were employed as men. In rural areas, twice as many male headteachers were employed as women. Overall, female headteachers were more likely to be employed in urban schools than men.

Endurance of social barriers

The research findings indicate that overall, women leaders' careers still carried less status in the context of their lived experience than the equivalent post when occupied by a man, perhaps confirming that decisions regarding careers by women still need to be understood in relation to whether they have a partner (Evetts, 1994) and further, in relation to whether they had children.

Firstly, there was a clear hierarchy in terms of the status within the family attributed to partners' careers: overall, men's careers took clear precedence over their partners', more than was the case for women. The pattern was apparent even at headteacher level: in the secondary phase, three fifths of male headteachers, but only two fifths of female headteachers, had careers that took precedence. Interestingly, a hierarchy also operated between phases: for women teachers there was little difference in terms of career status between primary and secondary but nearly one half of secondary male leaders' careers took precedence over their partners' careers compared to just one third of primary male leaders. So, although three times the number of female as male primary headteachers were employed in the suburbs, this should be read against the fact less that one third of those headteachers' careers took precedence over their partners' careers.

Secondly, in terms of caring and family responsibilities, women's careers were disproportionately affected. In the first instance, women's career aspirations impacted on their decisions to plan a family significantly more than was the case for men. Five times as many female primary headteachers had modified their decision regarding planning for a family compared to their male counterparts. Interestingly, women secondary leaders were significantly more likely to let their career affect their decisions on planning a family than their primary counterparts. In terms of childcare arrangements determining their career choice, women were again disproportionately

affected. Twice as many men as women reported that their childcare arrangements had not determined their career choices. Interestingly, over 40% of women, but only 30% of men, reported that childcare was not an issue, indicating perhaps that greater proportions of female leaders at all post levels did not have children, or, at least, young children. For the headteachers and deputy headteachers for whom childcare was an issue, childcare arrangements determined the career choices of four times as many women as men, thus supporting claims in the literature by Smithers (2006) that "women headteachers are less likely than men to be married or have children" and Bradbury and Gunter (2006) that being a mother and a headteacher are in "constant tension".

Finally, male leaders were more prepared to relocate regionally and nationally for a new post than their female counterparts. This again supported another somewhat dated claim reported in the literature review that male teachers were more likely to move house to take up a new position than women teachers, who were more likely to be working in the same school or local authority when appointed to a headship post (Hill, 1994). Clearly not unrelated to the previous two factors, male leaders were more mobile in that they had careers that took precedence over their partners' careers more than was the case for female leaders and they were less likely to have to take into account caring and family responsibilities.

Endurance of organisational barriers

Organisational barriers to women's leadership ambitions came in a number of shapes and sizes. The first and foremost set of factors that disproportionately affected women was related to the impact of breaks upon their career trajectory, as measured in terms of the increased time it took to achieve promoted posts. The women who responded to the survey were, of course, all 'survivors' – all had achieved middle and senior leadership posts; but the impact of an average two-year career break was a five-year delay on female headteachers' career trajectories and corresponding differences were significant at each post level. There were also significant differences, depending on when women took their career break, in the time it took them to gain their first senior leadership post. Women who took a break within the first five years of teaching seemed particularly disadvantaged and it was clearly more advantageous to take a break after establishing a secure footing on the career ladder.

One of the reasons for the hiatus in women's career progression was that having taken a career break of an average two years, one fifth of senior and middle leaders returned to a post at a lower grade. Of those taking a break of more than two years, one third returned to a post at a lower grade, and of those who took a break of less than two years, just 13% returned at a lower level. Additionally, nearly 30% of middle and senior leaders returning from maternity breaks came back part time and 10% to supply posts.

There was a perception that the delay in career progression was a disadvantage and more problematic in the case of mature entrants, who were twice as likely to consider entering the profession at age 30 and over. This was significantly more so for women than men and in secondary than primary. This again supports the claim by Howson (2007), reported in the literature, that women are likely to be disproportionably affected in terms of achieving headship by the extra step in the career ladder created by the increasing use of the assistant headteacher grade, especially amongst the one third of new teachers who join the profession aged 30 and over.

A second set of factors that affected women disproportionately related to workload when combined with work/life balance and caring and family responsibilities. Women ranked caring/ family responsibilities second after workload in terms of barriers to career progress, whereas men ranked it third. Women aged under 45 years were also significantly more likely than men to allow workload/work/life balance issues to affect their career aspirations; in the key age group 36-40 years, over four fifths of women reported that the issue had affected their career aspirations compared to only three fifths of men. Further evidence can be inferred from the fact that significantly more female leaders favoured flexible working than men. Only in the age group 56 and over was this trend reversed, where three fifths of male leaders preferred flexible/part-time working compared to just two fifths of women.

A third set of organisational factors related to women's career paths: women had less experience of different schools, were less willing to apply externally for promotion and were more commonly appointed to senior leadership posts internally. Coleman (2004) claims that an enduring feature of research evidence regarding why women apply for fewer posts is that there is little evidence of headteachers giving women any special support in terms of career development. Certainly in our data, both primary and secondary women leaders had on average taught in fewer schools than their male counterparts. This may in part be explained by the fact that at all post levels in both phases, except for deputy headteachers, men were longer serving. For deputy headteachers, interestingly, this trend was reversed, with women having had on average more years of service than men, yet again, perhaps, supporting Coleman's theory that women are less well supported in terms of career progression. That women may not be encouraged to move on is also suggested by the fact that schools clearly rated many of the female senior leaders highly and were keen to keep them. They were, subsequently, when a promotion opportunity arose, more likely to be appointed internally than their male counterparts, in the case of headteachers, significantly so: over three times as many women headteachers were appointed internally as men and in the case of first headships, nearly six times as many women were appointed internally as men. To a lesser degree, this trend was apparent in all posts. That women were less keen to apply for promotion can also be inferred from the fact that they applied for significantly fewer leadership posts than men before being appointed. The difference was most marked in the primary phase, where women made fewer applications for headships than men but were invited to interviews over 90% of the time, whilst men were successful in obtaining an interview on less than half their applications. Aside from a lack of mobility, the weight of caring/family responsibilities and the possible lack of career development support, another key factor implicated in this trend is that women lacked confidence. Women ranked self-confidence a close third in terms of barriers to career progression compared to their male counterparts who ranked it a low fifth.

Endurance of gendered cultures

The research literature indicates that male hegemony, reproduced through managerialism, has worked to disadvantage women because it requires a form of performativity and headship that is contrary to how many women wish to work (Heward, 1999; Blackmore, 1997, 1999; Forrester, 2005). Consequently, despite women identifying slightly more strongly with being very or reasonably ambitious than men, significantly fewer aspired to be a headteacher. Not surprisingly, overall, primary leaders were obviously more likely to aspire to be headteachers than secondary leaders and a significant difference was apparent between the sexes. Whereas three quarters of primary male deputies aspired to headship, a staggeringly low one third of their female counterparts were equally ambitious. Overall, only 50% of women NPQH completers (who were not already headteachers) aspired to be headteachers compared to 65% of men. Over one fifth of the NPQH completers of both sexes did not aspire to be a headteacher, although respondents with the NPQH were significantly more likely to report themselves to be very or reasonably ambitious than those without. Overall, three quarters of leaders considered themselves either very or reasonably ambitious and generally, seniority in terms of leadership was reflected in higher levels of ambition; although individuals who had taken career breaks were less ambitious than those who had not.

Organisations are gendered, so Schick (2000: p.309) claims, through discourses "that designate spaces said to be in need of white women's ministrations", thereby allowing women to dominate in particular settings to deflect attention from others where they are absent. This certainly did seem to be the case in terms of senior leadership in the secondary phase. Women and men undertook significantly different roles on secondary SLTs: women undertook pastoral roles to a significantly greater degree than men and they undertook curriculum responsibilities significantly more than women. Nearly a half of secondary school leaders were aware of disparities between the kinds of roles undertaken by male and female SLT members. Interestingly, female secondary headteachers were twice as likely to be aware of the differences in role allocations as their male counterparts.

The gendered cultures also extended to leadership styles in that men and women led schools in different ways; or so two thirds of respondents thought. Women were significantly more likely to

believe this than men, and male headteachers were least likely to agree that there were differences. Half of respondents believed that men were stereotypically seen as better leaders, compared with only 3% who thought women were viewed as better leaders. A significantly higher proportion of men thought there was no difference in perceptions of gendered leadership qualities, but still only 4% thought women were perceived as better leaders. Nearly 60% of female respondents thought men were seen as better leaders compared to just 1% who thought women were viewed as better leaders. Differences between the sexes were most stark in headship where over half of female headteachers, but only one fifth of male headteachers, believed men were perceived as better leaders.

Headteachers described their style of leadership in markedly different ways from how other SLT members perceived it. Primary headteachers were more than twice as likely as other SLT members to describe their leadership style as 'distributive' and only half as likely as other SLT members to describe it as 'autocratic'. Primary headteachers, however, demonstrated a high degree of self-awareness compared to that shown by secondary leaders. Forty-five per cent of secondary headteachers felt they had a 'distributive' style of leadership, whereas only 13% of other SLT members agreed. No secondary headteachers thought themselves 'autocratic', whilst 20% of other SLT members described their headteachers' leadership styles in this way. There were also noticeable differences in the ways that men and women perceived, and related to, the leadership style of male and female headteachers. Women were three times more likely to describe the leadership style of male headteachers as 'autocractic' than that of female headteachers. Women were more than twice as likely to describe female headteachers as 'distributive' than male headteachers. Men, on the other hand, were twice as likely to describe male headteachers as 'distributive' than female headteachers, nearly twice as likely to perceive male headteachers as 'collegiate' and over three times as likely to see women headteachers as 'democratic'.

Endurance of power structures

The exercise of power through the promotion of particular leadership models as an explanation of the continued existence of discrimination has been explored in the literature. One fifth of leaders, including more women than men, reported experiencing discrimination of some nature in the application process. Sex discrimination was the most prevalent form of discrimination and was reported by nearly one in ten of respondents. Sex discrimination was reported overall by three times as many women as men, and in the secondary phase, by over six times as many women as men.

There was compelling evidence that both men and women were persuaded that men were advantaged in the selection process: two fifths of women and one fifth of men considered gender discrimination in the selection process to be a significant issue. Ten times as many male primary headteachers thought their sex had impacted positively on their career opportunities as did female primary headteachers; again supporting the glass elevator narrative. Eight times as many women primary headteachers thought their sex had impacted negatively as did their male counterparts. Overall, four times as many middle and senior leaders thought it was easier for a man to become a primary headteacher than a woman. This belief was strongest amongst primary teachers and reflected the reality of their geographic locality: respondents in rural environments were most likely to feel that it was easier for a man to be appointed and those in urban areas, least likely. Nearly half of respondents thought men were advantaged in the appointment to secondary headships compared to only 2% who thought women were advantaged. This perception was twice as strong amongst women as men. Both sexes were, however, agreed on the extent to which women were advantaged: a meagre 2% of women and 3% of men thought this was the case.

Surprisingly, given the data presented above, four fifths of respondents were of the opinion that current leadership models were not a barrier to the leadership ambitions of either sex. This added further evidence that, as Rusch and Marshall (2006) argue, the assumption that professional practice is gender neutral is widespread and explains how, through such denial, gender endures as a power process. Of those who thought it was a barrier, however, eight times as many thought it was a barrier to women. One quarter of female secondary leaders thought women were

disadvantaged, twice as many as their primary counterparts. No secondary headteachers, of either sex, believed that current leadership models were a barrier to men, but 13% thought they were a barrier to women. More women than men thought headteachers and governors wielded too much power in the interview process, although headteachers themselves were not on the whole of that opinion.

The factors that emerge from this study of gendered patterns in school leadership show a complex nexus of individual, social and institutional practices that militate against women's career progression. Blackmore (1999, 2005) claims that leadership, in its current configuration, is a barrier to equity, not least because transformational models stressing feminine attributes remain concerned with the exercise of power over others to deliver externally determined organisational change. Blackmore presents ways of bringing about change through an agenda to educate the next generation of leaders that is about developing activism and working for social justice. Changes to ostensibly make leadership more attractive to women, such as the introduction of more female qualities, obscure the reality that women are reluctant to apply for the role of headteacher, as currently conceptualised, albeit they were not unambitious.

Recommendations

1. More comprehensive and detailed data tracking of teachers' progress on the leadership scale should be required from local authorities, schools and other bodies involved in the commissioning and delivery of education to allow for the monitoring of equality in respect of sex, whilst being mindful of their intersectionality with other factors such as ethnicity, age and disability.

2. The National College should be required to report annually NPQH registration data, disaggregated by sex, ethnicity, age, faith and GOR, in order that it can be used to inform succession planning strategies and the setting of targets for equality of access.

3. The National College should be required to track NPQH completers from the point of completion to their appointment to a school headship. Data reported should include the time taken to progress to headship and the characteristics of the school. These data should be available nationally, disaggregated by sex, ethnicity, age, faith and disability to allow for the effective monitoring of equality of opportunity legislation.

4. An 'equality audit' should be undertaken to identify national and regional education policies and programmes that are impacting significantly to ensure gender equality within the school workforce and to explore what additional interventions are needed to assure equality in respect of sex and as intersected with ethnicity, age and disability.

5. In order to challenge the dominant cultural perceptions and create an image of an inclusive profession, national and regional public bodies, non-departmental public bodies (NDPBs) and other strategic bodies should review the representation of women in their use of images of school leadership and, wherever possible, include women teachers when depicting secondary teachers in leadership roles.

6. The Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) should be asked to examine regional variations in relation to school labour markets, taking account of trends and causal factors affecting differences in teacher supply, entry to the profession, mobility, teacher retention and wastage by gender.

7. Working with employers, unions and other relevant bodies, the National College should be asked to develop and deliver a national intervention strategy of positive action that targets women into school leadership. Strategies might include a focus on managed re-entry to the profession after career breaks and support with access to high quality CPD and mentoring and coaching. Thought should also be given to developing and promoting alternative career paths that focus on high quality practice in leadership of teaching and learning for those who do not want to progress to headship.

8. The Government should consider any additional measures needed to ensure that schools comply with the statutory contractual requirement for all headteachers and teachers to enjoy a reasonable work/life balance and to remove excessive workload and working hours from teachers and headteachers. In particular, action is required to address the perception that headship is 'not doable' in terms of workload. Headteachers and governing bodies should implement strategies at school level to mitigate the various barriers experienced disproportionately by women and promote the conditions that will enable them to progress, such as flexible and part-time working patterns.

9. The school accountability framework should hold employers to account for the effectiveness of their performance with regard to ensuring gender equality. Schools should ensure that they offer a full range of development opportunities and experiences to both men and women staff in order to develop their leadership skills.

10. Further research should be commissioned to examine:

    (1) how and when discrimination that disadvantages women teachers occurs in the appointment process;

    (2) how gender operates in respect of the rewards and incentives packages offered to senior leaders/headteachers; and

    (3) the nature of the gendered patterns in leadership aspirations and career trajectories in the each of the four UK nations.

APPENDICES

Appendix A – Bibliography

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Appendix B – Table of Significant Statistics

Significance No	Notes	Type	Statistics
Sig1		Chi-sq	χ2(2)=6.695, p=.035
Sig2		Chi-sq	χ2(2)=6.274, p=.043
Sig3		Mann-Whitney	U=4.704, Z=-2.412, p=.016,two-tailed
Sig4		Mann-Whitney	U=49490, Z=-3.531, p=.000,two-tailed
Sig5		Mann-Whitney	U=2464, Z=-2.717, p=.007,two-tailed
Sig6		Kruskal-Wallis	H(2)=24.252, p=.000
Sig7		Mann-Whitney	U=5069.5, Z=-2.911, p=.004,two-tailed
Sig8		Mann-Whitney	U=8056.0, Z=-3.204, p=.001,two-tailed
Sig9		Mann-Whitney	U=337, Z=-2.344, p=.019,two-tailed
Sig10		Kruskal-Wallis	H(2)=18.390, p=.000
Sig11		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=4.093, p=.043
Sig12		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=6.547, p=.011
Sig13		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=4.284, p=.038
Sig14		Mann-Whitney	U=608.5, Z=-2.226, p=.026,two-tailed
Sig15		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=10.499, p=.001
Sig16		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=7.539, p=.006
Sig17		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=4.017, p=.045
Sig18		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=3.972, p=.046
Sig19		Mann-Whitney	U=84031, Z=-8.810, p=.000,two-tailed
Sig20		Chi-sq	χ2(1)=1.308, p=.000
Sig21		Mann-Whitney	U=3206.5, Z=-3.730, p=.000,two-tailed
Sig22		Mann-Whitney	U=1725, Z=-3.518, p=.000,two-tailed
Sig23		Mann-Whitney	U=1526.5, Z=-2.486, p=.013,two-tailed
Sig24		Mann-Whitney	U=4639, Z=-6.049, p=.000,two-tailed
Sig25	Comparison of no career break with those who took one in the first five years	Mann-Whitney	U=-608.5, Z=-2.226, p=.026,two-tailed
Sig26		Chi-sq	χ2(2)=26.242, p=.000
Sig27		Chi-sq	χ2(3)=19.744, p=.000
Sig28	Chi-	sq	χ2(2)=9.874, p=.007
Sig29		Chi-sq	χ2(2)=10.518, p=.005
Sig30		Chi-sq	χ2(2)=7.294, p=.026

Sig31		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=75.397$, p=.000
Sig32	Headteacher Deputy Assistant TLR	Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=17.504$, p=.000 $\chi^2(2)=25.941$, p=.000 $\chi^2(2)=11.490$, p=.003 $\chi^2(2)=9.807$, p=.007
Sig33		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=11.676$, p=.001
Sig34		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=9.524$, p=.009
Sig35		Mann-Whitney	U=114723, Z=-2.561, p=.010,two-tailed
Sig36		Mann-Whitney	U=6410.5, Z=-3.077, p=.002,two-tailed
Sig37		Mann-Whitney	U=2156, Z=-1.997, p=.046,two-tailed
Sig38		Mann-Whitney	U=30670.5, Z=-2.183, p=.029,two-tailed
Sig39		Mann-Whitney	U=30176.5, Z=-2.159, p=.031,two-tailed
Sig40		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=51.878$, π=.000
Sig41		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=12.238$, π=.007
Sig42		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=8.626$, π=.013
Sig43		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=10.761$, π=.005
Sig44		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=12.177$, π=.000
Sig45		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=16.917$, π=.000
Sig46		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=49.775$, π=.000
Sig47		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=26.189$, π=.000
Sig48		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=10.505$, π=.005
Sig49	Headteacher Deputy Assistant	Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=7256$, p=.007 $\chi^2(1)=12.630$, p=.000 $\chi^2(1)=3.865$, p=.049
Sig50		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=9.750$, π=.021
Sig51		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=21.027$, π=.000
Sig52		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(6)=56.880$, π=.013
Sig53		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=69.353$, π=.000
Sig54		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=24.295$, π=.000
Sig55		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=8.197$, π=.017
Sig56	Headteacher Deputy Assistant	Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=34272$, p=.000 $\chi^2(2)=17.133$, p=.000 $\chi^2(2)=9.623$, p=.008
Sig57	Headteacher (Primary)	Headteacher (Secondary) Chi-sq	$\chi^2(2)=34.363$, p=.000 $\chi^2(2)=9.357$, p=.009
Sig58		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=18.851$, π=.000
Sig59		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(1)=11.493$, π=.001
Sig60		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=12.663$, π=.005
Sig61		Chi-sq	$\chi^2(3)=99.392$, π=.000

Sig62		Chi-sq	$\chi2(3)=15.689, \pi=.001$
Sig63		Chi-sq	$\chi2(3)=16.412, \pi=.001$
Sig64		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=19.345, \pi=.000$
Sig65		Chi-sq	$\chi2(3)=29.573, \pi=.000$
Sig66		Chi-sq	$\chi2(3)=25.783, \pi=.000$
Sig67		Chi-sq	$\chi2(3)=9.312, \pi=.000$
Sig68		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=20.077, \pi=.000$
Sig69		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=6.507, \pi=.011$
Sig70		Chi-sq	$\chi2(2)=62.049, \pi=.000$
Sig71		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=31.574, \pi=.000$
Sig72		Chi-sq	$\chi2(2)=8.580, \pi=.014$
Sig73		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=8.068, \pi=.005$
Sig74		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=7.026, \pi=.000$
Sig75		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=6.291, \pi=.000$
Sig76		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=10.343, \pi=.001$
Sig77		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=6.946, \pi=.008$
Sig78		Chi-sq	$\chi2(1)=8.068, \pi=.005$
Sig79		Chi-sq	$\chi2(2)=37.044, \pi=.000$

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