Gender Balance of the Teaching Workforce in Publicly Funded Schools

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Gender Balance of the Teaching Workforce in Publicly Funded Schools in Scotland

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction
The teacher census carried out in 2003 showed that there had been a fall in the percentage of teachers who were male from 30 per cent in 1998 to 26 per cent in 2003. With regard to initial teacher education (ITE), men made up only 10 per cent of entrants to primary education in 2002 – 03, and 39 per cent of entrants to secondary education. This gender imbalance is evident in many European countries and other parts of the developed world. This research set out to investigate the nature of the gender balance in Scottish publicly funded schools, the underlying reasons for the growing imbalance and possible courses of action which might be taken to ensure greater diversity amongst the teaching workforce.

Research aims
The aims of the study were to:

- Identify perceived and experienced barriers experienced by men in teaching
- Explore the attitudes of male and female undergraduates to teaching as a possible career and the perceptions of university careers officers
- Explore the views and attitudes of leaders and others involved in delivering ITE on issues relating to the growing gender imbalance
- Make recommendations to the Scottish Executive and other relevant bodies on actions which would be likely to encourage more men to remain within or join the teaching profession.

Research methods
In order to address the above aims, the following methods were used: a literature and policy review; an analysis of Scottish statistics from a range of sources including the Scottish Executive, the General Teaching Council for Scotland and the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council; key informant interviews; a survey of undergraduates on social and biological science programmes; interviews with university careers service staff; focus groups with practising teachers in primary and secondary schools.

Findings

Literature review
The reasons for the feminisation of the teaching workforce include the continuation of gendered subject choices at an early age which lead to the reproduction of traditional expectations of future careers. Some male graduates, who have often studied science, engineering and technological subjects, are lured away from public sector occupations such as teaching by better paid private sector occupations. The growing feminisation of teaching acts as a further deterrent to men, who are put off by its overwhelmingly female image, associating this with reduced status. The growing emphasis on child protection means that men may fear they will be treated with suspicion, particularly if they want to work with younger children.

The reasons for the current gender hierarchy in promotion structures include gendered stereotypes about men’s and women’s roles and responsibilities for child-care. Women are less likely to apply for promoted posts, whereas men are more likely to do this at an early point in their working lives and men, particularly in primary settings, have accelerated promotion.
Finally, it has been argued that managerialist principles and practices may favour men, although this is disputed on the grounds that men and women no longer conform to gender stereotypes and gender should be conceived as a spectrum rather than a divide.

In the literature, a number of reasons are given for encouraging more men to enter the teaching workforce. It is argued that men bring a variety of interests and personal characteristics into teaching which enrich the social and intellectual life of the school, and it is important that men take greater responsibility for the welfare of both girls and boys. It is also suggested that boys’ underachievement at school may be addressed by having more male teachers as positive role models. However, this assumption is challenged since the male role model approach may implicitly denigrate women. In addition, the under-achievement of poorer boys may be largely influenced by socio-economic inequality. Having more male teachers might therefore make little difference to boys’ educational outcomes.

**Statistical analysis**

Men made up about a quarter of the teaching workforce in Scotland in 2003 compared with 30% in 1994. The gap in the number of men and women in secondary school teaching is widening particularly rapidly. In Scottish secondary schools in 2003, there was a traditional gender divide in subject taught, with men making up the majority of teachers in Chemistry, Physics, Geography, History, Computing Studies and Technical Education. An analysis by age, gender and subject taught suggests that this picture is about to change radically, since women in the younger age groups make up the majority of teachers in Mathematics, Science, History and Modern Studies. Younger female teachers also represent a higher proportion of English teachers. This may have implications for the culture of particular subject areas.

Traditional gender hierarchies persist in Scottish schools, with men five times more likely than their female counter-parts to become head teachers in primary and secondary schools. Other social divisions are also apparent. All principals and deputes of secondary schools and head teachers of primary schools who declared their ethnicity described themselves as white-UK or white-other.

On the PGCE primary programme, the majority of women are under 24 whilst men are more evenly spread across the 20 – 35 age groups. This suggests that for women primary teaching is a first career choice, whereas men are more likely to enter primary teaching having tried out other jobs. By far the largest group of PGCE secondary students are women in the 20-24 age group.

The main subject of students on the BEd and PGCE programmes reflects the gender balance in the wider teaching profession. However, the proportion of students training to teach History, Geography, Chemistry, Music and Technical Education is well below the proportion of men currently teaching these subjects in schools. Drop-out rates from teacher education courses are high overall and men are much more likely to drop out than women. High levels of attrition, particularly in some subject areas, may indicate either a problem with the course or that students lack commitment and motivation.

**Key informant interviews**

The low proportion of male teachers in the primary sector was considered to be due to the predominance of women and the association of primary education with ‘caring’, considered to be an unsuitable role for men, particularly in the early years. An emphasis on indiscipline in the secondary sector in the media and the new focus on inter-personal skills was seen as deterring men from entering secondary education.

The consequences of fewer men entering the profession were perceived to be a lack of role models for boys particularly in the primary sector, leading to a failure to challenge residual gender stereotypes. At the same time, the danger of stereotyping male and female contributions was noted, since pupils’ main need was for empathic teachers, rather than teachers of a particular sex.
Suggested action to be taken to recruit more men included changing the image of the profession for men by emphasizing the pay and promotion opportunities as part of a good career structure. In addition, the option of starting mature entrants higher up the pay scale might be reinstated. Combating gendered job stereotyping in schools was also felt to be important. Overall, the main concern should be to ensure that the best-qualified and motivated people entered the profession, regardless of their gender.

**Undergraduate survey**

When asked to consider the importance of particular factors in relation to career choices, nearly 90% of respondents felt that job security and a steady income were important. About two thirds thought that having a well-paid job and a job that suited family life were important, and about a half thought that good holidays would influence their career choice. Less than a third felt that the high social status was important. These general attitudes appear to be compatible with opting for teaching as a career.

Overall, whilst 60% of respondents had considered a job in teaching, the majority appeared to have rejected this option, since only 11% said they were very likely to become a teacher. Most respondents had a rather negative view of teaching, believing that it had relatively poor pay, low social status and that discipline problems made it an unattractive career choice. However, teachers’ holidays were seen as a plus and it was seen as a family-friendly occupation.

Despite the fact that women were significantly more likely to say they were very likely to become a teacher, their general views were similar to those of men. However, they were significantly more likely to agree with the statement that teaching offered family friendly conditions, which may provide some insight into their reasons for opting for teaching despite an awareness of some of its less attractive features.

Those considering a career in teaching placed higher value on family friendly conditions, long holidays and working with people, and less importance on having a job with high social status. Undergraduates from the post-92 university, who were more likely to come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, were significantly more likely than those from the pre-92 universities to regard a high salary, high social status and long holidays as important. They were also more likely to think that teaching was a reasonably paid job. Overall, those from more deprived backgrounds were more likely to be considering teaching as a career and regard it as a reasonably well-paid job.

In general, along a number of dimensions, teaching was not highly regarded as a career. Despite this rather negative view, it appears that women and those from less advantaged neighbourhoods were more likely to see teaching as a possible career choice. This may not indicate great enthusiasm, but lack of more attractive alternatives. The views expressed in the survey suggest that young men may be particularly reluctant recruits.

**Interviews with university careers officers**

Careers officers suggested that across the board graduates were interested in public service, and women favoured careers offering a positive work life balance. Graduates generally wanted to work in an area which was relevant to their discipline. Mature students were likely to look for a job which would allow them to work locally. Pay was not the major motivating factor.

Interestingly, the pull factor of jobs in IT and the electronics industry was not the main reason for the declining number of men in teaching. Rather, male graduates were likely to be under-employed in service sector occupations. The graduate labour market in Scotland was depressed rather than buoyant, but teaching had failed to fully capitalise on the relatively large number of graduates in search of employment. Compared with the private sector, the public sector appeared to put less energy into graduate recruitment and a more strategic approach would result in a better qualified and more enthusiastic teaching force.
Teacher education courses generally expected candidates to have prior experience of working with children and this might mitigate against men, who, compared with women, were less likely to have accumulated work experience with children over the years in both formal and informal settings. In addition, men on teacher education courses might be uncomfortable in a predominantly female environment.

Positive aspects of teaching included the terms and conditions of employment which might be appreciated rather more by women than men. In addition, the induction year was regarded as offering a more secure start to a teaching career. On the negative side, teaching was seen increasingly as a ‘woman’s job’, demanding ‘soft’ qualities, and was therefore less appealing to men. The growing demands on teachers to assist with pupils’ social development, rather than simply teaching an academic subject, might also deter men.

Finally, teaching suffered from a negative image. Mass media were partly responsible for the propagation of scare stories, but teachers themselves projected an overwhelmingly negative view of their own profession which was dampening the enthusiasm of new recruits.

**Focus groups**

Practising teachers in primary and secondary schools identified a number of positive features of teaching, including the opportunities provided for varied and autonomous work and contributing to the social and academic development of children and young people. The holidays and pension arrangements were a positive feature compared with jobs in the private sector and the working hours were very good for people with caring responsibilities. Opportunities for contact with the local community and other professionals were welcomed by primary teachers.

Negative features identified by secondary school teachers included the number of pupils seen on a daily basis and the amount of paperwork associated with increased regulation and accountability. Male teachers in secondary schools emphasised the low pay and lack of promotion opportunities compared with some other professions such as law and medicine. Growing pressures arising from school inclusion policies and indiscipline were mentioned by some teachers, although teachers in the schools serving diverse communities were less likely to see these as problems, indicating that school culture might play a part here. Finally, it was felt that a negative view of teachers’ professional competence was sometimes promoted by media and politicians.

A number of reasons were given for the declining number of men in teaching. It was felt that men continued to see themselves as the main breadwinner, which meant that they placed a higher priority than women on securing highly paid employment. However, this view was not reflected in the undergraduate survey, where men and women both emphasised the importance of having a well paid job. There was a suggestion that the formalisation of equal opportunities might make the job more attractive to women, but might lead men to feel they had more competition for promotion. According to the Equal Opportunities Commission, teaching is indeed a profession with a relatively small pay gap in comparison with medicine and private sector occupations.

In secondary schools, a growing emphasis on the need for empathy with children and young people, in addition to subject knowledge, was seen as potentially making the job less attractive to men, who might wish to approach teaching in a more impersonal way. A negative feature of traditional gender stereotypes for men might be a tendency to assign them to more difficult classes, based on the belief that they are better disciplinarians. In primary schools, men continued to be deterred by the continued identification of teaching with caring, a downplaying of the importance of child development in society as a whole and lack of encouragement by family and friends to entering a low status occupation.

Changes introduced as a result of the McCrone agreement were seen as having a mixed impact on teaching as a career in general, and specifically as a career for men. The flattening of the career structure had removed some promotion opportunities in the secondary sector and this, coupled with the new faculty structure, was seen as having a negative effect on
morale. Positive aspects of the Chartered Teacher programme were recognised, but it was seen as costly, time-consuming and not fitting easily with women's career profiles. The probationary year arrangements were also viewed positively, but difficulties remained in finding a permanent job and these might be perceived particularly negatively by men.

Overall, focus group respondents believed that efforts should be made to recruit more men into teaching in order to benefit from their diverse interests and personality traits, which were particularly welcome in previously sex-typed areas such as business and management studies and home economics. It was also felt that boys, particularly those from single parent families, benefited from having positive male role models and staff also benefited from working in a gender-balanced team.

It was felt that the emphasis should be on getting the best recruits into teaching, and coercing reluctant men would be counter-productive. The following actions were likely to be successful in encouraging the most able individuals, regardless of sex, into teaching: developing positive messages about teaching through focused advertising campaigns emphasising pay and promotion as well as intrinsic job satisfaction; much closer working between local authorities and university careers staff to recruit the best graduates; countering negative media messages about teaching; actively engaging trade unions and teachers themselves in promoting their own profession; developing more imaginative ways of recruiting the best new graduates and career changers into teaching. It was felt that attention should be paid to all aspects of social diversity, so that the teaching workforce reflected more closely the full spectrum of modern Scottish society.

Implications of the research arise for a number of different groups, and these are outlined in the conclusion.
Section 1: Introduction

The teacher census carried out in 2003 showed that there had been a fall in the percentage of teachers who were male from 30 per cent in 1998 to 26 per cent in 2003. With regard to initial teacher education (ITE), men made up only 10 per cent of entrants to primary education in 2002 – 03, and 39 per cent of entrants to secondary education. In most developed countries and other parts of the UK (Rees et al, 2000; Powney et al, 2003), it is evident that the teaching profession is attracting more women than men, although men continue to occupy the majority of promoted positions. An EIS publication entitled The Gender Jigsaw (EIS, 2004), considered some of the possible reasons for the dominance of teacher education by women:

..it may be because of the influence of ‘mainstreaming’ equality in education, or because of a more acute focus on child protection with its attendant stereotypes and prejudices. Other important considerations are perceptions of salaries, conditions of service and status and the relative importance to men and women of work-life balance.

The report went on to note:

The notion that male teachers by their nature do not possess the communication, caring or nurturing skills required by the Standards for Full Registration or Chartered Teacher is manifestly untrue.

The fact that men appear to be less interested in teaching as a career may pose a challenge in terms of meeting targets for teacher recruitment. In addition, the declining proportion of male entrants to secondary teacher education may contribute to a potential future shortfall of staff in key subject areas such as Maths and Physics, where men continue to make up the majority of under-graduate students. Finally, fewer men in the teaching workforce may mean that boys lack male role models in school. It should also be noted that a very low proportion of Scottish teachers are from minority ethnic backgrounds and the intersection of ethnicity and gender are considered throughout this report.

Research aims and objectives

Following the SEED specification, the overarching aim of this six-month study was to identify possible reasons for and solutions to the current imbalance of men and women in the teaching profession and the recent apparent decline in the number of men.

In pursuit of this aim, the research set out to:

- Identify perceived and experienced barriers by men in teaching
- Explore the attitudes of male and female undergraduates to teaching as a possible career and the perceptions of university careers officers
- Explore the views and attitudes of leaders and others involved in delivering ITE on issues relating to the growing gender imbalance
- Make recommendations to the Scottish Executive and other relevant bodies on actions that would be likely to encourage more men to remain within or join the teaching profession.

Research questions

The overarching question addressed in this research was the following:
What are the possible reasons for the imbalance of men and women in the teaching profession and the decline in the number of men? What solutions are possible?

The following sub-questions were considered:

- What can be learnt from teacher census data on the relative proportions of men and women entering and remaining within the teaching profession in relation to (a) different sectors, (b) different age groups and (c) different career stages? At what points do men appear to be leaving the profession? How do patterns of recruitment and retention of male teachers compare with those of their female counterparts?

- From the perspective of a range of key informants (including existing and former teachers, head teachers and representatives from the Scottish Executive, HMIE, local authorities, the GTCS, teacher unions, those responsible for the delivery of ITE), what are the causes and solutions to the problem of the under-representation of men in teaching?

- What attitudes do male and female undergraduates have to teaching as a career?

- What do university careers officers believe to be the key factors shaping undergraduate career choices?

- What are the views of practising teachers on the positive and negative features of teaching as a career for men and women?

- What actions might be taken by the Scottish Executive and other relevant bodies to remedy the problem of men’s under-representation in teaching?

Research methods

The following approaches were used to gather evidence used in the analysis:

**Literature review**
In order to understand the nature and explanations of gender divisions in teaching, a review of literature was conducted using searches of social science databases and university catalogues. The literature review focuses on the Scottish and wider UK context, although reference is also made to the wider international context.

**Analysis of Scottish official statistics**
Data from the Scottish Executive teacher census and General Teaching Council for Scotland’s (GTCS) register of practising teachers were used to identify patterns of participation of men and women in teaching and initial teacher education. Patterns relating to gender, age, ethnicity and subject were identified. Data from the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council were used to identify patterns of participation in initial teacher education courses by gender and subject, and non-completion rates were analysed.

**Key informant interviews**
Eighteen interviews were conducted with a range of key players in teacher recruitment, training and management. These included head teachers and representatives from the Scottish Executive, HMIE, local authorities, the GTCS, the EIS and those responsible for the delivery of ITE. The aim of these interviews was to sensitise us to the key themes which were likely to emerge in the research project.
Table 1.1 Key Informants: Interviews conducted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, Primary PGCE programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>University Dean of Faculty of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, BEd programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Local Authority Director of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, Primary PGCE programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Scottish Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, BEd programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Secondary head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Primary head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Secondary head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Secondary head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>GTCS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, Primary PGCE programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, BEd programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Co-ordinator, Secondary PGCE programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Secondary head teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>EIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>HMIE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Undergraduate survey**
A short questionnaire survey was developed to investigate the factors which undergraduate students believed were likely to influence their career choice and, more specifically, their thoughts about teaching as a career. Accessing the views of undergraduates is clearly important in understanding why particular groups are attracted to or deterred from teaching as a career. In conjunction with the views of university careers officers, we hoped that an analysis of undergraduate views and intentions would provide some insights into how teaching as a career might be promoted in order to make it attractive to the widest possible group.

The questionnaire was administered to third year students in three Scottish universities, two of which were pre-92 and one of which was a post-92 institution. It was decided to administer the questionnaire to students in social science and biological science because these subjects are taught in pre and post-92 universities. Permission was sought from the course convenor of a social science and a biology class in each university. In most cases, the questionnaire was administered during the course of the teaching period. One social science department did not wish class time to be used for completion of the questionnaire, but instead agreed to e-mail the questionnaire to all level 3 students. These methods of administration were very successful and 323 questionnaires were completed. This represented about a 90% response rate. Data were entered into SPSS.

**Interviews with university careers staff**
Three interviews were conducted with university careers officers in order to shed further light on the context in which undergraduates were making their career choices.

**Focus groups with existing teachers**
The purpose of the focus groups was to understand teachers’ explanations of gender divisions within the teaching workforce, the attitudes of male and female teachers to their work and the possibilities for positive action. The following focus group interviews were conducted:
Table 1:2 Focus Groups with Practising Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School/Primary</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northwalls Academy (Urban)</td>
<td>1 men’s group</td>
<td>1 women’s group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golflands High (Rural)</td>
<td>1 women’s group</td>
<td>1 men’s group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westside Primary (Urban)</td>
<td>1 mixed group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilltop Primary (Rural)</td>
<td>1 mixed group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each group consisted of about 7 people and the focus groups lasted about 45 minutes. The topics covered included the following: views of teaching as a career; balance of women and men in teaching; distribution of women and men in different sectors; specific factors affecting male recruitment; promotion opportunities; changes introduced by the McCrone agreement; possibilities for positive action.

Table 1.3: Summary of data sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of data</th>
<th>Source/Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Official statistics</td>
<td>Secondary analysis of Scottish Executive teacher census.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key informant interviews</td>
<td>Head teachers and representatives from the Scottish Executive, HMIE, local authorities, the GTCS, teacher unions, ITE course directors</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus groups</td>
<td>Male and female teachers at different career stages and in different subject areas working in different parts of Scotland</td>
<td>4 schools (2 primary, 2 secondary). 2 focus groups in each secondary and one in each primary school (i.e. 6 focus groups in all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with university careers staff</td>
<td>3 (1 in each university)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate survey</td>
<td>Third year undergraduates in arts/social science and science/maths.</td>
<td>Survey administered in 3 universities. Two student groups per university. 323 questionnaires returned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data analysis
Quantitative data gathered from the undergraduate survey were analysed in SPSS to explore the relationship between a range of variables. Comparisons were made between males and females, subject areas and types of university. Qualitative data were derived from the key informant interviews, focus groups, individual interviews and observations. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed and a thematic analysis was carried out.

A note on terminology
Oakley (1981) made a clear distinction between sex, referring to biological status, and gender, a cultural category which shifted over place and time. This distinction has become blurred in popular usage, with gender being used synonymously with sex. In academic discourse, too, the terms have been problematised, with writers like Butler (1990) questioning the relevance of biological sex and emphasising that in all circumstances gender is performed rather than
being an intrinsic characteristic. In recognition of this popular and academic slippage, we have tended to use the term gender, whereas in the 1980s a stricter distinction between sex and gender would have been required.

It is also worth noting that some of our respondents questioned the centrality of gender in this enquiry, noting the possibly even greater salience of social class and ethnicity in individual identity formation and in wider social structures. It was felt by a minority of respondents that a focus on gender was based on a form of essentialism, that is, the assumption that men and women exhibit a narrow range of ‘typical’ male or female behaviours which are biologically determined. Some focus group respondents and key informants suggested that gender is less of a defining characteristic in many people’s lives, since, they felt, traditional notions of masculinity and femininity have become increasingly blurred. The majority of our respondents, however, indicated that gender still represents a fundamental building block of social identity, although they were very aware of the surrounding layers of social construction.
Section 2: Literature review

Teaching: a gendered profession

Teaching is a highly gendered profession, both historically and currently. Historically, the ideology of the male breadwinner shaped not only social attitudes towards teachers, but also the pay and promotion structures that distributed unequal rewards to male and female staff (Adams, 1990; Fewell, 1990; Marker, 2000). Between 1915 and 1945, local authority rules obliged women teachers to resign their posts on marriage, although married women whose husbands were unable to support them were allowed to be employed on a temporary basis (Adams, 1990). The marriage bar was strongly supported by the Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church, and was described by Adams as ‘an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to preserve male control of the public sphere of life’ (Adams, 2000: 90). Differential pay scales for men and women in teaching were established in 1919, not to be removed until 1962 (Fewell, 1990). An argument used to justify these formal barriers to gender equality was the fear that women were taking over the profession and the absence of men as role models was likely to be detrimental to male pupils. Debates about the possibility of positive action in favour of men in the teaching profession have recently resurfaced, for example, Trevor Phillips of the Commission for Racial Equality has suggested that enhanced pay and conditions might be justified to encourage more black men into teaching, with a view to tackling the under-performance of Afro-Caribbean boys.

In the UK and many other countries with an organised teaching workforce, distinctive patterns of participation for male and female teachers exist (see Siniscalco, 2002). Male teachers are much more likely to occupy promoted teaching positions than female teachers, and female teachers are more likely to be teaching younger children in the infant/primary school sector than older children in the secondary/high school sector. Within Europe, a gender imbalance in the primary school sector exists as Table 2.1 below illustrates. However there is some variability. During 1996/7 only the Netherlands came close to having an equal balance of male and female teachers in the primary sector, whilst Italy shows a dramatic lack of men similar to that in Scotland.

### Table 2.1: Percentage full-time female teachers, by sector, 1996/7 EU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Primary sector</th>
<th>Lower secondary</th>
<th>Upper secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Lower and upper secondary combined in upper secondary figure

Source: adapted from Siniscalco, 2002.

Whilst there must always be caution in reading off trends from snapshot representations without further details of each country’s education system, it is fair to say from the data above that the pattern of women having a very high presence in the primary sector, and less of a presence as the age of pupils increases, is common to many European countries.
Despite women’s numerical domination of the teaching workforce, they remain significantly under-represented in senior positions, although there has been an improvement over the last five years. Women’s relative absence from senior posts is evident in many low-income-countries and certain high-income ones also (e.g. Australia, Cyprus, Denmark, Republic of Korea) (Siniscalco, 2002). More positively, many EU and OECD countries show a trend towards increasing female representation in promoted positions, although Belgium, Scotland’s secondary schools, and the primary schools of Egypt, Jordan and Syria are cited as exceptions to this (Siniscalco, 2002). National increases are largely incremental in nature and are attributed to staff turnover in the profession, the relatively weak appeal of the profession for men, and the age retirement of male heads alongside fewer men willing to replace them. This concurs with findings from New Zealand (Coleman, 2002; Fitzgerald, 2002), which suggests that it is men’s relocation within the occupation, rather than any significant cultural change in the attitudes towards women teachers, that explains the improved position of women.

Coleman (2002) illustrates how male over-representation in promoted posts exists in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA also, and how this becomes more marked as seniority increases. For example, in the USA in 1990 4.6% of superintendents, 17.3% of assistant superintendents and 20.6% of principals were women (ibid). In New Zealand, in 2002 women constituted 86% of primary school teachers but 40% of primary principals, and 79% of those in promoted positions (Fitzgerald, 2002). In secondary school they were 61% of the workforce, 48% of those in promoted positions and 27% of principals (ibid). This again suggests a positive trend as, in 1995, women were 51% of teachers and just 19% of principals in that sector (1995 data from Coleman, 2002:4). Fitzgerald (2002) expresses scepticism with regard to official claims that a significant cultural change is occurring within educational institutions, highlighting the continued exclusion and marginalisation of indigenous teachers.

**Reasons for the ‘feminisation’ of the teaching workforce**

**Gender specific degrees**

Research shows that young people begin to associate certain jobs with males or females from a very early age, and that this influences their choice of occupation (Miller et al, 2004). It has been shown that young people today have less constrained notions of gender-appropriate occupations than their predecessors, but that they continue to make choices at school that reinforce gendered career perspectives (EOC, 2005, Tinklin et al, 2005). Miller et al (2004) found that girls (and boys, to a lesser extent) became increasingly open-minded about career possibilities during their school lives. Yet the subject choices they made before this realisation meant leaving school with qualifications that reinforced traditional gendered paths, despite their now less-gendered outlooks. Other research examining educational and occupational choices of working class young people demonstrates how wider cultural forces (within families, communities, the media, peer groups etc) shape the perspectives of young people (mediated by class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality etc) in ways that often lead to the reproduction of existing social relations, (Archer et al, 2001; Mac An Ghaill, 1996). Inside school, messages about appropriate gender roles/expectations continue to be transmitted albeit mostly unintentionally. For example, learning materials and teacher interactions have each been found to reinforce the different roles/attributes traditionally associated with either sex (Croxford, 2000; Skelton and Hanson, 1989). Miller et al (2004) identify how careers advisors often contribute to established gender segregation by encouraging pupils to pursue their existing interests rather than confronting sex-stereotyping. Connell (1989) argues more broadly that schools’ organisation of an academic curriculum is part of a continuous process that rewards the kind of rational masculinity that has become institutionalised in the professions and administration. In this way schools reinforce the exclusion of females (and men with other forms of masculinity) from pursuing professional routes. It has long been

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1 Also, changes in the number of schools in a country (i.e. expansion, amalgamation, contraction) is affecting the gender composition of the teaching workforce in various countries (Siniscalco, 2002).
feared that the pre-dominance of women in primary teaching is detrimental to boys’ social, emotional and academic development and positive action in favour of men is necessary to halt the growing ‘feminisation’ of the teaching profession (Skelton, 2002; Acker, 1983).

Initiatives such as the 5-14 programme in Scotland, (and similarly the National Curriculum in England and Wales) designed to disrupt such gendered patterns, seem to have delayed the point at which young people make gendered choices, rather than altering the dynamics of that choice in any significant way. Data from the UK (EOC, 2005) and Scotland (EIS, 2004) show gender segregation in particular subjects increasing along with the academic level, so that by degree level men have effectively colonised Physics and Computing and women, Languages and the Biological Sciences. Thus the socially constructed nature of choice means that the supply of potential teachers for some subjects is gender biased.

**Graduate employment market**

The graduate job market contributes to the lack of men in teaching in that graduates from science/technical disciplines (i.e. mostly male, as explained above) expect to be able to earn more in other occupations. Ross and Hutchings (2003) found initial teacher pay compared less favourably to starting salaries in other graduate professions, and increased at a slower rate also. However, given the range of salaries both between and within different sectors, and the higher salaries of teachers in Scotland compared to the rest of the UK, low teacher salaries may be more of a perception than a reality. As pay and promotion prospects may be of greater concern to men than women, this may explain why male graduates go elsewhere. David Hart, General Secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, underlined this point:

> Male graduates are looking for a significant boost in salary after they've been in their first job for a few years, and by their late twenties early thirties, one that is in excess of that offered in a primary teaching position. (Quoted in Haughton, 2002)

However, concern about pay and promotion should be regarded as only part of the picture. Research among male and female teachers suggests that other factors may be equally important such as the rewards of helping others and providing inspiration to young people (see Haughton, 2002, Thornton, 2001).

Female graduates may be more motivated to enter teaching as opposed to other professions as it may be regarded as the most equitable profession for their sex. With a gender pay gap of ‘just’ 11%, women are treated less unequally in teaching than they are in most other graduate occupations (EOC, 2005). Yet it should not be forgotten that the consequence of a high rate of female employment in any sector is reduced hourly earnings for employees of both sexes (EOC, 2003, cited in Miller et al, 2004) and reduced status for that occupation (Gaskell, 1992). Gaskell (ibid) highlights the socially constructed nature of the value of a skill, using an historical example of secretarial work and the advent of the typewriter. As the skill of using a typewriter became more widely distributed, particularly among women, its value was reduced. This process may be seen in teaching. Dillabough (1999) proposes that teaching is increasingly perceived as less skilled because it is women who are undertaking it. In this instance the concentration of women in the education of young people has led to the conflation of teaching with mothering. This overlooks the extent of professional training required for the task, replacing it instead with a perception that the occupation is an extension of women’s ‘natural’, maternal capacities.

The visibility of women in an occupation also influences female graduate destinations (Miller et al, 2004). Research in the medical profession (ibid) shows that once women’s representation reached a ‘critical mass’ – a point at which female practitioners were seen as role models rather than exceptions – there was an exponential increase in female representation. Kay (2001) explores the Scottish professional arena in further detail, examining women’s representation at various levels of the hierarchies within a range of professional associations. For example, among health professionals, one third of medical staff were female, but only 1 in
5 were consultants. Within the civil service, women’s presence in the senior ranks doubled from 5% in 1990 to 13% in 1998. By 2004, almost a third (32%) of the senior civil service in the Scottish Executive was female, a higher proportion than the figure for the UK senior civil service (24%). The civil service is cited as the only profession with a raft of female-friendly policies to assist women’s equal opportunity (Kay 2001), and in Scotland these seem to have been very effective in boosting female representation. Ultimately the report laments the lack of female progression from the graduate ranks and like many others (e.g. Coleman, 2002; Freedman, 1987; Greenfield, 2003) recognises a male cultural norm and sexist attitudes as significant barriers.

Miller et al (2004) also note that occupational segregation is being increasingly challenged. Their research reveals that high achieving female graduates are more concerned with the status of a profession rather than its gender-congruence when planning their futures. This movement is also related to social class structures, for it is middle class young women who are entering traditionally ‘male’ professions (law and medicine), whilst female graduates from lower socio-economic groups continue traditional gendered trajectories such as teaching (ibid). However, women who enter male-dominated professions face significant gender barriers, as found by research on the experiences of female science, engineering and technology (SET) graduates (Greenfield, 2003). The Greenfield report highlighted the way in which inflexible career structures, lack of family friendly policies and a male sexist culture (not necessarily intentional) significantly impeded women’s professional careers. Greenfield (2003) also noted that women SET graduates not only experienced a lower economic activity rate than male SET graduates, but that economic activity was also lower than that of women graduates from other disciplines (ibid).

Male retreat from the teaching profession

It was previously noted that the feminisation of a profession is linked to reduced status and status appears to be more important to men than women (Miller et al, 2004). There is a variety of other reasons why teaching is perceived as a less valuable occupation now than may have been the case in the past. Whitty (2001), writing in the English context, suggests that the days when teachers were trusted and admired as disinterested, committed professionals have passed. He claims teachers were held in high esteem from 1944 up to the mid 1970s. Since then the integrity and autonomy of the professional teacher has been increasingly challenged in a multitude of ways. Various government reforms have had a significant impact on the status of teaching, and the introduction of market principles may have undermined the concept of teaching as a ‘profession’:

…the notion that teachers are part of an 'education establishment', representing producer interests against those of the newly empowered consumer, has led to a questioning of both the altruism and the neutrality of teachers. (Whitty, 2001:303)

Men who work in primary teaching may also be seen as odd or unnatural, with questions raised about their sexuality or manhood (Ferudi, 2000; Thornton, 2001). For women, on the other hand, teaching is seen as a much more natural occupation, since there is a conflation of teaching with motherhood (Dillabough, 1999). Suspicion of men in teaching, particularly in the primary sector, is linked to public concern about child protection issues. Whitehead (2002:115) comments:

.. the increasing exposure of some men's abusive practices on children has created a climate of uncertainty for males working with young people. Teaching infants in UK schools is no longer seen, by some, as a suitable occupation for men.

Haughton (2002) suggested that the increased focus on child protection following the Children Act 1989 did indeed impact on the move to recruit more male primary school teachers. However such concerns may have peaked, particularly because of the implementation of mandatory police checks on those working with children.
Explaining the current gender hierarchy in promoted posts

Gendered assumptions
These remain both in the profession and wider society and the unequal division of labour endured by many women presents a significant barrier to women’s progression (Franks, 1999, Gallagher et al, 2000, Kay, 2001, Powney et al, 2003). A recent English study argues that women in teaching continue to be disproportionately under-represented in management positions (Moreau et al, 2005). Women’s responsibility for childcare is reflected in the fact that women in management are more likely to be single and even more likely to be childless than their male counterparts (Franks, 1999, Coleman, 2002). Coleman’s (2002) research with 1000 female heads in England found that younger women were more likely to choose not to marry or have a family. Women head teachers were more likely to be divorced or separated than male heads, suggesting that promotion may affect women’s domestic situation more negatively than that of men. Alternatively, women in less satisfactory relationships may be more highly motivated to achieve promotion. Coleman (ibid) identifies the lack of female role models as impacting on women’s progression, but also notes the ongoing problem of sexist attitudes from interview panels and senior staff, expressed both overtly and covertly:

Despite some indications of recent change in practice, …a majority of women and a proportion of men judge that gender stereotypes, almost exclusively relating to women, still play an important part in the selection of head teachers in our secondary schools. (Coleman, 2002:47)

Promotion structures
Promotion structures discriminate against women who are more likely than men to take career breaks (Marsh, 1989; Kay, 2001). Gallagher et al (2000) suggest many women are already over-burdened with child-care and household responsibilities and are unwilling to take on further stressful responsibilities. Women are also less likely to present themselves for promotion unless they feel they meet all the requirements, whereas men put themselves forward if they fulfill some of the criteria (Shakeshaft, 1993, cited in Coleman, 2002). Gallagher et al (2000) show how women are more likely to apply for a post once it has been re-advertised, rather than on first viewing. Coleman (2002) found both men and women professed some lack of confidence at their ability to undertake headship. However, whereas women perceived these doubts to be related to their gender, men’s doubts had no such dynamic. The research also found older women and those with familial commitments were less confident than younger women without family responsibilities.

Accelerated promotion
Not only are male teachers more likely to be in promoted posts than female teachers, they are also likely to reach those positions at a younger age, in a shorter length of time, and with less classroom experience than equivalent female promoted teachers (Kay, 2001). Whereas women contend with the glass ceiling to stifle progress up the occupational hierarchy, men in feminised occupations are perceived to be offered a ‘glass elevator’ (Williams 1992) to speed their journeys.

Why is this the case? Thornton (1999; 2001) suggests that patronage by older males in senior positions is still an issue. Coleman (2002) found this to be both intentional in some cases, but also unintentional in others. Powney et al (2003) identify the relative ease with which male teachers are able to fit into influential networks to ease their progression through the ranks. Again this may not be a calculated exclusionary tactic but rather an unintended consequence of established patterns of collegiality which nonetheless exclude women (Mills et al, 2004).

Desire for promotion
Other research suggests women and men have different objectives when they choose a career in teaching (e.g. Raulston and Mills, 2001). Men are more likely to plan actively for promotion from the outset, and to set a long-term goal. Thornton (2001) discovered that some
male student teachers decided to enter the profession because they recognised male teachers to be a rare commodity and therefore of greater value. The recruits expected to gain promotion faster because of this. This can be compared to women’s reasons for entering the profession, which prioritise the intrinsic rewards of educating children. However, there are men who contradict such findings. For example, Coleman (2002) reveals a complex picture of the route to headship, where serendipity played a part for both men and women. Having said this, men were more likely than women to consider headship once they had experienced a promoted post.

**Managerialism**

There is a fear that the growth of managerialism in school administration since the 1990s may further entrench gender segregation in managerial positions (Mahony, 2000; Skelton, 2003). Mahony (2000) suggests that the criteria on which teachers will be judged reflect male ways of teaching, which emphasise authority, discipline and control. She illustrates the managerialist demands of the current role of the head-teacher. These include responsibility for pupil achievement and staff compliance with the curricular requirements. The hierarchical management structure (as opposed to democratic and/or consensual) and the need to take responsibility for and control the work of others may be more aligned to traits possessed by men. Furthermore there is a perceived danger that in order for women to progress in such circumstances, their psychological well-being may be compromised:

> If successful management is defined in masculinist terms then women will be pressured to conform to its dictates in ways which may create tensions between their values and their power to act in collaborative ways. (Mahony, 2000:238)

Kanter (1993, cited in Mahony, 2000) shows how, as women rise in their professions, they increasingly reject whatever feminine management traits they may have held previously.

Dualism of male competitiveness versus female collegiality pervades much of this literature and there are dangers of slipping into essentialist thinking, assuming that men and women are two homogenous groups (Hay and Bradford, 2004; Reay and Ball, 2000; Sachs and Blackmore, 1998). Managerial sex typing may over-simplify the diverse nature of managerial styles within and between the sexes. Coleman’s (ibid) research found younger female heads were increasingly identifying ‘male’ managerial qualities as being equally possessed by women. It also found many male head teachers identifying their own managerial style within a feminine managerialist paradigm. However, research on management styles using psychometric data (Adler, 1994, cited in Coleman, 2002) suggests that men may be less collaborative than they believe themselves to be. Coleman (2002) and Sachs and Blackmore (1998) present a more complex picture of female teachers. The fact that Sachs and Blackmore’s (1998) research depicts women as highly adversarial warns against accepting simple gender dualisms.

**Why should there be more men in the teaching workforce?**

**Boys’ underachievement**

It has been argued that male teachers are needed as positive role models in order to address the problem of boys’ relative under-achievement, and that a greater focus is needed on the teaching of vocational subjects relevant to boys’ assumed interests. However, educational failure is associated with socio-economic status and cultural factors as well as gender and the focus on raising boys’ achievement ignores these more pertinent barriers to educational equality. Weiner et al (2001), Francis (1999) and Gray and Leith (2004) all identify a variety of research showing how the school system currently and historically favours boys, particularly in terms of how teachers interact differently with male and female pupils. This body of research shows how boys receive more attention from the teacher, and are more positively perceived than girls. Although Younger et al. (1999) found similar patterns in terms of boys’ domination of the classroom, they suggest there has been a change in teacher attitudes recently so that now the nature of the attention that boys receive is generally more negative whereas girls are
received more positively. The research did not explore the gender of the teachers observed, rather the need for gender awareness of the teachers in their teaching strategies.

Reynolds (2001) reinforces the limitation of a simplistic assumption of male teachers’ capacity to reach out to under-achieving boys. Her research confirmed Connell’s (1996) position that wider gender relations have a significant impact on the masculine positions adopted by boys. Reynolds’ year long primary school ethnographic research showed the importance of boys adapting their behaviours and activities to gain acceptance by the hegemonic group of boys, and also the difficulties for those boys who were unable to do this. The research concludes that the role model initiative being directed at under-achieving boys, seems only to be directed at the under-achieving boys displaying aggressive forms of masculinity, completely overlooking the non-rebellious under-achievers.

**The male role model**

It has been argued that greater diversity in the teaching workforce is good for pupils, regardless of gender. McCormack (2004) points out, for example, that many parents see male teachers as beneficial, providing a more positive role model to counteract many media portrayals of men as violent and unemotional. However, there is some concern that recruitment drives aimed overtly at men might reinforce established stereotypes of masculinity, and therefore could be detrimental to achieving gender equality in education. Advertising specifically to attract men, for example, by drawing attention to the fact that men still occupy the highest paid jobs in teaching, might reinforce gender stereotypes from the outset, but might also attract competitive careerist men, and possibly lead to the denigration of female teachers (Carrington and Skelton, 2003).

**Summary points**

This literature review has shown that the teaching workforce is highly gendered, with women being dominant in the early years, and under-represented in senior positions, throughout the developed world.

The reasons cited in the literature for the feminisation of the workforce include:

- gendered choice of subjects at an early age, particularly in the UK and Scotland, that leads to the reproduction of expectations about career choices;
- the graduate employment market that enables male graduates to earn higher salaries in the science/technical disciplines in which they predominate;
- occupational segregation leads to men’s retreat from a predominantly female profession;
- reduced status of the profession, partly caused by female domination, leads to fewer men entering it;
- men in primary teaching, particularly in the early years, may be regarded with some degree of suspicion.

The reasons for the current gender hierarchy in promotion structures include:

- gendered stereotypes about men’s and women’s roles and responsibilities for childcare;
- women are less likely to apply for promoted posts, whereas men are more likely to do this at an early point in their working lives
- men, particularly in primary settings, have accelerated promotion
- managerialist principles may favour men, although this is disputed

Reasons given for encouraging more men to enter the teaching workforce include the following:

- Boys’ underachievement at school may be addressed by having more male teachers as positive role models. However, this assumption is challenged and it is argued that the male role model approach may implicitly denigrate women. Furthermore, socio-economic inequality amongst pupils may be the most significant cause of under-
achievement, so increasing the number of male teachers might have a relatively minor effect (Tinklin et al, 2000).

- Men bring a variety of interests and personal characteristics into teaching which enrich the social and intellectual life of the school, to the benefit of pupils and teachers.
- It is worth noting that the literature has little to say about the benefits of contact with male teachers for girls, who may also live in all-female households.
Section 3: Gender balance in the teaching workforce: official statistics

This section of the report analyses data in relation to the gender balance of the teaching workforce and students in training in Scotland. Most data are drawn from the Scottish Executive teacher census, but some have been supplied by the General Teaching Council for Scotland.

Gender balance of teachers

Type of school

In 2003, there were 49,230 teachers employed to work in 2,826 publicly funded schools teaching 406,015 pupils. Of these 55% taught in primary schools, 44% taught in secondary schools and 1% taught in special schools.

Age

Figure 3.1 shows that the majority of both male and female teachers are over the age of 44. This suggests that the problem of teacher supply is not only related to attracting more men into teaching, but also to sustaining the number of women entering the profession.

Figure 3.1: Scottish primary school teachers in 2003, by age and gender (Scottish Executive, 2004).

![Graph showing the number of male and female primary school teachers by age group.]

The number of primary teachers in the 45+ age groups, the majority of whom are women, is clearly an issue which the Scottish Executive has been considering in planning teacher supply. If all these teachers retire at 60 or over, then 58% of all primary teachers will have retired in the next 15 years (Scottish Executive, 2004). Statistics published in 2005 (Scottish Executive, 2005) but relating to the academic session 2002-2003, revealed that in that year teachers were twice as likely to take early retirement (n=707) than continue working until the official retirement age (n =374). An additional 174 retired early on health grounds.

Gender

In every year from 1996-2003, there were almost five times as many female primary school teachers as male primary school teachers. There were also consistently more female secondary school teachers than male teachers, although the gap in the secondary sector was much smaller. However, Figure 3.2 shows that the gap in the number of male and female teachers is widening, as the absolute number of female teachers increases and the number of male teachers declines.
Figure 3.2: Teachers by gender and type of school 1996-2003
(Scottish Executive 2004) No official figures were available, by gender, before 1996.

An individual level teacher census was conducted in 1992, 1994 and 1998, then annually from 2003. In all years prior to 2003, there were also school level summary censuses which gave teacher numbers, which from 1996 onwards can be reliably split into male/female. Table 3.1 summarises the number and percentages of teachers in different sectors by gender.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender, year and type of school</th>
<th>Number and percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male primary teachers 1994</td>
<td>1701 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male primary teachers 1998</td>
<td>1549 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male primary teachers 2003</td>
<td>1620 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female primary teachers 1994</td>
<td>20,528 (92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female primary teachers 1998</td>
<td>18,094 (92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female primary teachers 2003</td>
<td>20,606 (93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male secondary teachers 1994</td>
<td>12,996 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male secondary teachers 1998</td>
<td>11,061 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male secondary teachers 2003</td>
<td>10,749 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female secondary teachers 1994</td>
<td>12,163 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female secondary teachers 1998</td>
<td>12,097 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female secondary teachers 2003</td>
<td>14,093 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male special school teachers 1994</td>
<td>248 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male special school teachers 1998</td>
<td>328 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male special school teachers 2003</td>
<td>342 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female special school teachers 1994</td>
<td>1752 (88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female special school teachers 1998</td>
<td>1342 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female special school teachers 2003</td>
<td>1568 (82%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pupil, Teacher and School Statistics Department, Scottish Executive

A series of one-way anovas was used on the raw data which informed table 1 to detect any statistical differences between the number of male and female teachers in primary, secondary and special schools in 1994, 1998 and 2003. The post-hoc tukey test was used to investigate where differences existed.
A significant difference was detected between the number of men working in primary schools in 1994 compared with 1998, and a larger difference between 1994 and 2003, (F=11.892; df – 2,4867; p<0.001). There were significantly fewer men teaching in primary schools in 2003 compared with 1994.

An examination of the data regarding women teaching in primary schools revealed significant differences between all three years. There were significantly fewer women teaching in 1998 compared with 1994 and 2003 (F = 207.19; df – 2,59225; p<0.001). This pattern of difference may be due to a lower return of surveys from 1998, as there was no significant difference between 1994 and 1998.

Significant differences were detected between all three years examined for men teaching at secondary schools. There were significantly fewer men teaching in 1998 compared with 1994, and fewer teaching in 2003 compared with 1998 (F=307.19; df – 2, 34803; p<0.001).

A similar pattern was detected, as expected, for women teaching in secondary schools in Scotland. There were significantly more women teaching in secondary schools in 1998 compared with 1994, and more women teaching in secondary schools in 2003 compared with 1998, (F=174.66; df – 2,38350; p<0.001).

A significant difference was found when comparing the number of men teaching in special schools between 1994 and 2003 (F = 4.27; df – 2,915; p<0.05). The difference found reflects an increase in the number of men teaching in special schools in 2003 compared with 1994. No other differences were detected for this group.

Significant differences were found when comparing the number of women teaching in special schools. There were significant differences in the number of women working in special schools in 2003 compared to both 1994 and 1998, (F = 31.07; df – 2, 4659; p<0.001).

**Ethnicity**

All principal, depute and head primary teachers, who declared their ethnicity, described themselves as white-UK or white-other.

**Table 3.2: Primary school teachers by ethnicity and grade, 2003 (Scottish Executive, 2004).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Head Teacher</th>
<th>Depute Head</th>
<th>Principal Teacher</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Percentage overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White – UK</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td>1372</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>17,027</td>
<td>94.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White – other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Indian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Pakistani</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Bangladeshi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Chinese</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – Caribbean</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – African</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not disclosed</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All head and depute secondary teachers who declared their ethnicity, described themselves as white-UK or white-other. Of the secondary school principal teachers, seven described themselves as mixed race, five as Asian-Indian and seven as Asian - Pakistani. All the others
self-identified as white-UK or white-other. This represents 0.01% of head, depute and principal teachers at the secondary school level.

Table 3.3: Secondary school teachers by ethnicity and grade, 2003 (Scottish Executive, 2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Head Teacher</th>
<th>Depute Head</th>
<th>Principal Teacher</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Percentage overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White – UK</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>1304</td>
<td>7399</td>
<td>12568</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White – other</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Indian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Pakistani</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Bangladeshi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – Chinese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.05%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian – other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.07%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – Caribbean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – African</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.07%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black – other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not disclosed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Teachers by grade, type of school, seniority and gender 2003 (Scottish Executive, 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Special</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head teacher</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depute Head</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1313</td>
<td>878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>4131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>17104</td>
<td>5450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 demonstrates that men teaching in primary and secondary schools are five times more likely to be head teachers compared with their female counterparts and that men working in special schools are almost twice as likely to be head teachers as women. This may change in the near future, since about two thirds of those undertaking the Scottish Qualification for Headship are now women.

Subject taught

Table 3.5 shows subject taught by gender for secondary school teachers in the fifteen subjects with the largest number of teachers.

Table 3.5: Secondary school teachers: main subject taught by gender, 2003 (Scottish Executive 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male teachers</th>
<th>Female teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>734 (31%)</td>
<td>1653 (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>1125 (50%)</td>
<td>1137 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>704 (50%)</td>
<td>705 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>215 (20%)</td>
<td>839 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>473 (45%)</td>
<td>576 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>423 (42%)</td>
<td>591 (58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>569 (60%)</td>
<td>377 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>3 (0.5%)</td>
<td>889 (99.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>186 (21%)</td>
<td>690 (79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>661 (78%)</td>
<td>190 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>420 (51%)</td>
<td>399 (49%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>439 (55%)</td>
<td>357 (45%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.3: Secondary school teachers by main subject taught (percentage values) and gender, 2003 (Scottish Executive 2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing Studies</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age- Gender Breakdown for Selected Subjects

The following figures provide a more detailed breakdown of subject taught by age and gender and are derived from the General Teaching Council for Scotland Register of fully registered teachers. As noted earlier, we are grateful to the GTCS for supplying these data. It should be noted that:

- Figures only take account of fully registered teachers as at 31/03/04. Some of these teachers may be working in the independent sector.
Figures presented are based on the first subject an individual is registered to teach. Where fully registered teachers are registered to teach in more than one subject area, only the first subject of registration is considered for the purposes of this analysis. Teachers may, of course, not be teaching this subject.

**Figure 3.4: Mathematics by age group and gender**

![Mathematics by age group and gender](image)

**Figure 3.5: English by age group and gender**

![English by age group and gender](image)
Figure 3.6: All Sciences Combined by age group and gender

![Bar chart showing the number of male and female teachers in different age groups for all sciences combined.]

Figure 3.7: History by age group and gender

![Bar chart showing the number of male and female teachers in different age groups for history.]

Figure 3.8: Modern Studies by age group and gender

![Bar chart showing the number of male and female teachers in different age groups for modern studies.]
A number of important points arise from these figures. In some subjects (e.g. Mathematics, Combined Sciences, History and Modern Studies), it is evident that women predominate in the younger age groups whereas men predominate in the older age groups. In English, women have always been in the majority, but here too a change is evident since in the older age groups the gender imbalance in favour of women is less marked. Partly as a result of fewer men coming into teaching there has been a significant change in the gender balance within specific areas. Research is needed to investigate whether this has had an impact on the culture and curriculum in specific subjects, particularly in the light of concerns about the under-achievement of boys from poorer social backgrounds.

Gender balance in teacher training

Overview of students on BEd and PGCE programmes

The number of students on the PGCE secondary, BEd primary and BEd secondary courses has been fairly stable between 1996 and 2003, with a small decline in the number of students on the BEd primary programme. The number of students on the PGCE primary programme has increased between 1996 and 2003, reflecting teacher supply needs.

Figure 3.9: Students graduating from teacher training 1996-2003

PGCE and BEd students

Over the last three academic years, male graduates on the PGCE and BEd primary course have been fairly evenly spread across the 20-35+ age groups. However more women in their early 20s enrol on the programmes, indicating that primary school teaching is a first career choice, often applied for while studying for the undergraduate degree.

Figure 3.10: Primary PGCE and BEd students by age group and gender 2002/2003

In contrast, the majority of both male and female graduates entering the PGCE and BEd secondary education programmes are in the 20-24 age range, implying that graduates have enrolled for the course immediately after their first degree, or shortly thereafter.
**Figure 3.11: Secondary PGCE and BEd students by age group and gender 2002/2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male entrants</th>
<th>Female entrants</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing Studies</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern studies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency

**PGCE students by subject**

The main subject of PGCE entrants largely reflects the gendered pattern of subject taught in school, as shown in table 3.5. However there are some differences, for example the number of male PGCE students training to teach History, Geography, Biology, Chemistry, Music and Technical Education is well below the percentage of male teachers currently teaching these subjects. The only subject which has a higher percentage of male students compared with existing male teachers is Business Studies.

Table 3.6 shows the number of students on PGCE Secondary programmes by subject and gender and Table 3.7 shows the number of PGCE students graduating from the programme in the same year. About 20% of those who enter ITE programmes fail to complete.

**Table 3.6: PGCE secondary entrants by gender and subject 2002-2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male entrants</th>
<th>Female entrants</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing Studies</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern studies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency
Table 3.7: PGCE secondary graduates by gender and subject 2002-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Male graduates</th>
<th>Female graduates</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing Studies</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern studies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency

Summary points

- Men made up about a quarter of the teaching workforce in Scotland in 2003 compared with 30% in 1994.

- The gap in the number of men and women in secondary school teaching is widening, whereas the gender gap in primary is fairly static.

- The majority of teachers in 2003 were over 44.

- All head teachers and deputes of secondary schools and head teachers of primary schools who declared their ethnicity described themselves as white-UK or white-other.

- Men teaching in primary and secondary schools are five times more likely to be head teachers than their female counterparts. This may change in the near future, since about two thirds of those undertaking the Scottish Qualification for Headship are now women.

- In Scottish secondary schools in 2003, there was a traditional gender divide in subject taught, with men making up the majority of teachers in Chemistry, Physics, Geography, History, Computing Studies and Technical Education.

- An analysis by age, gender and subject taught suggests that this picture is about to change radically, since women in the younger age groups make up the majority of teachers in Mathematics, Science, History and Modern Studies. Younger female teachers also represent a higher proportion of English teachers. This may have implications for the culture of particular subject areas.

- On the PGCE primary programme, the majority of women are under 24 whilst men are more evenly spread across the 20 – 35 age groups. This suggests that for women primary teaching is a first career choice, whereas men are more likely to enter primary teaching having tried out other jobs.
• Amongst secondary PGCE students, the largest numbers are in the 20-24 age groups, with another peak at age 35+. By far the largest group of PGCE secondary students are women in the 20-24 age group.

• The main subject of students on the BEd and PGCE programmes reflects the gender balance in the wider teaching profession. However, the proportion of students training to teach History, Geography, Chemistry, Music and Technical Education is well below the proportion of men currently teaching these subjects in schools.
Section 4: Key informant interviews

This section reports on key informants’ perceptions of the causes and solutions to the problem of the under-representation of men in teaching. The individuals interviewed were head teachers from five different local authorities, a director of education, eight staff responsible for the various ITE courses in three universities, and representatives from the GTCS, EIS and the Scottish Executive. Details of their gender and role are supplied in section 1. It should be noted that, in reporting the views of key informants and, in Section 7, those of focus group participants, we are not endorsing these opinions. Rather, we are acknowledging that people’s perceptions of reality play a significant part in influencing their actions and, therefore, in shaping that reality.

Perception of the situation

Respondents were asked why they thought there had been a decline in the proportion of teachers who are male. Many suggested that the more women there are in a profession, the less attractive it is to men. For example a secondary head suggested that:

If you move to the bias of one gender over another, perpetuation takes place as kids in school, for example, see a female doing a job and associate that with only that gender.

A primary head suggested that:

Society is becoming more gender stereotyped again and men are less likely to cross the traditional gender roles.

Others suggested that the job market was healthy so, when other professions were more lucrative, men were more likely to choose them. Many respondents thought that the reasons were different for the primary and secondary sectors.

The primary sector, it was believed, had always been regarded as a women’s profession because it was seen as being about ‘caring’, and therefore the natural domain of women rather than men. As a result of this association, primary schools had historically been the Cinderella sector, with lower pay, qualifications and status. The HMIE representative suggested that ‘Women are interested in the things children do’. A number of respondents suggested that there were more limited career prospects in primary and that this deterred men from applying. One respondent working in teacher education suggested that the growth of women in senior management, particularly in primary, made men feel a little less secure about their own rise through the ranks.

A primary head suggested that:

Teaching is seen as being about ‘caring’, especially in the early years, so this is not attractive to men. Society is also wary about males – it’s seen as not a job for a ‘real’ man, especially by parents. For example, last year I had a man in his fifties in the nursery who I appointed for six months maternity cover and one of the parents phoned me to tell me there was a paedophile in the classroom because she’d seen him through the window after hours.

This was a clear example of the way in which the roles that are open to men and women are limited by public perceptions. As the inspector pointed out:

…one of the things we do need to be careful about is … because of issues around protecting children, we don’t build a culture that makes it difficult for men to be involved in childcare and early years work.
In the secondary sector it was suggested that in the male dominated subject areas such as Physics and Computer Science there are better financial prospects in industry. In addition, the bad press about indiscipline and other difficulties in this sector was likely to put people off from applying:

The best way to recruit people would be if people stopped going on about how hard it is all the time (HMIE).

Many suggested that men seek higher earning occupations than teaching although it appeared that the general public were not aware of the recent changes in the salary structure following the McCrone agreement. Part of this perception, it was suggested, was due to the loss of recognition of the profession in the ‘80s and ‘90s coupled with the relatively poor salaries at that time. These factors made men less likely to enter into teaching in the first place and those that did were more likely to leave for a better paid job. It was argued that, as people’s worth is increasingly measured in income terms, then that becomes the most important criterion for getting and keeping a job. Another suggested reason was ‘a move away from the emphasis on subject specific teaching [towards] a greater emphasis on the child’ (EIS). The co-ordinator of a secondary ITE course said that for men considering a change of job there was a disincentive to join the profession as there was ‘no longer any recognition of their mature status in terms of starting salary and beyond’. This had a particular impact on men as mature women joining the profession were much more likely to have had a career break and therefore did not have to make such a financial sacrifice.

**Consequences of fewer men entering the profession**

Respondents were asked if they thought it was a problem that fewer men are going into teaching. Most thought it was, mainly because they felt that men provided good role models for boys, many of whom had negative experiences of the men in their lives. The growth of single female-headed households was cited as a reason for boys to have a good experience of a male teacher especially in the early years. As one director of education pointed out:

In some primary schools there are no men at all. Not even the janitor and that is not a good idea.

An ITE co-ordinator said:

There are wee children clinging to the male student’s legs because they just don’t see men in their lives.

The ideal situation, it was suggested, was a balance so both sexes have role models and this challenged residual stereotypes about the roles of men and women in society. Having men in teaching also has the potential to challenge people’s ideas about maleness and masculinity so that different types of role models, especially for young males, were set up:

Children need to see male role models that are both supportive and challenging. So they need to see men in a caring and dynamic role just like girls in the past needed to see women in a dynamic role because they only saw women in a caring role. Young people need to see both these qualities modelled by both sexes (Secondary Head).

A primary head also suggested that a mixed staff group generated a ‘gender inter-relationship that is very good for staff’.

Several respondents were concerned about stereotyping the contributions that males and females make to society through education. They argued that it was about the ability of the person to do the job so the gender balance should not matter. One suggested:
I think that men and women have an equal contribution to make towards young people and the development of our future society in all ways and it is important that both have a contribution to make (ITE coordinator).

Another suggested:

If you are in a co-educational school and the balance of the school is about 50:50, then in terms of what impact you would like to have, you would like that to be 50:50 in terms of the school maybe taking the place of the family home. However, the reality in our society today is that is not the case. A lot of children come from single parent homes where the mother is the main person they are staying with (Secondary Head).

Some respondents considered that although there were reasons why there should be more males in schools, especially primary schools, the importance of gender balance had to be looked at in the wider societal context. One ITE coordinator suggested that:

Women may be more open to being changed than men are … [so] maybe primary schools would be worse places if more men were in them.

**Specific factors affecting male recruitment into teaching**

Respondents were asked what they thought attracts people into teaching and if there were any factors that appealed more to either women or men. Most thought that people who had enjoyed their school experience were attracted into teaching so they could give children and young people a similarly positive experience. The most important factor was that people had a liking for children and young people and had a positive view of the challenges involved in working with them. Teachers should feel that they are playing a worthwhile social role and should enjoy seeing people learn. Many suggested that the key factors were a belief that an individual could make a difference and change things for the better. Some respondents suggested that in the secondary sector people come into teaching because of their love and enjoyment of their subject area. One secondary ITE co-ordinator suggested that many ‘come for a change of career because they don’t feel that in other jobs their subject skills are being appreciated fully’.

Generally all the reasons given above were seen as applying to men and women equally but it was thought that some of the conditions of service might have appealed more to women than men. Many suggested that, particularly for women with children, the long holidays and the set hours were attractive and it meant that they did not have to arrange childcare during school holidays. Many respondents pointed out, however, that the profession was very demanding and not at all family friendly in the actual hours it was necessary to work to be an effective teacher. Opportunities for promotion and a good pension were considered to be factors that might be more appealing to men than women. A few respondents knew of mature men who had moved from other careers attracted by the secure employment offered by the public sector after they had experienced redundancy in private sector occupations. Two respondents suggested that the key factor was whether the person regarded themselves as the main breadwinner. Some couples now shared this role and increasingly women regarded their salary as a major rather than a constituent part of household income with themselves as the main breadwinner. A director of education suggested that ‘gender is a spectrum rather than a divide’ and that some women could be more aggressive and driven than some men in their approach to their careers and promotion.

**Promotion opportunities**

Respondents were asked why they thought women were less likely to become head teachers than men, particularly in the secondary sector. Many considered that the mismatch was
mostly historical as there were more men who entered secondary teaching in the 70s and 80s and they had progressed through the system. However, there was now a higher number of women at depute and principal teacher level so that in five to ten years time there would be equal numbers of male and female head teachers. It was suggested that there was a perception in the past that headships were not open to women but that an equal opportunities approach had changed that. Opportunities for mature women to return to the workforce meant that those who had missed opportunities at an earlier stage in their lives now had the chance to catch up.

On the other hand, it was acknowledged that women who had children often had to take career breaks and that the disruption of having a broken career pattern made promotion more difficult. Clearly, as a number of respondents pointed out, this pattern should not necessarily lead to less chances of promotion for women. One primary head suggested that:

> Women need to be better than men to get the same post because of the prejudice against them particularly from parents on the school board who are involved in appointment decisions.

A director of education concurred and suggested that school board members and councillors bring ‘very old fashioned, often very patriarchal ideas’ about the appropriate sex of a head teacher in both primary and secondary sectors. Several suggested that there were still significant sexist attitudes around that meant it was more likely that appointment panels would appoint men, especially in large secondary schools. Four respondents suggested that men were more likely to apply for promotion than women even if they might not yet have acquired the necessary experience. A primary head suggested that:

> Women are more likely to agonise over applying and not take risks. Men are also more likely to plan their careers and go for posts that will get them noticed whereas women don’t care as much about promotion.

An HMIE respondent thought that there were some men ‘who come into teaching with the sole objective of becoming the head of a secondary school or a director of education’. On the other hand, the GTCS representative suggested that women were now applying for promotion in both the primary and secondary sectors and ‘seeing it as a real option and not something they wouldn’t aspire to so there has been a huge move’.

**McCrone changes**

Respondents were asked if they thought that the changes introduced into teaching by the McCrone settlement made it (a) a more attractive career in general (b) more appealing to either men or women.

Almost all our respondents considered that the increase in pay had made it a more attractive career but most doubted that this change had penetrated into the consciousness of the majority of the population who did not already have a connection with teaching. One ITE secondary co-ordinator pointed out, however, that the starting salary was good if you came in after graduation but not if you had given up a career to come into secondary teaching. Before the McCrone agreement, mature entrants had started higher up the scale but now all had the same starting salary. Another more positive aspect of the McCrone agreement was that it enabled more teachers to be given a pay increase and still stay in the classroom particularly in the primary sector. It was considered that a number of teachers would prefer not to have to take on the demanding administrative tasks that were associated with the head teacher role. However, it was thought that this flatter career structure might be a disincentive to ambitious men particularly in the secondary sector. A number thought that the increased pay was more likely to appeal to men than women. The requirement to undertake CPD was considered positive, and might have the effect of encouraging women to take their careers more seriously. An ITE co-ordinator suggested that:
The expectation of CPD [especially through the chartered teacher programme] will encourage more women [to go on to] seek promotion and that is a good thing.

**Quality of new recruits**

Respondents were asked what they thought about the general quality of people going into teaching. Nearly all were very positive and referred to the high quality of new recruits. A primary head suggested that current training has much greater depth and the ‘level they are asked to perform at is good’. A secondary head said ‘their abilities are far greater and they are far better prepared than we ever were’. The GTCS representative argued that ‘the quality of the profession is higher than it has ever been’. Another, who was a co-ordinator of a BEd primary course, suggested that in terms of ‘their academic qualifications it’s much more rigorous and difficult’. It was felt that more people were going into the profession who really wanted to teach than had in the past and that some of the people who had been in the profession for some time were less able than the new entrants.

Many respondents, however, felt that male new entrants and applicants were less well qualified and motivated than females. Nearly all providers of ITE programmes considered that the quality of male applicants was less high than that of females. For example, one BEd primary coordinator suggested:

> The young men that apply don’t seem to be as serious as the young women are. You can tell they are not going to get far in the interview because they are perceived as being immature, really not with a knowledge of what is involved.

Another coordinator of the primary PGCE suggested that, although the quality of male applicants had been low in the past, he had ‘seen a sea change in the quality of male candidates coming forward in the past few years’. It appears that the different types of programmes may attract a different quality of male applicants. All programme coordinators reported that they had looked carefully at their recruitment procedures to try to ensure that they were not discriminating against men but had found no evidence of bias.

In terms of entrants to the profession there was a clear message from some respondents that the quality of male recruits was lower than that of the females. One secondary head suggested that:

> For every job that I interview now, at any level, the overwhelming majority of candidates are women and the men tend to be, in general, the weaker candidates [because it is] the minority of them that are coming in positively with commitment.

No other respondent was quite as forthright as this, but many stressed the ability of the female entrants in particular. The GTCS representative reported that ‘in secondary the vast majority that don’t make [full registration] are older male entrants who are career changers’.

**Positive actions**

Respondents were asked if they thought that any positive actions should be taken to recruit more men into teaching. This was seen as a rather ambiguous question because as one (a director of education) put it ‘frankly as a man, we have been advantaged for centuries and we can’t just go back and revisit that because we have some worrying statistics’. The EIS representative pointed out that positive action implied that ‘men and women... are two separate homogenous groups’ whereas there are as ‘many differences between women and women as between men and men’.

Several respondents were concerned that the vocational nature of teaching should not be compromised by targeting men simply because they were male since if ‘it is easy to get in and
they didn’t succeed at something else you get recruits who become not very good teachers’ (HMIE). Most respondents felt that the teaching workforce should reflect the population as a whole and therefore it was important that men were involved. However, it was equally important that other under-represented groups such as ethnic minorities and disabled people were recruited into the workforce. A primary head suggested:

The more diverse the workforce, the better the experience that children have. This applies to all aspects including race, age, class and so on. I would like the staff in my school to reflect the community out there.

Another reason for encouraging more male entrants was so there were good role models for boys. As one secondary head argued ‘if the boys don’t see clever, dynamic, interesting but supportive men in front of them then they’re not going to go into teaching’. It was also suggested that teaching should be promoted as something that is attractive to the whole population, not just a section of it: ‘We do need general campaigns to make teaching more attractive’ (HMIE). Several respondents pointed out that such campaigns should try to shift the negative media focus on discipline and also stress the positive aspects of teaching such as the pay structure and conditions of service.

Respondents offered a variety of specific suggestions that would encourage male recruitment. Several suggested that an advertising campaign promoting the pay and promotion opportunities that are now available to teachers would particularly attract men. A primary head teacher commented that ‘no two days are ever the same’ and felt that this variety was attractive to men who had already experienced either a boring or a very demanding job. ‘Men come in … when they get disillusioned with very achievement focused type jobs’ (HMIE). Similarly an advertising campaign that featured good male teachers, especially in the primary sector, was seen as important. An ITE co-ordinator and a primary head suggested that recruitment events in both the university sector and the local authorities that were led by men would be effective. Another issue raised was to think more about the retention of teachers, as it was the experience of one secondary head and of the GTCS representative that men were more likely to leave the profession than women.

It was suggested that early intervention in helping boys to see that teaching could be for them would help. For example, boys should be encouraged to consider primary teaching whilst still at school, and might be helped to negotiate a primary school work placement. A primary head suggested that:

Primary schools could promote greater awareness of gender stereotyping in jobs as part of the equalities agenda. The focus tends to be on race and disability generally because people see these as more of an issue. Gender isn’t a ‘fashionable’ topic in schools partly because if you have an all female staff they just don’t notice gender issues, just like white people aren’t aware of racism as an issue for them.

All respondents were against positive discrimination for men either at the point of application for ITE or at entry, but argued that a culture should be created in education where ‘both genders are equal and teaching is a career for all’ (Secondary ITE coordinator). The EIS representative and a director of education suggested that it was important to be clear about the role of gender in influencing educational outcomes relative to other factors:

The cause of a lot of boys’ under attainment is related to economic position, deprivation, ethnicity, there are often multiple factors and I think there is too much generalization around about that whole business of gender (Director of Education).
Summary

The decline in male teachers was considered to be due to:

- The predominance of women in the primary sector
- Primary education being associated with ‘caring’ and expectations that men should not take on these roles, particularly in the early years.
- A greater range of career options for men with qualifications in Maths, Science and Engineering
- An emphasis on indiscipline in the secondary sector in the media

The consequences of fewer men entering the profession were perceived to be:

- The lack of role models for boys particularly in the primary sector
- Pupils having the experience of both genders so that residual stereotypes could be challenged
- It was important, however, not to stereotype the contributions that men and women made.

Suggested action to be taken to recruit more men included the following:

- Changing the image of the profession for men by emphasising the pay and promotion opportunities as part of a good career structure.
- Reinstating the option of starting mature entrants higher up the pay scale
- Combating gendered job stereotyping in schools.
- Ensuring that the best-qualified and motivated people enter the profession regardless of their gender.
- Altering the media messages of indiscipline and seeking to project a more positive, fulfilling occupational image.
Section 5: Findings from the undergraduate survey

Introduction

A survey was conducted with a sample of social science and biological sciences undergraduate students in three Scottish universities. The survey was administered at the beginning or end of a teaching session, although in one university some questionnaires were completed on-line. Three hundred and twenty three questionnaires were returned, a 90% response rate.

Data were entered into SPSS and initially frequencies were calculated for the entire sample. Subsequently, analyses were conducted by gender, university attended, course, and deprivation category of neighbourhood (DEPCAT) as indicated by the Scottish Area Deprivation Index (Gibb et al, 1998). The Scottish Area Deprivation Index measures the degree of area deprivation on a scale from 1-7, with 1 signifying the least deprived and 7 the most deprived areas. The areas are linked to current Scottish postcodes to allow easy application of the index. The Scottish Area Deprivation Index is based on six indicators most strongly associated with neighbourhood deprivation. These are the number of income support claimants; employment rate; households living below occupancy norm; index of home contents insurance company premia; non higher education participation and standardised mortality rates (Gibb et al 1998).

Characteristics of the sample

University and Course

Respondents were fairly evenly spread across the three universities, though there were more respondents from biological sciences compared with social sciences (see tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Table 5.1: Number and percentage of respondents from the three universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University 1, pre-92</td>
<td>93 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 2, pre-92</td>
<td>126 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 3, post-92</td>
<td>104 (32%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no difference in the balance of males and females between the three universities.

Table 5.2: Number and percentage of respondents by the course studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>171 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>125 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology plus other</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Policy</td>
<td>12 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most students (n= 303 94%) were in their third year, though ten medical students who had opted into the Biology class at University 2 were in second year and six students were in fourth year.

Social background

In order to obtain a measure of students’ social background, deprivation category scores were generated from the home address postcodes, which were provided by roughly two thirds of respondents (not provided by 30% n = 99). Respondents were specifically asked for the postcode of their home address, rather than their term-time address. The results are illustrated graphically in figure 5.1. Respondents with a DEPCAT score of 1 reside in the least deprived areas of Scotland, and those with a score of 7, reside in the most deprived areas of Scotland.
Although DEPCAT score did not detectably impact on whether respondents were likely to consider a career in education, according to chi-square, an interesting pattern did appear.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the relationship between DEPCAT scores and university attended. It is evident that the students from Universities 1 and 2 were more socially advantaged than those from University 3. The chi-square test was significant but some cells had less than 5 counts.

As can be seen from the graph, most respondents in DEPCAT 1 attended University 1 (50%) with slightly fewer attending University 2 (43%), and far fewer attending University 3 (7%). Most students in DEPCAT 7 attended University 3 (73%), more than double the proportion attending University 2 (27%), and there were no students at all in DEPCAT 7 attending University 1 (0%).

**Age**

Ages ranged from 19-52 with an expected majority clustering around the 20-21 year mark. Figure 5.3 shows the range and concentration of students in their early twenties.
Figure 5.3: Number of respondents by age

Gender
There were almost twice as many female (n=206, 66%) as male respondents (n=108, 34%). There was no relationship between gender and university attended.

Disability
Fourteen respondents (4%) reported that they were disabled, and 12 were claiming Disabled Students Allowance (DSA) (4%). There was no significant difference in the number of respondents who were disabled according to gender, but male respondents (9%) were more likely than female students (1%) to be claiming DSA. This difference was confirmed using chi-square (χ²=11.084; df=1; p<0.01). Respondents were slightly more likely to be disabled if attending University 3 (7%, University 1: 2%, University 2: 4%), but more likely to be claiming DSA if from University 2 (6%, University 1: 2%, University: 3%). According to the chi-square test these differences were not significant. There was no relationship between disability and having considered teaching as a career.

Ethnicity
Most respondents described their ethnicity as White UK (86%, n=275), and 29 categorised themselves as White Other (9%). Other categories selected by respondents are Mixed (1%, n=2), Asian Indian (1%, n=2), Asian Pakistani (2%, n=7), Asian Chinese (1%, n=3) and Other (1%, n=3), and 2 respondents preferred not to respond. There was no relationship between ethnicity and gender or ethnicity and university attended (confirmed by chi-square test). In addition, there was no association between ethnicity and considering a career in teaching.

Questionnaire Results
Students were asked to respond to a number of statements relating to career decision on a three point scale (agree, neutral, disagree). The statements were:

I want to have a job which will pay a high salary
I want a job which offers family friendly conditions
I want a job which offers security and a steady income
I want a job with long holidays
I want a job which is socially useful
I want a job where I work with people
I want a job with high social status
I want a job which uses my degree
I want a job which will inspire future generations
In the following sections, responses to the statements are analysed in relation to key variables.

**I want to have a job which will pay a high salary**
Two thirds of respondents agreed that it was important to them (66.6% n=215) and only 1.9% (n=6) disagreed with the statement. The rest (31.6% n=102) were neutral about the importance of salary. Gender did not significantly affect responses to this statement, and chi-square confirmed that there was no difference in response from male and female respondents. This contrasts with the views expressed by key informants and teachers in focus groups, who believed that salary was more important to men than women. The fact that men and women undergraduates have similar views on the importance of salary may reflect the possibility that at this stage in their lives (most were in their late teens or early twenties), gender divisions in the sphere of domestic and paid work were not a major consideration. Issues regarding which partner might take a career break to look after young children might seem like a question for the future, whereas most practising teachers appeared to believe that women were more likely to take time out for child-rearing than men, so that, at least for a period, the male salary would be most important. Another possibility is that younger people have more flexible views on men’s and women’s orientations to the labour market compared with older teachers, and these views will be reflected in their future actions.

As can be seen from Figure 5.4, a greater percentage of students attending University 3 (80%) agreed with the statement ‘I want to have a job which will pay a high salary’ compared with students from University 1 (68%) and University 2 (55%). A chi-square test confirmed that this was a significant difference ($\chi^2 = 17.27; \text{df}=4; p<0.05$).

**Figure 5.4: Percentage of respondents in agreement with the statement ‘I want a job which will pay a high salary, from University 1, University 2 and University 3.**

![Figure 5.4](image)

To explore whether those who had considered a career in teaching had different priorities from those that had not, the statements were investigated to see if differences could be detected. Respondents who had considered a career in teaching were as likely to agree with the statement ‘I want to have a job which will pay a high salary’, as those that had not, and no difference could be detected using chi-square.

**I want a job which offers family friendly conditions**
Most respondents agreed with this statement (62% n=284), while 33% (n=106) were neutral and only 5% (n=16) disagreed. There was a small gender difference in response to the statement ‘I want a job which offers family friendly conditions’, with 56% of males agreeing compared to 66% of females, however the difference was not significant according to a chi-square test.

Although there was some difference in responses from the three universities, as can be seen in table 5.3, the differences were small and were not significant according to the chi-square test applied. Students from University 3 were more likely to agree with the statement ‘I want a
job which offers family friendly conditions’ than respondents from University 1. University 2 students were the least likely to agree.

Table 5.3: Percentage of respondents from three universities to the statement ‘I want a job which offers family friendly conditions’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University 1</td>
<td>62 %</td>
<td>31 %</td>
<td>7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 2</td>
<td>58 %</td>
<td>36 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 3</td>
<td>67 %</td>
<td>30 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A job which offers family friendly conditions was more important to those considering a career in teaching (67% agreed) compared to those who were not (55% agreed), and this difference was significant according to a chi-square test, ($\chi^2= 6.89$; df -2; p<0.05). This suggests that this may be a key factor in attracting undergraduates into teaching.

**I want a job which offers security and a steady income**

A large majority of respondents agreed with this statement (88%, n=284), 12% were neutral (38) and only one respondent disagreed (0.3%). There was no association between students’ responses and university attended, gender or having considered a career in education. A concern with job security and earning a steady income would appear, therefore, not to be particularly salient to people considering teaching, but important to all undergraduates.

**I want a job with long holidays**

Just under half of respondents agreed that they were looking for good holidays in their career (49%, n=159), and a similar amount of people were neutral to the statement (45% n=146), leaving just 6% (n= 18) to disagree. Gender had no detectable impact on responses.

Respondents from University 3 (59%) were more likely than students from University 2 (46%) and University 1 (43%) to agree with the statement, ‘I want a job with long holidays’. However, the difference narrowly missed significance level when tested with a chi-square test. Those who had considered a career in education were also more likely (52%) to agree with the statement ‘I want a job with long holidays’ than those who had not (45%), and this significant difference was picked up by chi-square ($\chi^2=8.59$; df-2; p<0.05).

**I want a job which is socially useful**

Just over two thirds of respondents agreed with this statement (68% n=219), compared with 28% (n=91) who were neutral, and 4% (13) who disagreed. There was no association between agreement with this statement and gender, university attended or considering teaching as a career.

**I want a job where I work with other people**

Most agreed with the statement (67% n=219), just under a third were neutral (31% n=99), and only 2% (n=8) disagreed. Gender did not have any impact on responses, however, respondents from University 3 (75%) were more likely to agree with the statement than respondents from University 1 (70%), who were in turn more likely to agree with the statement than respondents from University 2 (58%). This difference was significant according to a chi-square test ($\chi^2=11.32$; df-4; p<0.5).

People who had considered a job in teaching (70%) were more likely to agree with the statement ‘I want a job where I work with other people’ than those who had not (62%), and this significant difference was detected using chi-square, ($\chi^2=8.77$; df- 2; p<0.05).

**I want a job with high social status.**

This was the only statement which had a minority in agreement (32% n=102); most respondents were neutral (54% n=175), and 14% (n=45) disagreed. Forty one percent of male
respondents agreed compared with only 27% of females. This difference was significant as confirmed by a chi-square test, ($\chi^2=8.198; \text{df}=2; p<0.05$)

Again respondents from University 3 were more likely to agree with the statement (39%), followed by University 1 (34%) and then University 2 (23%). Interestingly, University 2 respondents were less likely to disagree with the statement (24%) ‘I want a job with high social status, see Figure 5.5. The differences between the groups is significant according to chi-square ($\chi^2=17.83; \text{df}=4; p<0.001$)

Figure 5.5 Percentage of respondents agreeing with the statement ‘I want a job with high social status, by university attended.

Those who had considered a career in teaching were less likely (26%) to agree with the statement, ‘I want a job with high social status’, than those who had not (39%) considered a career in education. This significant difference was confirmed by a chi-square test ($\chi^2=6.14; \text{df}=2; p<0.05$).

I want a job which uses my degree
Most respondents agreed with this statement (65% n=210), 33% (n=105) were neutral and 2% (n = 8) disagreed. There was no association with gender, university attended or having considered a career in teaching.

I want a job which will inspire future generations
Just over half agreed with this statement (55%, n=177) and 42% (n=136) were neutral. Only ten respondents (3%) disagreed with the statement. As with the previous statement, there was no association with gender, university attended or having considered a career in teaching.

Career choices
Respondents were asked to indicate their chosen area of work, and were invited to give a first choice and a second choice. The most frequent answers are provided in table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession/Response</th>
<th>Number who chose it as a first choice</th>
<th>Number who chose it as a second choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biological research</td>
<td>46 (14%)</td>
<td>25 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left blank</td>
<td>37 (12%)</td>
<td>111 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>32 (10%)</td>
<td>37 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>23 (7%)</td>
<td>21 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical research</td>
<td>20 (6%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service</td>
<td>14 (4%)</td>
<td>9 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>13 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen, most people had a clear idea about what kind of career they would like, though many did not have a second choice. Teaching was a popular option and over 20% included it as a first or second choice option. Further to this, 193 respondents (60%) said that they had considered a job in teaching, though presumably about 40% had re-considered, or at least did not specify it as a first or second choice.

The second part of the survey was intended to explore students’ perceptions of teaching as a possible future career and the aspects which were perceived as most or least appealing.

I have considered a job in teaching
Respondents were asked to make a yes/no judgement about whether they had considered teaching. Sixty percent (n=193) said they had considered a job in teaching and 40% (n=130) had not. The fact that a rather large number said they had seriously considered teaching might, of course, have been influenced by the fact that this was a questionnaire about teaching.

Sixty percent of both male and female respondents stated that they had considered a career in teaching, therefore there were no gender differences. This is interesting because it does not reflect the proportion of men and women who actually enrol on teacher training courses and finally enter the profession. There was no association between university attended and considering a career in teaching. However, some interesting differences emerged in relation to students’ deprivation category as measured by their home postcode.

Figure 5.6: Have you considered a career in teaching? Question response explored using DEPCAT scores.

As can be seen from figure 5.6, respondents from DEPCAT areas 1-3, the least deprived, are less likely to have considered a career in teaching. However those living in DEPCAT areas 4-7, are more likely to have considered education as a career.
Subsequently, respondents were asked to make an agree/neutral/disagree judgement concerning the following nine statements relating to teaching:

Teaching is a reasonably well paid job
Problems with classroom discipline make teaching an unpopular career choice
Teaching is a good job for people with family responsibilities
Teachers command a lot of public respect
There are good career prospects for teachers
Teachers’ holidays make it an attractive career
Primary teaching is a more attractive career option than secondary teaching
I currently have experience of teaching
It is highly likely I will become a teacher

*Teaching is a reasonably well-paid job*

Under half of respondents agreed (40% n=129) that teaching is reasonably paid, a further 117 respondents were neutral (26%), but 77 (24%) disagreed. Gender had no impact on how respondents answered this question, in other words, men and women concurred in their judgement that teaching was not particularly well paid.

Respondents from University 3 were most likely (50%) to agree with the statement ‘teaching is a reasonably well-paid job’, followed by respondents from University 2 (41%), and University 3 (27%). Respondents from University 1 were most likely to disagree with the statement (32%) (see table 5.5). A significant difference in the way respondents from different universities responded was detected using chi-square ($\chi^2=13.36; \text{df-4}; p<0.05$). This reflects the possibility that students at universities with different social profiles differ with regard to what they consider to be a well-paid. As noted earlier, University 3 students are from poorer backgrounds, and therefore teaching might appear to them to be a relatively well-paid job in the light of their expectations. Students from more advantaged backgrounds at Universities 1 and 2 may have higher expectations of what constitutes a well paid job.

**Table 5.5: Agreement with the statement ‘Teaching is a reasonably well-paid job’ by university.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University 1</td>
<td>25 (27%)</td>
<td>38 (41%)</td>
<td>30 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 2</td>
<td>52 (41%)</td>
<td>43 (34%)</td>
<td>31 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University 3</td>
<td>52 (50%)</td>
<td>35 (36%)</td>
<td>12 (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Students from the different DEPCAT groups also responded differently to the statement ‘teaching is a reasonably well-paid job’. The more deprived the area, the more likely the respondent was to agree with the statement, though agreement peaked at DEPCAT 4. This difference is significant according to chi-square results, ($\chi^2=25.42; \text{df-14}; p<0.05$). Figure 5.7 illustrates this pattern.
As might be expected, those that had considered a career in teaching were more likely (47%) to agree with the statement ‘teaching is a reasonably well-paid job’, than those that had not (30%), and this difference was significant according to a chi-square test ($\chi^2=12.055$; df-2; $p<0.05$).

**Problems with classroom discipline make teaching an unpopular career choice**

The issue of discipline seemed to resonate with respondents, with 66% (n=213) agreeing that the issue makes teaching an unpopular choice of career. Just under a quarter were neutral (23% n=74), and 11% disagreed (n=36). There were no detectable gender differences in responses to this statement, nor differences related to university attended.

Respondents who had considered a career in education were less likely (62%) to agree with the statement ‘Problems with classroom discipline make teaching an unpopular career choice’, compared with those that had not considered teaching (72%), although this difference was not statistically significant.

**Teaching is a good job for people with family responsibilities**

Just over half of respondents, (52% n= 169) agreed with the statement, and 40% (n =130) were neutral, leaving 7% (n = 24) who disagreed and thought that teaching was not a good job for people with family responsibilities.

Women respondents were more likely to agree that teaching is a good job for people with family responsibilities (57%) compared with male respondents (44%). This difference was significant as confirmed using chi-square, ($\chi^2=9.83$; df-2; $p<0.05$). However, as noted earlier, there were no gender differences in the desire for a family friendly job, perhaps reflecting students’ position in the life course. There were no significant differences in relation to university attended.

Respondents who had considered a career in education were more likely (58%) to agree with the statement ‘teaching is a good job for people with family responsibilities’ than those who had not (44%), and this difference was significant according to chi-square results ($\chi^2=8.96$; df-2; $p<0.05$).

**Teachers command a lot of public respect**

Along with discipline, lack of respect in the classroom may be turning some respondents away from a teaching career as only 31% (n=100) agreed that teachers command a lot of public respect, 50% (n=161) were neutral and 19% (62) actively disagreed with the statement.
Although males were more likely to agree with the statement ‘teachers command a lot of public respect’ (35%) than female respondents (29%), this difference was not significant according to chi-square. University attended was not related to whether respondents agreed with the statement ‘teachers command a lot of public respect’. Interestingly, those who had considered a career in education (27%) were LESS likely to agree with the statement ‘teachers command a lot of public respect’ than those who had not, (36%). However, this difference was not statistically significant.

**There are good career prospects for teachers**
Again only a minority of respondents agreed with this statement. Thirty five per cent (n=112) agreed, most were neutral (44% n=142) and 21% (n=69) disagreed. There were no statistical differences by gender or university attended. More respondents considering a career in teaching felt that it offered good career prospects, but the difference was not statistically significant.

**Teachers’ holidays make it an attractive career**
A large majority of respondents agreed with this statement (80%, n=257), a further 16% were neutral (n=52) and just 4% (n=14) disagreed with the statement. There were no differences in relation to gender or university attended. Those that had considered a career in teaching were significantly more likely (82%) to agree with the statement ‘teachers’ holidays make it an attractive career’ than those that had not (75%) ($\chi^2=12.58$; df-2; $p<0.05$).

**Primary teaching is a more attractive career option than secondary teaching**
Respondents were equally divided across the three response options, 39% (n=125) agreed with the statement that primary teaching was more attractive than secondary, 31% (n=99) were neutral, and the remaining 31% (n=99) disagreed with the statement, apparently seeing secondary teaching as a more attractive proposition. Female respondents (42%) were more likely than males (31%) to agree with this statement, though the difference was not statistically significant. There were no differences according to university attended or having considered a career in teaching.

**I currently have experience of teaching (work experience, TEFL, gap year or other)**
Less than a third of respondents (27%, n=88) had experience of teaching, though this figure is greater than those considering teaching as a first or second career choice. Eleven per cent (n=35) gave a neutral response and 62% (n=200) did not have teaching experience.

Female respondents (33%) were significantly more likely to say that they had teaching experience compared with male respondents (19%), even though males were as likely as females to have considered a career in teaching. The difference was significant according to the chi-square test ($\chi^2=8.16$; df-2; $p<0.05$). University attended was not associated with experience of teaching. As expected, respondents who had considered a career in teaching were significantly more likely to have work experience in the area (35%), than those who were not (15%). The chi-square tests were significant ($\chi^2=15.71$; df-2; $p<0.001$).

**It is highly likely I will become a teacher**
Only 11% (n= 36) agreed with this statement, a further 36% (n=117) were neutral, and 53% (n=170) disagreed. Female respondents (14%) were more likely than male respondents (6%) to agree that they were likely to become a teacher, but this difference just fell short of the required level of significance using chi-square. There were no significant differences by university attended.

As expected, those that had considered teaching were much more likely to agree with the statement ‘It is highly likely I will become a teacher’ (16%), compared to only 4% of those who had not considered teaching. This difference was significant using chi-square, ($\chi^2=80.89$; df-2; $p<0.001$).
Summary

In the following section, we summarise questionnaire findings and draw out some of the key differences. Figure 5.8 summarises the number of respondents who agreed, were neutral or disagreed with a number of statements relation to career decisions and Table 5.6 places these in order of popularity according to the percentage who agreed. Table 5.8 shows the number and percentage of respondents, broken down by gender, who agreed with statements about teaching as a career.

Figure 5.8 : Responses to statements about career decisions

Table 5.6: Factors influencing career choice in order of popularity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For all respondents</th>
<th>Male respondents</th>
<th>Female respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Security and income 88%</td>
<td>1. Security and income 86%</td>
<td>1. Security and income 90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Socially useful 68%</td>
<td>2. Well-paid job 73%</td>
<td>2. Work with people 69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Work with people 67%</td>
<td>3. Socially useful 69%</td>
<td>3. Socially useful 68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Well-paid job 66%</td>
<td>4. Uses degree 64%</td>
<td>4. Uses degree 66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Uses degree 65%</td>
<td>5. Work with people 63%</td>
<td>5. Suits family life 66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Will inspire others 55%</td>
<td>7. Has good holidays 56%</td>
<td>7. Will inspire others 56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Has good holidays 49%</td>
<td>8. Will inspire others 55%</td>
<td>8. Has good holidays 48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

Table 5.7: Level of agreement with statements about teaching as a career

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>All respondents agreeing</th>
<th>Male respondents agreeing</th>
<th>Female respondents agreeing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holidays make teaching attractive</td>
<td>249 (80%)</td>
<td>86 (80%)</td>
<td>163 (79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good job for people with family</td>
<td>165 (52%)</td>
<td>47 (44%)</td>
<td>118 (57%) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasonably well paid job</td>
<td>127 (40%)</td>
<td>41 (38%)</td>
<td>86 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary teaching more attractive</td>
<td>121 (39%)</td>
<td>34 (31%)</td>
<td>87 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good career prospects</td>
<td>111 (35%)</td>
<td>38 (35%)</td>
<td>73 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot of public respect</td>
<td>98 (31%)</td>
<td>38 (36%)</td>
<td>60 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have experience of teaching</td>
<td>87 (28%)</td>
<td>20 (19%)</td>
<td>67 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discipline problems make teaching</td>
<td>209 (67%)</td>
<td>74 (69%)</td>
<td>135 (66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unattractive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely to become teacher</td>
<td>36 (11%)</td>
<td>7 (6%)</td>
<td>29 (14%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p <0.05
Summary points

- When asked to consider the importance of particular factors in relation to career choices, nearly 90% of respondents felt that job security and a steady income was important. About two thirds thought that having a well-paid job and a job that suited family life was important, and about a half thought that having good holidays would influence their career choice. Less than a third felt the high social status was important. These general attitudes appear to be compatible with opting for teaching as a career.

- Having said this, students had a rather negative view of teaching as a career, with only 40% regarding it as reasonably well paid and about a third seeing it as offering good promotion prospects. Only a third thought that the profession commanded public respect and people who had considered a career in teaching were more likely than others to regard it as having low social status. More than two thirds thought that discipline problems made it an unpopular career choice.

- Whereas 60% of respondents had considered a job in teaching, the majority appeared to have rejected this option, with only 11% saying they were very likely to become a teacher. Holidays and family friendly conditions of service were regarded as positives.

- People considering a career in teaching had a more rosy view of the job than others and placed higher value on family friendly conditions, long holidays and working with people, and less importance on having a job with high social status. They were less likely to believe that problems with discipline made teaching an unattractive option.

- Men and women generally agreed in their judgements about the factors affecting career decisions and in their assessment of teaching as a career. Women were significantly more likely than men to see teaching as a good job for people with family responsibilities. More women than men thought that primary teaching was more attractive than secondary teaching, had experience of teaching and thought they were likely to become a teacher, although none of these differences was statistically significant.

- Some fascinating associations emerged between student social background and attitudes to teaching. Those from less advantaged backgrounds were more likely to be considering teaching as a career and to regard it as a reasonably well-paid job. There were no differences by university, indicating that students from less advantaged areas, regardless of which university they attended, shared these views. This pattern fits in with suggestions from the literature, which indicate that middle class women have moved into certain professional occupations such as law and medicine, whilst undergraduates from poorer backgrounds continue to pursue careers in traditionally female professions such as teaching.

- Undergraduates from the post-92 university, who were more likely to come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, were significantly more likely than those from the pre-92 universities to regard a high salary, high social status and long holidays as important. They were also more likely to think that teaching was a reasonably paid job.

- Overall, it appears that women and those from less advantaged neighbourhoods see teaching as a possible career. This may not indicate great enthusiasm, but lack of more attractive alternatives. The views expressed in the survey suggest that young men may be particularly reluctant recruits.
Section 6: A View from the University Careers Service

Background

Three people working in University Careers Services were interviewed with regard to the reasons underlying the choice of teaching as a career and the growing imbalance between men and women in the profession. In addition, careers officers were asked to suggest some positive actions to promote teaching to students.

Factors influencing graduate career choices

It was reported that students wanted a job that enabled them to continue using their degree. They were also likely to be interested in the idea of doing something useful or putting something back into society. Salary did not seem to be the main motivator. Women might slightly favour a career affording a better work/life balance. All the careers officers while having a specialism also carried some generalist casework. While graduates seen by careers staff seemed broadly similar in choices of career, the reported impression was that science graduates were more likely to want a career in science with less idea about alternative career opportunities, while social science graduates may be clearer and more articulate about career choices and alternative ways to use their degree. One careers officer in the west of Scotland suggested that mature students were particularly likely to favour a career which would allow them to remain in Scotland and for this reason teaching might be seen as an obvious profession to choose. It was suggested that students opting for the PGCE fell into two groups, those who had always wanted to teach and those who saw teaching as a last resort. Men tended to fall into the latter group and were generally less strongly motivated.

The decline of men in teaching

Careers officers believed that interest in teaching as a career had declined over the years, and men in particular were less keen to enter the profession. They noted that one reason for this might be the ‘pull factor’ of other more attractive job opportunities such as careers in information technology and the electronics industry. However, they did not believe that this was the main reason for the falling numbers of men in teaching, since these jobs were in short supply and ‘the graduate labour market in Scotland is not healthy’. Rather than embarking on a teaching career, they suggested that many graduates were working in call centres and supermarkets, and were thus under-employed.

Experience of teacher education courses

Careers staff speculated that men might find it difficult to imagine themselves as teachers as a result of having had less interaction with children. It was felt that when male students come to interview, this lack of experience of working with children might count against them. The requirement for police checks on volunteers might make it more difficult for potential applicants to teacher education courses to organise a work experience placement at short notice. This would of course affect women and men equally, but young men might not have regarded teaching as a long-term career goal and therefore might have accumulated less work experience with children in informal settings. Female applicants, on the other hand, were more likely than men to have had prior experience of working with children, for example, helping out at brownies or babysitting. Once on the course, male students might find it difficult to cope with a largely female environment, particularly those training to teach in the primary sector.

Specific views of teaching

Careers staff felt that it was now widely understood by students that teaching was a difficult and demanding job and that most teachers were working beyond their contracted hours. Despite this there was still a feeling that the terms and conditions were a positive feature and that these positives might be more attractive to women than men.

Views on the effect of salary on recruitment varied. One officer claimed that students were now aware that salary was decent and this was positive. If graduates were not choosing
teaching as a career, it was not because of the money. Another questioned whether awareness of the McCrone pay settlement had filtered down to students.

Job security was also mentioned. It was argued that students were aware of the teacher induction scheme which was seen as a useful way of enabling students to enter the profession. This had been helpful in promoting a positive image of teaching.

On the negative side, careers staff felt that male students might view teaching as a female occupation and therefore not a job for men.

Sometimes I think primary teaching is still seen as a bit soft by men. Men are supposed to be men and they are still supposed to be tough and things like that and teaching is not a real man’s job.

It was also argued that the new emphasis on inclusion might contribute to the image of teaching as women’s work and might be off-putting to men.

..the amount of stuff that keeps getting piled onto schools, where teachers would appear to be responsible for almost everything down to teaching kids to blow their nose. That kind of stuff does not attract men. They might want to teach their subject and be academic about it. Men are somehow less interested in the altruistic side, the pastoral care part, the development of good citizens of the future…

Careers staff also felt that teaching received a generally bad press which was likely to deter new recruits:

I think sometimes when you see these kinds of things on Reporting Scotland or reading the Herald or the Scotsman or whatever, it is terribly easy to get an awful negative image of what is actually happening in this profession. Lawyers come in for a bad press sometimes but not in the same way as teachers are getting it in the neck.

Teachers were also implicated in promoting a negative view of their profession. Students reported conversations with practising teachers, sometimes family members, who had advised them against a career in education. Careers staff believed that most students who were considering teaching had not thought much beyond working with and inspiring young people. Promotion opportunities were not seen as a major consideration at this stage, although the thought of promotion might be more attractive to men ‘because women may be more altruistic and men more clinical’. A second said that a few high flying students may see opportunities for promotion as a factor in choosing teaching.

**Promoting teaching as a career**

Careers staff did not favour action directed solely at men, since targeting particular groups was unlikely to be effective:

Our feedback here is that whenever we try to advertise events that are targeted at ethnic minority students, the police service do it, government does it, the feedback we get is they don’t want to be different.

They believed that generally promoting teaching positively as a serious profession would attract better graduates in general and this would include more men. Careers service respondents did not think they could do more to promote teaching, since their remit was to give impartial guidance.
However, the public sector might be able to learn lessons from commercial bodies, many of whom placed a high premium on the effective marketing of their organisations to university careers services and students in order to recruit the best labour force, differently from, public bodies. Careers officers were in regular touch and on first name terms with graduate recruiters in commercial organisations such as Proctor and Gamble, Unilever and Price Waterhouse Coopers. These companies regularly informed them of upcoming vacancies so these could be advertised on careers service websites. They did presentations to students and attended recruitment fairs. They were very strategic and saw the university careers service as important.

Public bodies were less strategic. They generally did not make personal contact with university careers officers and use the services to best effect:

I would have to say that anything to do with public sector careers, their recruitment strategies are mediocre by comparison with commercial organisations.

Suggestions for change included using the university careers service to do presentations and producing better publicity material about teaching as a career. They also mentioned that websites about teaching as a career needed to be more user friendly. One suggestion was that the website contained video clips of teachers in the classroom. The Scottish Executive needed to promote more positive images of teaching with case study material on their website designed to engage students’ interest. There was also ‘a job to be done to persuade teachers themselves to be positive about their profession’.

Summary points

- Arts and social science graduates were interested in public service, and women favoured careers offering a positive work life balance. Graduates generally wanted to work in an area which was relevant to their discipline. Mature students were likely to look for a job which would allow them to work locally. Pay was not the major motivating factor.

- The pull factor of jobs in IT and the electronics industry was not the main reason for the declining number of men in teaching. Rather, male graduates were likely to be under-employed in service sector occupations. The graduate labour market in Scotland was depressed rather than buoyant.

- Teacher education courses generally expected candidates to have prior experience of working with children and this might mitigate against men. Arranging work experience in schools was more difficult because of the need for police checks. Men on teacher training courses might be uncomfortable in a predominantly female environment.

- Positive aspects of teaching included the terms and conditions of employment which might be appreciated rather more than women than men. In addition, the induction year was regarded as offering a more secure start to a teaching career.

- On the negative side, teaching was seen increasingly as a ‘woman’s job’, demanding ‘soft’ qualities, and was therefore less appealing to men. The growing demands on teachers to assist with pupils’ social development might also deter men.

- Teaching generally had a negative press. Mass media were partly responsible for the propagation of scare stories, but teachers themselves project an overwhelmingly negative view of their own profession which was dampening the enthusiasm of new recruits.
Compared with the private sector, the public sector appeared to put less energy into graduate recruitment. A more strategic approach to graduate recruitment would result in a better qualified and more enthusiastic teaching force.
Section 7: Teachers’ views of the gender balance in teaching: focus group findings

Introduction
Focus groups provided important insights into the way in which practising teachers made sense of their own decision to teach and the gendered nature of the teaching profession. In the following sections we provide a brief description of each school and a summary of the main points made in the focus group discussions. Some interesting differences emerged between the women’s and men’s focus groups in the secondary schools. In addition, there were some important contrasts between primary and secondary school focus groups. For these reasons, we present findings from the secondary and primary school focus groups separately before drawing out key points.

Secondary school focus groups

Northwalls Academy: School background
The school is a large comprehensive in an urban area with more than a thousand pupils. Almost 50% are from minority ethnic backgrounds and many different languages are spoken. The school also employs a significant number of black teachers. The school’s catchment area is diverse, ranging from an area of multiple deprivation to more middle class areas on the outskirts of the city.

Golflands High: School background
The school is a large comprehensive in a small town serving a rural area with relatively low levels of deprivation. Apart from a small number of children who commute into a nearby city to attend independent schools, almost all the children living in the area attend the school. There are also a small number of placing requests into the school. The distribution of male and female teachers in the school is very similar to that of Northwalls Academy.

Views of teaching as a career: positive features
There were commonalities between the men’s and women’s groups in relation to the aspects of teaching which they viewed as positive. These included an appreciation of the opportunity to see young people develop, doing a job which was ‘really worthwhile’ and ‘giving something back’ to society. Both men and women emphasised that teaching was ‘not a job that bores you’ and spoke of the benefits of a relatively autonomous working environment within the classroom. The following comment was endorsed by both the men’s and women’s groups:

I would say that positive stuff about being a teacher is about giving something back and being involved in something that’s really worthwhile. For somebody who is quite easily bored, it’s not a job that bores you. (Female)

A woman teacher from a relatively disadvantaged background spoke of the opportunities for growth and development which teaching offered:

I come from quite a working class background and you know, not to the same extent as some of the children in the school, but certainly one that was based on working class housing schemes initially, and I see the job as being quite prestigious, quite a step up. You know it’s only in the last year or so that I can sort of believe that I am actually doing it. (Female)

The family friendly hours provided by teaching were commented on by female teachers, but not by their male counterparts:

…But the hours are definitely a benefit. (Female)
I didn’t find it a problem before I had the baby, but it’s just trying to work with a child. I think as a working mother teaching is one of the better career options I would say when it comes to the hours in school, and when it comes to the holidays, matching the children’s – that’s beneficial. So that’s the plus points. (Female)

A number of male teachers had entered teaching after experiencing other working environments and commented positively on the greater satisfaction and autonomy within education compared with their previous employment which had quickly become predictable and mundane:

Well I mean I suppose because I am so new into it, I am still very passionate about why I am going into it. Previous to this I worked in professional theatre and I just didn’t feel that I was getting any satisfaction from my work helping others, and that was the big thought of getting into education so that I could say on a daily basis that the work that I was doing, the impact that it had on young people, was really worthwhile. So that’s my big motivation. (Male)

I worked in stock brokers for five years before I came into teaching, so taking my experience from that into the classroom now, it’s great. I see that it motivates pupils and it motivates me to see that. I get a lot of satisfaction from that to see someone learn from my own experience. (Male)

**Views of teaching as a career: negative features**

There was general agreement that teaching was an exhausting job and the pace of the working week was inherently stressful:

The negative bit I think about teaching for me is the number of pupils that you see on a daily basis. We can end up seeing up to one hundred and eighty students on a daily basis and that is extremely stressful. You don’t even notice you are getting stressed until you have a few days off. (Female)

The new demands of accountability and managerialism were seen to contribute to the pressure and detract from the enjoyment of teaching the subject:

There are just numerous things, for example if you take the SQA returns, you have to keep assessment records for all year groups. As I say I don’t know any other way round about it, referrals have to be handed in, punishment exercises have to be written, behaviour cards have to get filled in and this is all during your lesson or at the end of your lesson so that does take off time from your teaching. …sometimes I feel as though I am chasing my tail, especially if I am teaching six periods a day. (Male)

First and second year science, you are rushing so much to get through each module and I mean I basically don’t see the need to do that. That should be a time where you are enjoying it and you are building foundations…there should be time to actually sit back and enjoy it. (Female)

It is interesting to note that in the academic literature it has been suggested that increased accountability and regulation in teaching would be experienced as more difficult by women than men. However, in our focus groups it was evident that men were just as likely to make these complaints as women.

Men were rather more likely than women to complain about the relatively poor promotion prospects in teaching:
I also think men are probably looking at promotion, there's absolutely no promotion. At twenty five you have got nowhere to go in the next forty years, got nowhere to go. There's no head of physics, there's no assistant head of guidance, there's no promotion, there's nothing anymore. (Male)

In the men’s focus group in the rural secondary school, a perceived decline in pupil behaviour was seen as a problem. Discipline problems tended to be ‘low level’ but 'wearing', and teachers had to work hard to earn respect. Where children had little or no respect for their parents the challenge to teachers was heightened. One teacher, however, felt that working with challenging young people was also a satisfying aspect of the job:

You know there is a smashing wee person inside but they haven’t been taught that…so you sometimes feel you are a policeman, a social worker, a substitute parent…Yet our hands are tied behind our back with what we can say, what we can’t say, what we can do, what we can’t do. We know how accountable we are in this school. (Male)

The women’s focus group also felt that the demands of inclusion made teaching more difficult:

There's more and more expectations on school and teachers to sort society out. We are the ones that can sort out bullying, drugs, everything. So whereas respect for us as a profession has gone down, both with children and with other adults, the responsibility that we are given has increased and that's difficult. (Female)

Interestingly, the teachers in the urban school with a diverse catchment area were much more positive about inclusion and working with challenging pupils than teachers in the rural school serving a more affluent neighbourhood.

There was inevitably some disagreement between teachers with regard to the positive and negative features of the job. For example, one teacher at Northwalls Academy commented on his dislike of development work, whereas another male teacher at the school said that the intellectual challenge of developing new programmes was one of the most satisfying aspects of his work.

It was felt that the declining public status of teaching was due to a number of factors, including a sustained campaign in the Thatcher era to denigrate teachers and an overwhelmingly negative press. Politicians and trades unions were also blamed for re-inforcing negative stereotypes of teachers and teaching. A male teacher spoke of the need for teachers and their unions to draw attention to the positive aspects of education rather than always dwelling on the negative.

Reasons for the declining number of men in teaching

There was general agreement between the focus groups that the main reason for the declining number of men in teaching was the perception that the salary was not competitive with other professional jobs, particularly in the private sector:

The comparative jobs in industry and other professions are going to pay a lot more than they do in teaching. There is no doubt about that. (Male)

Commitment to the profession was noted, notwithstanding such constraint: I can walk out the door and double my salary, or triple my salary… There is not a huge incentive to be here except to teach. (Male)

There was a suggestion that able people from minority ethnic groups might be encouraged to seek employment in other professions with much better remuneration. A female teacher
described how her cousin was dissuaded from a career change into teaching because of its low status:

I am thinking about one of my cousins who had a good job as a personnel manager, it was with [large retail firm]. Now when my cousin said he really hated his job so he didn’t want to do that job any more and he was thinking of going into primary teaching, my mum was horrified. She says, ‘No way, you can’t do that, look at the job you have got, look at the good money you are earning and why do you want to be a primary teacher?’ He didn’t go into training or anything; he has now got another job. But for boys I think you know they look at their peers as well and you know they are maybe earning more money and they are thinking, as my cousin did….so I think a lot of the times it is a money issue for boys. (Female)

It was noted that many men still believed they had to be the main breadwinner to support their partner through periods of maternity leave and part-time work, and high house prices placed even more pressure on the main breadwinner.

There was also a belief that the nature of secondary school teaching had changed, so that increasingly teachers were expected to relate to children as individuals rather than simply teaching a subject. There was discussion in the women’s focus group at Northwalls Academy as to whether women were inherently more suited to teaching than men:

I think it’s just that men look for different things in a career don’t they, and it’s possible that a lot of the traits that you need for teaching are predominantly female traits…I think caring, sensitivity, understanding, also wanting to put something back and to feel that you are doing something meaningful at your work, which I think is definitely less important for men. They probably want results, whereas women want to feel that they are doing something that really matters. (Female)

But I would say as a rule generally it would appear that female teachers are much more likely to engage with kids and talk to them about something going on at home than male teachers who are much more likely, generally, it’s a generalisation, not to do that in the same way. (Female)

Whereas primary school teaching has traditionally been perceived as drawing on women’s ability to empathise with children, it appears that secondary school teaching may increasingly be understood in these terms and be regarded as less to do with the imparting of subject-based knowledge. However, whilst there was agreement that women might be more empathic than men, there was resistance to essentialist ideas of masculinity and femininity. One respondent said: ‘it’s not genetic, it’s how they are raised’. Ultimately, having the right personal qualities rather than one’s biological sex was regarded as the most important factor in determining who would be a good teacher:

I think it’s about the person, I really don’t think it’s anything to do with whether you are a man or whether you are a woman, I think it’s about the person and I think if you have got certain qualities for teaching then you will be a good teacher…. I think if the man has got the right attributes to be a teacher then it’s totally appropriate that that’s where he should be and very important for young boys that they do have role models…. (Female)

A woman expressed the view that men were confused about their gender identity and were put off teaching because of its affective demands which might be seen as at variance with popular notions of masculinity.

The reduction in the number of men in teaching was seen as self-perpetuating, because ‘the fewer men you have in teaching the less likely you are to attract men into a predominantly female teaching profession’ (Female). A counter-example, however, was provided with regard
to the increasing number of men in business and management departments in secondary schools, which in turn attracted more boys into the subject.

Whereas there was a cycle of decline in the number of men entering the profession, teaching continued to be attractive to women because of the formal acceptance of equal opportunities. A male teacher felt that women were attracted into teaching because it was one of the few occupations where they were guaranteed equal pay:

I am just wondering if the gender balance with males and females is something to do with teaching being one of the few professions that women can compete equally with men, from a salary point of view. Because I think there is still in the twenty first century this ridiculous situation where in certain professions some women are being paid less than men for doing the same job, and their route to promotion is sometimes blocked perhaps because of their gender. And I think women realise that if they come into education everybody is on an equal footing here, we are all going to earn the same money whether you get promoted or a normal teacher. And your route to promotion would be competing against men but this isn’t going to be taken into consideration. As I say you kind of hope that in the industry it will disappear but I think it’s still slightly ongoing. (Male)

Female teachers, on the other hand, felt that promotion opportunities were still stacked in favour of men (see below).

Finally, women teachers felt that the growing awareness of child abuse and high profile cases reported in the media might act as a deterrent, particularly to men:

The allegations that could be made is a really important thing too, but it’s all about children’s rights and if they wanted to make any allegations about any of us we are very vulnerable to that (Female)

**Men in primary teaching**

Primary school teaching, it was believed, was not seen as sufficiently intellectually challenging by men:

Because there’s not the same academic challenge for men at primary levels as at secondary and you know in like nursery education, you never find a man there because it’s not high powered enough for men. (Female)

A woman said that she felt that men would regard primary school teaching as simply ‘baby sitting’, and that the importance of child development was not sufficiently appreciated:

I mean traditionally you know men or people are seeing that as a woman’s role to look after children at that age. I know it’s all changing now and I think maybe men are changing as well. They will look after their own children fine but they are not going to look after other people’s children as well, they may see it as babysitting basically when it comes to primary one and primary two. (Female)

As in secondary, it was felt that the lack of men in primary teaching had a cumulative effect, conveying the idea to the next generation of boys that primary teaching is not appropriate work for a man:

I think the lack of primary male teachers is a big issue as well because it’s much higher female teachers isn’t it in primary than it is in secondary. I think probably it’s just a knock-on effect, young boys are seeing less and less role models as they go through school so they are possibly less likely to see it as something for them. (Female teacher)
One man said that his mother had discouraged him from thinking about a career in primary teaching because the conversation in the staff room would be ‘all babies and knitting’. Ironically, his decision to become a physics teacher in a secondary school meant that he was working with ‘all old men’:

My mum always said, ‘You shouldn’t be a primary teacher’ and I said, ‘Why not?’ and she said ‘All they talk about is babies and knitting because they are all women’. Now I can talk about babies and knitting no problem, babies are my thing, but I see the point, because I teach in physics and it’s all men, and all old men…(Male)

Desirability of gender balance in teaching

There was agreement that achieving a reasonable balance between women and men in teaching was desirable for a range of reasons. Sometimes this reflected a negative attitude towards the dominance of women in certain parts of the education system. For example, a male teacher commented on the advantages of having more men in traditionally female areas, such as drama, which was traditionally ‘all flowing clothes and pretending to be trees’. The benefit of having more men in business studies was also mentioned:

Business education has always been thought of as typing and that’s all. But now you have got business management and I think the word management is attracting more men and it’s attracting boys and I think that’s fantastic to progress the subject socially and academically. Because it’s a broad subject and everyone gets something from each part of the business education department. That’s wonderful in my eyes and if it continues in that way and if more men come into the subject it will improve, or develop, not improve. (Male)

Home economics was identified as another subject area where the presence of a man appeared to have made the subject more appealing to boys:

In standard grade we have managed to get half boys, half girls in our standard grade classes, which is quite interesting. It’s not all due to the fact that we have got a male home economics teacher in the department just now, but some of it is due to that, just breaking down barriers. We haven’t had parents asking us probably for about two years ‘Oh, is that not a girls’ thing?’ They don’t ask anymore because they see what’s happening in school and they have got cousins or older siblings. (Female)

The benefits of a good gender balance were likely to be felt by both teachers and pupils:

If you have a department where you are all like-minded, you all go down the same line and no-one diverts from their line or level of thought, it can become very regimented, strict, and there’s no variety there, there is nothing to stimulate the pupils. I just feel there should be different areas that the teachers within the department specialise in and also use their personality to improve the area that they have chosen to specialise in (Male)

Promotion opportunities

Women in the secondary school focus groups believed that their male counterparts were more strategic in their approach to their career and were more likely to be promoted as a result of sponsorship by more senior men:

I think in some ways they are being coached in a way and maybe that’s unfair, but I think that things that they do are noticed more than the things we do… I mean you are doing clubs at lunchtime, has anybody ever come up to you and said ‘Do
you fancy a wee bit of promotion here, fancy doing this?’ You know maybe it’s our fault, maybe we don’t highlight the things we are doing and the males do… (Female)

I don’t think women put themselves forward and I have ruled out ever being a principal teacher because I just wouldn’t want to have that job. I have ruled that out so I don’t want promotion, whereas young men put themselves forward… But the second thing is that if there's males at the top of the school, obviously they are looking for people to do the job as well as they did and that will be replicated in themselves won’t it, so young men will be much more suitable than young women, and young black women in particular. (Female)

Women believed that they were motivated by an intrinsic love of the job rather than a desire for advancement:

You are doing these clubs because of the enjoyment, you are not doing it for your CV, whereas it might be unfair but you definitely get the impression that the young dynamic male members of staff might be sort of building a profile up towards promotion. (Female)

Whilst their female counterparts believed that the promotion odds were stacked in favour of men, male teachers were very gloomy about their promotion chances and this was a key factor in diminishing their enthusiasm for the job (see above). However, it was evident that promotion aspirations had not been abandoned. A man in his late twenties said that he was already applying for Head of Faculty jobs not because he expected to get them, but to get the interview experience. He was able to comment in detail about the relative pay differential between the bottom of the deputy head scale and the top of the head of faculty scale.

**McCrone changes**

Both women’s and men’s focus groups agreed that changes arising as a result of the McCrone agreement were problematic in terms of stripping out some layers of middle management, thus reducing the overall number of promoted posts which could be used as stepping stones to more senior positions. The faculty system was universally seen as unsatisfactory because ‘people who are not qualified and not ready for the jobs are going to end up doing them at some point in the near future, and ….things will really fall apart’. (Female)

The Chartered Teacher scheme was also rather unpopular because it was seen as expensive and time consuming. A female teacher pointed out that the Chartered Teacher scheme was indirectly discriminatory against women, because modules could not be undertaken until about six years after completing probation, and this was the precise point at which many women were thinking about having children:

To embark on the Chartered Teacher programme you have to be at the top of the main salary scale, which takes either six or seven years, depending on what type of degree that you did, whether it was honours or not. So you know if you want to have a family seven years into your career then it just all clashes and you then find that you are not able to embark on it. (Female)

The programme was also less affordable on a part-time rather than a full-time salary.

Finally, the guarantee of a probationary year placement was seen as positive, but difficulties in finding employment after the probationary year were likely to deter those needing an immediate and guaranteed income.
Positive actions to attract more men into teaching

As we noted at the start of this report, during the first half of the twentieth century radical action in favour of male teachers was implemented in the form of a marriage bar on women teachers. Subsequently, enhanced pay for male teachers was seen as an appropriate means of halting the ‘feminisation’ of teaching. None of our respondents proposed such radical actions, although a number of suggestions were made with regard to making teaching more appealing to both women and men.

It was felt that careers talks at school should emphasise the positive features of teaching as a career for men:

Maybe the career talks and what not at schools, maybe we should talk about teaching, let the kids be aware of the possibilities of promotion, how they could climb the career ladder or where it could get them, be very realistic about that and let them see you know you don’t want to be just in the classroom, if you want to be that’s fine, if you don’t want to be in the classroom and want to get to management, you know it’s a management position just like you would be maybe manager at any other place, and trying to do it that way when it comes to careers talks which we do have. (Female)

Efforts should be made to attract men into primary teaching at a later point in their lives when they were more mature:

I think most eighteen year old boys would just think it was a bit naff to be a primary teacher at that age. I don’t think they would be mature enough to deal with the idea. (Female)

In order to attract more men into teaching, male focus group members felt pay could improve and teacher training should be staffed by people who had more recent classroom experience. In addition, there was a need for more teachers who could be ‘shining examples’ as role models. The pleasure of working with young people should also be emphasised.

Primary school focus groups

In this section, we summarise findings from the primary school focus groups. Participants were drawn from different year groups and the majority were women, although there were two male respondents in each group. Most respondents were non-promoted teachers.

Westside Primary: school background
The school is a medium sized primary with 220 primary places and an additional 60 nursery places. In addition to the teaching staff there are a number of learning assistants, nursery nurses and a full time education home visitor. The school was opened in August 2003 and is very well equipped with attractive grounds and astro-turf pitches. It serves an area of multiple deprivation on the edge of the city.

Hilltop Primary: School background
This is a large primary school in a rural local authority area. The community it serves contains pockets of deprivation, but is relatively affluent in the national context.

Views of teaching as a career: Positive features
All the staff talked about the job satisfaction that comes from working with children. This was based on the fact that ‘you really have to like kids’ (Female), otherwise the job would not be enjoyable. One female respondent suggested:
I think working in direct contact with the children is good fun and you are constantly learning something new everyday. You learn a lot about yourself and you learn a lot about them. (Female)

Another positive feature was the variety of the job. One suggested:

People get stuck in a rut [in other posts] but here two days are never the same. The problems that crop up are different every day and I think that is a really strong benefit. (Male)

The benefits were summarised by one respondent as ‘You are not bored. You can have a laugh. It is quite good fun’ (Male). All agreed that the long holidays ‘were a big perk’, especially for those that had childcare responsibilities. A final positive feature was the variety of people that they met ‘so many different people outside the school’ (Female). This ‘pastoral care aspect’ that involved interacting with a variety of people was seen as ‘both interesting and fun’ (Male).

**Views of teaching as a career: negative features**

The key negative aspect was the exhausting demands of the job both emotionally and in terms of time commitments:

There aren't enough hours in the day to think, over and above the actual contact with the children. It is quite hard. (Female)

The respondents pointed out that ‘there is always quite a lot to take on board over and above what you do during the day’ (Female) because of the need to keep up with changing policies such as healthy eating. One of the male teachers who had been teaching for twenty-five years pointed out:

There are so many new priorities that you sometimes feel you are skimming the surface … and never really doing anything properly. (Male)

He also pointed out that ‘it is really hard for a teacher to refresh themselves. There is no going somewhere else where you can take time out, I think it is really difficult’. Teachers, it was suggested, were also seen by politicians as being responsible for solving all kinds of problems. As one of the male teachers explained:

I don't want to be negative but it doesn't matter what it is, we have to change it because that is what society wants us to do. Everything is down to us. (Male)

**Reasons for gender imbalance in teaching**

A key reason given for men not to enter teaching was the poor salary. One male respondent suggested:

…teachers are really poorly paid in comparison to the wider world. If you have one wage … it is really difficult. Many teachers who have got a family tend to have their wife working as well. It is not an attractive salary. The way society sees us you are expected to be the breadwinner. (Male)

The other male teacher suggested:

I think people see the role of educating children as predominately a woman’s job. It is not something I believe …. but many men still shy away from it.
It was also thought that some males might feel a bit more daunted by the ‘hands-on’ and more nurturing type of education that occurs in nursery and primary 1. This also raised other questions such as ‘is it socially acceptable for this child to sit on my knee in assembly? (Male). This led to men needing to be ‘more aware of keeping yourself safe’ (Male).

There was also the perceived low status of teaching that made it less attractive to men: I think males are also drawn to the status thing. It is not as high as being a doctor or a lawyer so it is less attractive (Male). The dominance of females in the profession also lowered the status:

‘I don’t know how you would get round the barrier of men seeing it as a female dominated profession’. (Male)

One of the female teachers pointed out that although it was family friendly in theory, ‘it is extraordinarily hard work so it does not necessarily benefit those with child-care responsibilities’. A final problem was the ‘bad press about the discipline issues in education maybe puts people off. Not just men, women too, but the fact that men are usually pushed towards the harder classes’ means that it might put them off more than their female counterparts (Female). A female teacher suggested that women might be better at dealing with discipline problems than men and therefore be less deterred by the perceived decline in pupil behaviour:

I have two boys and I have suggested teaching to them at various points over the years, but it is the hassle they would get…they couldn’t put up with the cheek they would have to take…If they were teaching they wouldn’t like the bad behaviour…they would find that difficult to deal with…and I think women can maybe take it more. (Female)

Desirability of gender balance in teaching

The group all felt that there should be more men in primary teaching. A female teacher pointed out:

In a society where so many children don’t have a male role model, at home or within their immediate sphere of communication, a male teacher can actually be really important. (Female)

However, a male teacher pointed out:

I think it is also difficult as well as there is a contradiction because men are quite often pushed towards the difficult class therefore they have to fulfil that stereotype of being able to deal with the difficult class. What quite often children need are men that are quiet, softly spoken and gentle. That is actually really important. (Male)

Respondents also suggested that men brought different approaches and interests to teaching. One male teacher said ‘I really like and know about football and [so I can] talk about it at the same level as they do’. One of the females suggested that ‘you [men] can probably do other things [such as] tease the girls in a way that a woman teacher wouldn’t. [Men] can [have] a different relationship with pupils’. This different approach included being:

more over the top, more dramatic, more fun loving. Females tend to be more controlled whereas the male teachers put a more humorous slant on it which boys and girls like’. (Female)
**McCrone changes**

All found that the flexibility built into the 35-hour week was helpful. Even though the respondents worked more than these set hours:

> They can be done in a place of your choice, so if you wanted to go home early for some reason then you would work at home. That is very attractive. (Female)

Another positive aspect of the agreement was that ‘people can change their working practices towards the end of their careers. Working part time for example. I think these opportunities to change what you are doing within education particularly as you are getting into the sunset part, would be quite attractive (male). The other male pointed out that:

> The starting salary is significantly better than it used to be. That has got to be a plus. The fact that you can do fast track promotion, Chartered Teacher modules and get through them quite quickly, that is quite a good thing too I think. That is bound to have a good effect. (male)

**Promotion opportunities**

These respondents were all agreed that men in primary education were expected to go for promotion even if they might not want to. One male teacher said:

> There is a huge expectation for males to be promoted. And I don’t think that is necessarily a good thing because I think it is to the detriment of a lot of people. A lot of people are great class teachers. Very happy in the classroom and they are not born administrators, they are not born managers, but males are perceived that that is the role for them. I can’t think of many males of my age group, my peers, who haven’t gone up the ladder beyond the classroom. So it is very unusual to find somebody [like me] who won’t do that. (Male)

Another male teacher said: ‘I have worked with female teachers who have said to me ‘when are you going to go for your depute headship?’ and I turn around and say ‘I don’t want to do that’. One of the female teachers agreed that head teachers really pushed male teachers. A male teacher that she trained with found that his head teacher was ‘really concentrating on what was good for his promotion prospects and he is not particularly interested in being out of the classroom but he was getting a lot of pressure from her’ (Female)

On the other hand, women were seen as enjoying the classroom experience and the direct contact with children. One male suggested ‘my wife is a teacher too and she is not interested at all in promotion. She would just shrivel up if she got promoted out of class. She loves her day-to-day contact’. It appears that, in these respondents’ experience, women and men are treated quite differently in relation to promotion opportunities in the Primary sector.

**Positive actions to attract more men into teaching**

Respondents had a few suggestions that might attract more men into the profession but whatever action was taken ‘the baseline is you have got to like children’ (Female).

Teaching was seen as vocational so ‘if you are only interested in money, don’t go into teaching [because] it is not worth it’ (Male).

Another agreed, ‘being the breadwinner, once you are in the system you have got the mortgage, it is really hard to downsize your income especially when you start on a probationer’s salary (Female).

On the other hand it was suggested that men might possibly consider teaching as a second career option especially if they had experience of redundancy in their current occupation. One
of the female teachers suggested that teaching might be attractive to ‘somebody coming from that background into teaching to a permanent post that was secure’. Changing careers was seen as positive for the profession because ‘I think the experiences that people from other careers bring into the job are really valid and important’ (Female). Another added:

I think a lot of guys go out and earn their big bucks and become a bit disillusioned with that. They’ve maybe even made a bit of money and they see that that isn’t everything. Yet they then have the maturity, different experiences and skills, maybe become fathers and think ‘that might be something for me’. (Female)

Another suggestion was that a lot of other people’s jobs are tedious whereas ‘in teaching there is always something going on’ so this should be promoted in any advertising campaigns. It was also suggested that this might appeal more to men because they were more interested in variety and more likely to have demanding but boring jobs. Part of this was the job satisfaction that comes from ‘seeing that progress is being made, which is very rewarding’ (Male). Teaching was seen as being able to offer both security and variety where ‘every day is different’ (Male) and this should appeal to those that liked working with people.

Finally the long holidays were seen as attractive. ‘I think a lot of my friends who are not teachers and who are male, are envious of the holidays’ (Male). A female teacher felt that advertising campaigns should emphasise the long holidays and relatively generous pension as part of the overall remuneration package:

The long holidays, which is the big perk, that is built into the salary. You know sometimes you see the adverts now, a job advertised ‘plus pension’ which makes up your total remuneration. We have got long holidays as part of our remuneration.

Summary points

**Views of teaching as a career: positive features**

- Teaching provides opportunities to contribute to the social and academic development of children and young people.
- The job provides variety and autonomy.
- The holidays and pension are a positive feature compared with jobs in the private sector.
- The working hours are very good for people with childcare responsibilities.
- Opportunities for contacts with the local community and other professionals are stimulating (Primary focus groups)

**Views of teaching as a career: negative features**

- The large numbers of pupils seen in a day in secondary school is inherently stressful.
- The paperwork is time-consuming and takes time away from teaching (secondary focus groups).
- Increased regulation and accountability detracts from pleasure in teaching a subject (secondary focus groups).
- Lack of promotion is a problem (Male teachers in secondary schools).
• Teachers’ pay is low compared with some other professions (e.g. medicine and law) (Male teachers)

• The following two points were made forcefully in some of the focus groups, but not by teachers in the urban secondary school, the school serving the most diverse community. Society has unrealistic expectations of what teachers can achieve in terms of dealing with a range of social ills. Discipline problems, highlighted by the media and trades unions, make teaching a less attractive career choice.

• A negative view of teachers’ professional competence was sometimes promoted by media and politicians.

Reasons for the declining number of men in teaching
• Many men still regard themselves as the principal family breadwinner and believe that they will be paid better in industry and other professions.

• Changes in the conceptualisation of teaching particularly at secondary level, where empathy with children and young people is now seen as just as important as subject knowledge. Women may find it easier than men to respond to the emotional demands of the job.

• Perception of teaching as a woman’s job makes it less attractive to men.

• The formalisation of equal opportunities makes the job more attractive to women, but may lead men to feel they have more competition for promotion.

• A focus on child protection may make men feel vulnerable.

• Men may be given difficult classes and expected to act as disciplinarians which they may find difficult.

Men in primary teaching
• The job may lack intellectual challenge for men and be seen as ‘baby-sitting’.

• There is a lack of male role models particularly in the early stages of primary.

• Parents may deter boys from entering primary school because of expected difficulties in a predominantly female environment.

• Desirability of gender balance in teaching

• Men bring diverse interests and personality traits and are particularly welcome in previously sex-typed areas such as business and home economics.

• Boys, particularly those in single parent families, benefit from positive role models.

• The atmosphere among the staff is improved by having a gender-balanced team.

Promotion opportunities
• Men in the secondary sector feel that they have poor promotion opportunities, particularly since the post-McCrone flattening of the career structure.

• Women feel that men are likely to be given much greater informal sponsorship and mentoring which enhances their promotion opportunities.

• Women believe that men are more strategic in their career management strategies.
Men in the primary sector may feel pressurised into seeking promotion when they would rather stay in the classroom.

**McCrone changes**
- The flattening of the career structure has removed some promotion opportunities in the secondary sector and this has had a negative effect on morale.
- In secondary schools, the faculty structure is seen as giving faculty heads responsibility for too wide a range of subjects and removing an immediate point of contact for people in specific subject areas.
- Positive aspects of the Chartered Teacher programme are recognised, but it is seen as costly, time-consuming and may not fit easily with women's career profiles.
- The probationary year arrangements are viewed positively, but difficulties remain in finding a permanent job.

**Positive actions to attract more men into teaching**
- Positive messages about teaching need to be promoted through advertising campaigns and other means. These include emphasising improved pay; good pensions and holidays; opportunities for working with young people and doing really worthwhile work.
- Negative messages about teachers and teaching, sometimes transmitted by the media, trades unions and politicians, should be downplayed, with more attention paid to positive aspects of the job.
- Careers work at schools and universities could be targeted more closely on boys and young men.
- The advantages of teaching for those wishing a mid-life change in career should be highlighted.
Section 8: Conclusion

The nature of the gender imbalance in Scottish publicly funded schools

Over the course of a decade, the proportion of men in the Scottish teaching force has declined from about a third in 1994 to about a quarter in 2004. Most of the decline has been in secondary schools, and there are no signs of any change in the male trend away from teaching. In secondary schools, it is evident that in most secondary subjects there have been significant changes in the gender balance within particular departments, with far fewer men in the under-45 group, even in subjects which were traditionally taught by men, such as Chemistry and Mathematics.

Despite the reduction of men entering the profession, they are still five times more likely to hold headships in both the primary and secondary sectors. Teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds are generally under-represented particularly at senior level. There appear to be no head teachers from minority ethnic groups in either the primary or secondary sector in Scotland. There was some evidence from the undergraduate student survey that students from less socially advantaged backgrounds were more likely to consider a career in teaching.

This research project aimed to identify the factors contributing to the declining proportion of men in teaching and consider actions which might be taken to ensure that the teaching workforce reflects the diversity of the Scottish population, in line with the new duties being placed on public sector bodies to positively promote equality. In the following sections we consider some reasons which appear to contribute to the feminisation of the teaching workforce.

Students' attitudes to teaching as a career

The undergraduate survey was intended to access the views of undergraduate students in social and biological science with regard to their future choice of career and, more specifically, towards the teaching profession. Our initial investigation of the broad issues likely to influence career choice suggested that, on the face of it, teaching should continue to appeal to a significant proportion of undergraduates. A large number of students want a job which provides security and a steady income, and a minority believe that high social status is an important criterion for choosing employment. Having a job which involves working with people, which inspires others and which fits in with family life were also important criteria. Slightly less than a half thought that good holidays were also important. On the face of it, then, teaching should be a popular career choice for both men and women, although it was interesting that female undergraduates were significantly more likely to place importance on family friendly conditions, long holidays and working with other people, and less importance on having a job with high social status.

When students were asked to reflect on the likelihood of their actually entering the teaching profession, the picture was less rosy. Whereas almost two thirds of respondents had considered a job in teaching, only 11% said they were very likely to become a teacher, and these were significantly more likely to be women. Overall, views of teaching were rather negative. Holidays were seen as a major positive factor and were regarded as more important by those considering a career in teaching. A majority also thought of teaching as a family friendly job and this was particularly important for those considering a career in teaching. At the same time, only 40% thought teaching was reasonably well paid and these students were more likely to have considered teaching as a career and have attended the post-92 university. Only about a third thought that teaching commanded public respect and, counter-intuitively, those who had considered a career in teaching were more likely than others to hold this negative view. In addition, only a third agreed that teaching offered good career prospects, a slightly higher proportion of these having considered teaching as a career. More than two thirds thought that discipline problems made teaching an unpopular career choice, although again this view was less likely to be held by prospective teachers. Just over a quarter had
some experience of teaching, a higher proportion of whom were women and prospective
teachers.

Women were significantly more likely than men to regard teaching as a good job for people
with family responsibilities. A higher proportion of women than men thought that primary
teaching was more attractive than secondary teaching, had experience of teaching and
thought they were likely to become a teacher, although none of these differences was
statistically significant.

Some fascinating associations between deprivation category as indicated by students' home
postcode and attitudes to teaching emerged. Those from less socially advantaged
backgrounds were more likely to be considering teaching as a career and regard it as a
reasonably paid job. There were no differences by university, indicating that students from
less advantaged areas, regardless of which university they attended, shared these views.

Overall, it appears that along a number of dimensions, teaching was not highly regarded as a
career. Holidays and family friendly conditions of service were regarded as positives. People
considering a career in teaching had a more optimistic view than those who appeared to have
ruled out teaching as an option. Despite this rather negative view, it appears that women and
those from disadvantaged neighbourhoods were less likely to be deterred or, conversely, saw
no other career possibility offering comparable salary and conditions.

Experiences of teacher education

The timescale of the research did not allow for interviews of those on teacher education
programmes, however, attrition rates from university programmes were analysed and the
views were sought of those responsible for ITE courses and university careers officers. It was
evident that even far fewer men entered training programmes. ITE providers felt that men
were less likely to be accepted onto courses in the first place, and were often ill-prepared for
the selection interview. Careers officers suggested that men might find it difficult to gain the
requisite experience of working with children before embarking on a training programme,
partly as a result of tighter police check procedures. It appeared that men entering primary
education training had to be particularly determined, since questions might be asked about
their sexuality, they might be discouraged by family and friends and the almost exclusively
female training programme and staff room might be off-putting.

Experiences of practising male and female teachers

Practising male and female teachers concurred in the view that a key attraction of teaching
was the pleasure to be derived from engaging in the development of children and young
people. The job was seen as varied and offering considerable autonomy in the classroom,
although there was a sense from some teachers that this freedom was being eroded as a
result of more tightly specified curricula. Focus groups of primary school teachers also
mentioned that teaching could be fun.

It was evident from teacher comments, perhaps particularly in secondary schools, that the
nature of the job had changed. There was a need for a much greater degree of emotional
awareness and a willingness to take account of pupils’ home backgrounds and the wider
social environment. Much-publicised discipline problems, particularly in the secondary sector,
made teaching a challenging career and there was a suggestion from women teachers that
men were less willing to engage in patient negotiation with troubled young people. The
challenges of the social inclusion agenda were mentioned, but interestingly these were viewed
positively in the secondary school serving a very diverse community, whereas in the more
socially advantaged schools the difficulties were stressed. This indicates that school culture
may be important in terms of alerting teachers to the new expectations on teachers and in
helping them rise to the challenge.
Focus groups also discussed the implications of the public accountability agenda, which included a requirement for better record-keeping, development planning and maintaining links with other professionals. As noted in the literature review, feminist academics have tended to depict new public management as synonymous with male working principles and practices, however it was apparent from the focus groups that this was not self-evident. Some men talked about their dislike of planning and curricula development activities, preferring to work in the classroom. There was also a suggestion from a male member of staff that often women were better at multi-tasking and were therefore better suited to the climate of managerialism. Clearly, attitudes to the new public management agenda did not divide simply along gender lines.

A gender divide was much more apparent, however, in relation to views of pay and promotion. There was a general view that, despite recent salary increases, teaching is not seen as a particularly well paid profession. However, this was regarded as much more problematic by men than women, although a social class dimension was also evident. For example, a newly qualified teacher from a less socially advantaged background spoke of the great sense of privilege she had in becoming a teacher, commenting that the pay and conditions were much better than any one in her neighbourhood would ever have expected.

The new faculty system was seen as a problem by both men and women and fears were expressed that such broad groupings would mean that the faculty manager might lack in-depth knowledge of some subject areas, even favouring their own discipline over others. Men were particularly concerned about the flatter career structure, fearing that the removal of APT posts would have a negative impact on their promotion opportunities. Some men felt that from a very early age their career routes were blocked and they were settling down to life as a classroom teacher, but not with a vast amount of enthusiasm (Draper & Sharp, 2004). Women in the focus groups were more happily reconciled to life as classroom teacher, some commenting that at an early point in their career they had decided not to seek a principal teacher position.

Despite the gloomy view of future career prospects expressed by men in focus groups, it is still the case that they occupy the lions’ share of promoted posts and, even if their absolute numbers in the profession decline, their chances of promotion compared with those of women may remain extremely good. Women in secondary school focus groups were convinced that, despite formal equality, men still benefited disproportionately from informal aids to promotion through mentoring and sponsorship.

It appeared from the focus groups that men were comparing their pay and promotion prospects not with those of women in teaching, nor with other groups such as nurses, social workers or the police. Rather, their points of comparison were with law, medicine, and management jobs in the private sector. However, these comparisons may not be the most salient. It is evident that law and medicine have much higher initial academic entry requirements and therefore many of those entering teaching might not have been successful in gaining admission to such professions. Many higher paying private sector occupations demand greater managerial responsibility and provide poorer conditions of service such as pensions provision. As noted by university careers officers, graduate jobs in the private sector in Scotland are not abundant and longitudinal data suggest that Scotland has a very stable teaching profession, with low rates of attrition post-qualification (Sharp and Draper, 1997). The issue is not that significant numbers of men are leaving teaching in mid-career, but rather their commitment to the job may be undermined by a perception that they are being under-paid relative to others with similar qualifications.

Questions also arise as to why women continue to be attracted into teaching. Evidence from the undergraduate survey suggests that, like their male counterparts, female students have a relatively ambivalent view of teaching as a profession. However, women still perceive teaching as a practical choice of career offering acceptable pay and conditions. Compared with many other professional jobs, teaching is seen as relatively family friendly and the
opportunity to work with children and young people is also viewed positively. In addition, it is
evident that teaching no longer has formal barriers to women’s career progression, although
of course informal barriers may still exist. The EOC identifies teaching as the profession with
the smallest gender pay gap, much less than other professions such as law, medicine and
many private sector occupations. The public sector duty within the Equality Bill places a
responsibility on public sector bodies to positively promote equality between the sexes, and
this may have a further benefit for women in terms of promotion. Finally, given the high
proportion of women undertaking the Scottish Qualification for Headship, there is a strong
possibility that the number of women in senior positions in teaching will increase rapidly over
coming years, and this could make the job even more attractive to women, but not necessarily
to men.

Benefits of a diverse teaching workforce

There was general agreement amongst respondents that a diverse teaching force was
desirable, since all pupils could benefit from the range of interests and attributes offered by
women and men. Men were particularly welcome in non-traditional areas such as Home
Economics and Business Studies in secondary schools, since their example inspired pupils to
think about non-traditional career choices. The belief that schools should reflect social
diversity is also reflected in the review of initial teacher education conducted by the Scottish
Executive (2005b).

The view was also expressed that boys from lone parent families were likely to benefit from
meeting male teachers in school. In particular, male teachers who deliberately shunned
macho versions of masculinity, emphasising instead caring and nurturing characteristics,
could act as positive role models for all pupils. Mills (2001) has suggested that anti-sexist
male teachers can play an important role in schools by engaging boys in group work aimed at
challenging dominant versions of masculinity. The message that versions of masculinity
which play up violence and anti-intellectualism are dangerous to both men and women may
be much better received from a male rather than a female teacher. At the same time, Mills is
wary of some of the under-lying thinking within the men’s movement, and is particularly critical
of American writers such as Robert Bly (1991), who argue for the need to draw on ‘mytho-
poetic’ traditions to access ‘deep masculinities’ which have allegedly been suppressed in the
modern world. This is, of course, only one strand within the men’s movement and, as noted
above, Mills and colleagues argue strongly that men should actively engage in the work of
challenging sexist and homophobic beliefs and practices in school, taking more responsibility
for the welfare of both girls and boys.

It was also suggested by some respondents that caution should be exercised in automatically
regarding the declining number of men in secondary teaching as a problem. The GTCS key
informant pointed out that the main concern was the quality of new recruits to the profession
and gender was a secondary consideration. An ITE respondent noted that primary schools in
Scotland, where women represent a large majority of the teaching workforce, appeared to be
operating smoothly, with improved attainment levels, better engagement with parents and
fewer discipline problems than secondary. Whilst it was recognised that young people in the
teenage years were likely to be more challenging in school, it was also suggested that
women’s greater willingness to negotiate with pupils might bode well for the future.

Choices or structures: the bigger picture

The underlying reasons for men’s and women’s position in the labour market continue to be
debated. Crompton (1997) analysed the alliance between the state and trades unions in
promoting the idea of the family wage. Surviving until the later part of the twentieth century,
this ideology generally benefited men more than women. Whilst there has been a rapid
growth in female employment over the past two decades, horizontal and vertical segregation
of occupation persists. At the same time, some changes are evident, with middle class
women entering professions which were previously dominated by men, such as law and
medicine, and also making inroads into management in occupations such as banking, albeit in niche sectors such as call centres and personal finance (Crompton, 1997). The domestic division of labour also reveals a fairly fixed pattern, although it is clear that couples are more likely to share housework and childcare when the woman is in employment (Crompton, ibid).

Whilst the gendered division of labour has diminished, it has not entirely vanished and debates continue as to whether this is a result of material and economic factors (Hartman, 1982; Walby, 1986) or women’s and men’s personal choices (Hakim, 1995, 1996). Writers like Hakim have pointed out that women’s orientation to the labour market is not uniform, with women having different levels of attachment to the world of work. Siltanen (1986) argued that many women expect their salary to represent a constituent element of a household income, rather than being sufficient to support an entire household. In the same way, men’s commitment to the labour market is not uniform, with some men being far more ambitious than others. These debates are not merely academic, but may provide important explanations for the differences which are currently emerging in men’s and women’s attitudes to teaching as a career. Such analysis also highlights the dynamic nature of the relationship of men and women to the labour market, and the extent to which rapid change has taken place over the last few decades. It is clear that change takes place partly as a result of shifting economic and social relationships, but also as a result of changing attitudes and personal choices, which may not always be synchronised with economic cycles. In order to shift the current gender balance in teaching, it is therefore necessary to address not only the formal and informal barriers to equality which remain, but also to understand the reasons behind the choices made by women and men, which may not always be rational.

Possible courses of action

Informants were asked to consider the courses of action which they felt could be taken to alter the gender imbalance in teaching which has emerged over recent years. None of our informants suggested that quotas should be introduced to ensure equal numbers of men and women entering the profession. Indeed, it was argued strongly by representatives from university departments, the GTCS and the EIS that the most important factor in teacher recruitment was to achieve the best possible quality. Attempting to recruit reluctant males would have an overall adverse effect. University careers staff felt that much more work could be done in positively marketing teaching as a career to undergraduates, and that the public sector could learn a great deal from the more strategic approach adopted by the private sector.

It was suggested by teachers in school and university careers staff that more support could be given to male trainees, particularly those entering non-traditional areas where they might feel outnumbered and intimidated. However, it was also pointed out that additional support might still be needed by women moving into management positions where they too might feel outnumbered.

Male teachers in school felt that morale had been adversely affected by the removal of promoted posts and the implementation of the new faculty structures. The career structure within teaching will clearly need to be reviewed in the future, with a view to identifying the costs and benefits of the post-McCrone changes. It was also suggested that ways of managing administration more effectively, possibly through the greater use of IT, should be investigated. There was a need to acknowledge the important anti-sexist work which male teachers might be able to carry out with boys, without implicitly undermining the role of women.

Teachers’ pay remains a thorny issue, particularly for men. Rates of pay relative to other groups clearly need to be kept under review. At the same time, there is perhaps a need to educate the public and teachers themselves about teachers’ pay and conditions relative to those of other workers. Public perception of teachers’ pay and conditions of service does not
appear to have kept pace with the improvements implemented following the McCrone agreement.

If the best qualified and motivated people are to be recruited to teaching, it is important for the profession itself to engage in a certain amount of self-promotion. It was pointed out by university careers staff that if teachers and trades unions persist in promoting a negative view of teaching, then it is not surprising that people are deterred from entering the profession or swiftly become demoralised.

There is a need for the Scottish Executive to exercise imagination in promoting new schemes to attract young graduates and those changing jobs mid-career. In England, the Teach First Scheme is geared towards attracting the very best under-graduates into teaching, using a streamlined form of training and on the understanding that they may not wish to spend their entire working lives in the profession. Given the fact that teaching is more likely to be a first career choice for women, then it is worth looking closely at the outcomes of this scheme to assess its success in attracting greater numbers of men and people from minority ethnic backgrounds.

Finally, it is important to remember that the issue of diversity does not just relate to gender, but to the other five equality strands which are specified in the recent European Employment Directives and which will be addressed by the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights. The six equality strands are gender, disability, race, sexual orientation, age and religion/belief. Public bodies will need to be able to demonstrate that they are making progress in relation to all of these areas, and they will also be obliged to pay attention to their intersections.

In the following summary points, we note some of the implications of the research for a range of bodies.

**Implications for different groups**

**The Scottish Executive**

There is a need for the Scottish Executive to monitor closely the gender balance in the primary and secondary sector teaching forces.

The Scottish Executive might fund research on the impact of the changing gender balance in particular subject areas in secondary schools to explore the effect of the changing gender profile on department and school culture.

The Scottish Executive might experiment with innovative ways of attracting the brightest undergraduates into ITE, such as the Teach First programme which is currently being trialled in England. Ways of encouraging people to consider teaching as a second career also need further exploration, including imaginative ways of financing the training period.

Better ways need to be found of advertising and promoting teaching as a career in order to appeal to diverse social groups. More strategic links with university careers services, following the example of the private sector, are required.

It is evident that undergraduate students and teachers themselves may not be fully aware of recent improvements in pay, and these need to be better publicised.

Negative messages about the state of Scottish education have a damaging impact on teachers’ morale and more energy needs to be devoted to the promotion of positive messages about a career in education.
**HMIE**
In its inspections of schools and local authorities, HMIE needs to ensure that questions are asked about the social diversity of the teaching workforce. The impact of significant gender and other social imbalances should be highlighted in HMIE reports.

**The General Teaching Council for Scotland**
The GTCS should use the register of practising teachers as a useful source of data to track the social profile of teachers over time.

The GTCS should review the competences required to qualify for teaching in order to ensure that they do not indirectly discriminate against any social group.

The quality of the teaching workforce should continue to be monitored to ensure that the very best teachers are recruited and retained. In doing this, concerns with both quality and equality should be balanced.

**Providers of ITE**
It is important that the teaching workforce reflects the diversity of the Scottish population. ITE providers therefore need to keep under review their recruitment and assessment practices to ensure that these do not involve indirect discrimination against any section of the population. Ensuring fair representation of people from minority ethnic groups, in addition to achieving a better gender balance, is clearly very important. At the same time, the quality of the teaching workforce must be the paramount concern.

There is a need to investigate the effectiveness of specific measures to improve retention on teacher education courses, such as the establishment of single sex support groups.

University faculties of education should monitor closely the extent to which their CPD programmes, including the Scottish Qualification for Headship and the Chartered Teacher Programme, reflect social diversity.

**Local Authorities**
In line with the requirements of the new Equality Bill, the Disability Act 2005 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, local authorities should ensure that fair employment practices are reflected in their recruitment and promotion strategies.

Local authorities should monitor the social characteristics of their employees and consider the actions which it might be appropriate for them to take to improve the social balance of the teaching workforce.

**University Careers Services**
University careers officers should ensure that undergraduates have the latest information about the benefits of teaching as a career, both in relation to its intrinsic value and to improvements in pay and conditions.

University careers staff have a role to play in countering some of the unfounded negative perceptions and misconceptions surrounding a career in teaching, so that the best qualified undergraduates consider it as a first choice rather than a second best option.

**Teachers’ trades unions**
In their efforts to improve the pay and condition of their members, trades unions sometimes emphasise the problems of teaching, focusing on paperwork and discipline problems and saying little about the benefits of teaching as a career. This can have a negative effect on the morale of practising teachers, and is off-putting to new recruits and those considering entering the teaching profession. Trades unions have an important role in securing the well-being of their present members and the profession itself, and therefore the promotion of a balanced view of both the advantages of teaching as a profession, as well as the challenges, would be helpful.
Trades unions have long been in the vanguard of the struggle for equality, and continue to have an important role to play in ensuring that recruitment, retention and promotion policies and practices are fair and equitable to all social groups.

**Head teachers**
Head teachers exert an important influence over school culture and they should ensure that the school ethos reflects principles of fairness and respect for social diversity across a range of equality dimensions. Ensuring that there are appropriate role models of men and women in non-traditional areas may contribute to the wider celebration of diversity.

They should work with appointing bodies to ensure that fair appointment and promotion procedures are followed.

There are currently major concerns about the relatively poor performance of some boys, in particular those from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, and it has been argued that male teachers have an important role to play in fostering anti-sexist work which critiques unhelpful forms of masculinity. Head teachers should encourage this work, whilst ensuring that it does not explicitly or implicitly denigrate the role of women.

**Practising teachers**
Teachers lead by example and it is therefore important that they demonstrate to pupils and colleagues respect for social diversity across the full range of equality strands. Such respect should be reflected in daily interactions as well as curriculum and pedagogy.

Teachers need to engage with colleagues at different points within the school hierarchy about experiences of informal discrimination which might result in the unfair treatment of colleagues or students.

As ambassadors for the teaching profession, practising teachers have a role to play in promoting a positive image of the profession to pupils, students and the wider public. In the words of a university careers officer, a profession which does not believe in itself is unlikely to thrive.
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Glossary

BEd Bachelor of Education
CPD Continuing Professional Development
EIS Educational Institute of Scotland
GTCS General Teaching Council for Scotland
HMIE Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education
ITE Initial Teacher Education
PGCE Post Graduate Certificate in Education
SET Science Engineering and Technology
Appendix A: Research Instruments

Key informant schedule (to be adapted for individual informants)

Background
Can you tell me a little bit about your present post and your interest in the gender balance of teaching?

Perception of the situation
According to Scottish Executive statistics, the proportion of teachers who are male has dropped from 30 per cent in 1996 to 26 per cent in 2003. Why do you think there has been this decline?

The relative proportions of females in the different sectors are as follows: (primary: 93 per cent; secondary: 57 per cent; special: 82 per cent). Why do you think these patterns occur?

Why do you think it is a problem if fewer men are going into teaching?

Specific factors affecting male recruitment into teaching
What do you think attracts people into teaching?

Do you think that there are any factors which appeal more to either women or men?

Possible probes:
Long holidays
Opportunities for job-sharing and part-time working
A high degree of autonomy in the classroom
Intellectual challenge
Opportunities to work closely with children and young people
Opportunities for promotion
Secure employment
Desire to work in the public sector
Desire to work with the citizens of the future
Promotion opportunities
Even though there are more women in teaching, their chances of promotion are less good than those of men. For example, women make up 93% of all primary teachers, but 80% of all primary headteachers. In secondary schools, women make up 57 per cent of all staff, but only 18 per cent of headteachers.

Why do you think women are less likely to become headteachers, particularly in the secondary sector?
Do you think this is likely to change in the future?

McCrone changes
Do you think that the changes introduced into teaching by the McCrone settlement made it (a) a more attractive career in general (b) more appealing to either men or women?

Probe:
Pay hike
Flatter career structure (no APTs)
Specified working and training hours

Quality of new recruits
What do you think about the general quality of people going into teaching?
Do you think there are any differences in quality and motivation of male and female new entrants?

Positive actions
Do you think positive action should be taken to recruit more men into teaching?
What actions do you think might be taken?

Possible probes:
Advertising campaign geared specifically to attracting men
General promotion of teaching as a profession
Better pay and conditions for all teachers
Better pay and conditions for promoted staff
Focus on issues which may deter people from entering ITE, e.g. action to improve classroom discipline
More support for men in ITE
More support for men in the probationary year
Career officers interview schedule

**Background**
Can you each tell me a little bit about your role?

What is the general remit of the careers advisory service in this university??

**Career choices of graduates**
Which areas of work are the most popular graduate career choices at the moment?

Are there any differences in the career preferences of male and female students?

What do you think are the most salient factors influencing graduate career choices (Probe: salary, promotion opportunities, intellectual challenge, working with people, contributing to public good etc)

To what extent do you think women’s and men’s career choices are influenced by their gender today?

**Balance of women and men in teaching**
According to Scottish Executive statistics, the proportion of teachers who are male has dropped from 30 per cent in 1996 to 26 per cent in 2003.

Why do you think there has been this decline?

Have you been conscious of fewer students being interested in teaching as a profession?

Is the decline peculiar to teaching, or is it evident in other public sector jobs – e.g. social work, the civil service?

**Primary/secondary/special balance**
The relative proportions of females in the different sectors are as follows: (primary: 93 per cent; secondary : 57 per cent; special: 82 per cent).

Why do you think these patterns occur?

Is it a problem if fewer men are going into teaching?
Views of teaching as a career
From your discussions with students, what do you think they perceive as the positive features of teaching as a career?

Probe:
Long holidays
Opportunities for job-sharing and part-time working
A high degree of autonomy in the classroom
Intellectual challenge
Opportunities to work closely with children and young people
Opportunities for promotion
Secure employment
Desire to work in the public sector

What do they perceive to be the negative features of teaching as a career?

Probe:
Too much paperwork
Long working days
Pupil indiscipline
Lack of support in the classroom
Low public status

Do any of these positive or negative factors impact differently on men or women?

Promotion opportunities
Even though there are more women in teaching, their chances of promotion are less good than those of men. For example, women make up 93% of all primary teachers, but 80% of all primary headteachers. In secondary schools, women make up 57 per cent of all staff, but only 18 per cent of headteachers.

Why do you think women are less likely to become headteachers, particularly in the secondary sector?

Do you think this is likely to change in the future?
Positive actions
Are there any positive actions which could be taken to increase the recruitment of men?

What could be done by:

The University Careers Service
The Scottish Executive
Local Authorities
Schools?

Should positive actions be targeted at men, or should they be geared towards enhancing the quality and quantity of recruits into teaching in general?
Current teachers focus group schedule

Background
Can you each tell me a little bit about yourselves and your present role in the school?

Views of teaching as a career
What are the positive features of teaching as a career?

What are the negative features of teaching as a career?

Do any of these positive or negative factors impact differently on men or women?

To what extent do you think women’s and men’s career choices are influenced by their gender today?

Balance of women and men in teaching
According to Scottish Executive statistics, the proportion of teachers who are male has dropped from 30 per cent in 1996 to 26 per cent in 2003. Why do you think there has been this decline?

Primary/secondary/special balance
The relative proportions of females in the different sectors are as follows: (primary: 93 per cent; secondary: 57 per cent; special: 82 per cent).

Why do you think these patterns occur?

Is it a problem if fewer men are going into teaching?

Specific factors affecting male recruitment into teaching
A number of factors may attract people into teaching. Do you think women or men may be drawn into teaching for different reasons?

Probes:

Long holidays
Opportunities for job-sharing and part-time working
A high degree of autonomy in the classroom
Intellectual challenge
Opportunities to work closely with children and young people
Opportunities for promotion
Secure employment
Desire to work in the public sector
Any other specific factors which make teaching more attractive to either women or men?

**Promotion opportunities**
Even though there are more women in teaching, their chances of promotion are less good than those of men. For example, women make up 93% of all primary teachers, but 80% of all primary headteachers. In secondary schools, women make up 57 per cent of all staff, but only 18 per cent of headteachers.

Why do you think women are less likely to become headteachers, particularly in the secondary sector?

Do you think this is likely to change in the future?

**McCrone changes**
Do you think that the changes introduced into teaching by the McCrone settlement made it (a) a more attractive career in general (b) more appealing to either men or women?

Probe:
Pay hike
Flatter career structure (no APTs)
Specified working and training hours

**Positive actions**
Can you suggest any actions which could be taken to recruit more men into teaching?

What do you think of the following ideas:

Advertising campaign geared specifically to attracting men
General promotion of teaching as a profession
Better pay and conditions for all teachers
Better pay and conditions for promoted staff
Focus on issues which may deter people from entering ITE, e.g. action to improve classroom discipline
More support for men in ITE
More support for men in the probationary year

Any other thoughts or comments?
Undergraduate survey

Researchers from the University of Edinburgh have been commissioned by the Scottish Executive Education Department to investigate the gender balance of the teaching workforce. As part of this research, we want to find out undergraduate’s career intentions. This questionnaire is anonymous - there is no way of identifying who has completed it. Please tick or write in the box as indicated.

Please tick below the importance of each statement in relation to your career decisions:

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<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
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<td>I want a job which offers family friendly conditions</td>
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<td>I want a job which offers security and a steady income</td>
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<td>I want a job with long holidays</td>
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<td>I want a job which is socially useful</td>
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<td>I want a job where I work with people</td>
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<td>I want a job with high social status</td>
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<td>I want a job which uses my degree</td>
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<td>I want a job which will inspire future generations</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The area of work which I hope to work in is: (please write below)

First Choice:

Second Choice:

I have considered a job in education: (please tick below)

Yes  No

Please tick below your view of the following statements in relation to teaching:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching is a reasonably well-paid job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with classroom discipline make teaching an unpopular career choice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching is a good job for people with family responsibilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teachers command a lot of public respect
There are good career prospects for teachers
Teachers’ holidays make it an attractive career
Primary teaching is a more attractive career option than secondary teaching
I currently have experience of teaching (work experience, TEFL, gap year or other)
It is highly likely I will become a teacher

Do you have any other comments about teaching as a possible career?

Please complete the details below:
Name of University
Name of Degree Programme
Postcode (Home Address)
Year of Study  Age  Male  Female
Do you consider yourself to be disabled or not?  Yes  No
Do you receive the disabled student’s allowance  Yes  No

Ethnicity
White - UK  White – Other  Mixed  Asian – Indian
Asian – Pakistani  Asian – Bangladeshi  Asian – Chinese  Asian - Other
Black – Caribbean  Black – African  Black – Other  Other

Many thanks for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire.

Further information about the project, and a summary of findings (available September 2005) can be obtained from:- Catherine Burns, CREID, Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh, Holyrood Rd, Edinburgh, EH8 8AQ Email: Catherine.burns@ed.ac.uk OR Tel: 0131 651 6459