

1-1-1992

Reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia: Perceptions of female physical education teachers

Regina D. Bloot
Edith Cowan University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses>



Part of the [Other Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Bloot, R. D. (1992). *Reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia: Perceptions of female physical education teachers*. Edith Cowan University. Retrieved from <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1130>

This Thesis is posted at Research Online.
<https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1130>

Edith Cowan University

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study.

The University does not authorize you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following:

- Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright.
- A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. Where the reproduction of such material is done without attribution of authorship, with false attribution of authorship or the authorship is treated in a derogatory manner, this may be a breach of the author's moral rights contained in Part IX of the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth).
- Courts have the power to impose a wide range of civil and criminal sanctions for infringement of copyright, infringement of moral rights and other offences under the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth). Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

**REASONS FOR THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF FEMALES AT HEAD OF
DEPARTMENT LEVEL IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN GOVERNMENT
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA : PERCEPTIONS OF
FEMALE PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS**

by

Regina Diana Bloot

B.P.E., Dip.Ed

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Award of**

**Master of Education
at the Faculty of Education, Edith Cowan University**

1992

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on reasons why so few females hold Head of Department positions in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia. Despite the almost equitable proportion of females and males teaching the subject, and the absence of Ministry of Education policy constraints on female promotion since 1972, females remain grossly underrepresented in leadership roles. In 1991, women held only five (7%) of the 70 substantive Head of Department appointments.

Individual in-depth interviews were used as the means of data collection to document female teachers' own accounts of their lives, career aspirations, and what they perceived to be the barriers and encouragements for promotion in physical education. A sample of female physical education teachers was selected and subdivided into three groups based on their years of teaching experience and occupancy of Head of Department positions. The intention of such a categorization was to obtain a broad spectrum of perceptions, and to facilitate comparison between the groups to indicate the varying effects that changing Ministry of Education policies and societal expectations have had on the promotional prospects and aspirations of female physical educators.

The factors that emerged as constraints to the promotion of females were based primarily on stereotypic attitudes and expectations regarding gender-roles, and comprised both external systemic and internalized psychological barriers. It is proposed that many of the perceived deterrents are in fact created in the minds of female teachers to mask their lack of self-confidence and/or ambition. For this

reason, social settings from studentship, through teacher education, to the teaching environment can play a crucial role in shaping and nurturing the career decisions and aspirations of female teachers.

Finally, recommendations based on the findings are made to three key groups, namely, the Ministry of Education; teacher education institutions; and female physical education teachers. The suggested measures to address the problem focused on the need to do more than just change policy. Education regarding promotion; the identification and sponsorship of potential female candidates; the provision of networking and support groups; mentoring by female leaders; and a non-discriminatory selection process are among the essential strategies needed to stimulate and nurture the promotional aspirations of female physical education teachers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For her inspiration, expert guidance and editing skills, I acknowledge my supervisor, Associate Professor Jennifer Browne, and express my appreciation of her support and encouragement throughout the period of my thesis preparation.

My special thanks is also extended to Dr Lynn Embrey, Dr Sherry Saggars and Dr Glenda Campbell-Evans, who gave so generously of their time and expertise as readers and advisors.

I acknowledge with gratitude my mother, Mrs Margrieta Gaujers, for her role as mentor and motivator, for her time and skills as a reader, and above all for her unrelenting faith in me.

For their time and willing conversation, I thank the female physical educators involved, without whom the study would not have been possible.

Finally, I would like to thank Mrs Angela Johnson, my typist, whose expertise and co-operation have enabled the preparation of this thesis in such a short time.

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
The problem	6
Research question	10
Significance of the study	11
Thesis outline	12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	16
The underrepresentation of females in promotional positions	17
The significance of having females in promotional positions	20
Reasons for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions	26
Is there a basis for treating females and males differently?	60
Females in leadership roles in physical education	62
3. METHODOLOGY	72
Subjects and settings	75
Instrumentation	78
Data collection	83
Data analysis	89
4. DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENTS	92
Age range	92
Marital status and dependents	94
School attended as a student	96
Qualifications	97
Number of schools at which teachers have taught	99
Breaks in service	101
Reasons for career choice	103
Future career plans	108
Responsibilities assumed in addition to teaching duties	112
Membership of professional and sporting organisations	114

	PAGE
5. THE PERCEIVED IMPACT OF POLICIES AND REGULATIONS ON PROMOTION	121
Redressing the imbalances	124
Country service	129
6. PERCEIVED EXTERNAL SYSTEMIC BARRIERS TO PROMOTION	132
Patriarchy within the education system	132
The male model of leadership	141
The image of physical education	149
7. PERCEIVED INTERNALIZED PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO PROMOTION	166
Family responsibilities	166
Low promotional orientation	173
Lack of encouragement and support	180
Lack of skills and experience	183
Female teachers' own perceptions	191
Age	199
Health concerns	205
8. FINDINGS REGARDING PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO PROMOTION	207
9. COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS WITHIN THE THREE CATEGORIES	213
10. THE RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF FUTURE TRENDS	224
11. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	229
Major findings	229
Recommendations	244
Final comments	250
Recommendations for further research	251
APPENDIX	
A General position description for Head of Department - Secondary	254
B Breakdown by subject areas of female and male teachers and Heads of Department	258
C Interview Guide 1 : Teachers with 4 or 5 years' experience	259
D Interview Guide 2 : Teachers with 15 or more years' experience	260

	PAGE
E Interview Guide 3 : Current or past Heads of Department	261
F Demographic and background information sheet	262
REFERENCES	263

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1 Heads of Department by subject area in Western Australian Ministry of Education secondary schools for 1991	9
2 Senior teachers of physical education by location and sex	20
3 Summary of reasons presented in the literature for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions	59
4 Patton's Matrix of question options as utilized for the development of interview guides	80
5 A matrix to indicate how clusters of interview topics relate to the research questions	81
6 Category of teacher by age	93
7 Category of teacher by marital status and dependents	95
8 Category of teacher by type of school attended	96
9 Category of teacher by qualifications	99
10 Category of teacher by number of schools at which teachers have taught	100
11 Category of teacher by breaks in service	102
12 Reasons for selecting physical education as a career	103
13 Factors contributing to career choice	106
14 Category of teacher by career choice	108
15 Category of teacher by future career plans	109
16 Category of teacher by additional responsibilities assumed	113
17 Category of teacher by membership of professional associations and sporting organisations	115
18 A matrix indicating relationships between the given aspects of the respondents' profiles and their promotional aspirations	119

	PAGE
19 Skills and qualities perceived as essential for a Head of Department	185
20 Perceived correlation matrix for the factors identified as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education	212
21 A summary of the comparative perceptions of the three categories of teachers regarding reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education	214
22 Comparative perceptions of the major barriers to promotion	222
23 Category of teacher by perceived future increase in female representation at Head of Department level	225
24 The perceived directions of change in the influence of factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education	228

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
FIGURE	
1 A profile of the perceived extent of influence of factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education	231
2 The past, present and future determinants of female physical education teachers' promotional orientations	236

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, teaching has been one of the few professions available to women. Not only has teaching been the most popular career choice for women, it has also constituted the largest professional category occupied by them. Teaching has provided women with a route for both economic and social independence from the family (Fraser & Fraser, cited in Moore, 1981; Kelsall, 1980). Teaching has also been instrumental in fostering the notion of women with careers as being stereotypically 'nurturer-supporters' (Fraser & Fraser, cited in Moore, 1981). Female teachers have been viewed as most suitable with younger children, and less suitable with either older students or in positions of authority.

The development of these stereotypes can be traced back to arguments originally presented by North American women's leaders in education such as Catherine Beecher and Emma Willard (Tynack & Strober, 1981), and were later popularised in Australia by nineteenth century feminists. While such arguments facilitated the entry of females into teaching and legitimated women as teachers, they also encouraged females' subordinate status and conditions in comparison with their male counterparts. Since early this century in Australia, women have provided the bulk of the teaching labour force, but for most of that time, have been constrained by the dual handicaps of lower pay and nonpermanence of position after marriage.

Since the early 1970s there has been growing pressure for a broader definition of female and male roles in relation to the workforce and to family life. No longer are large periods of women's lives devoted exclusively to child-rearing and related

domestic activities. The steady increase in the number of females in the workforce is now a widely recognised phenomenon. The changing status of women in society has not however been reflected to any great extent in our education system. The role of most educators still tends to reflect the traditional roles of females and males which are based on a mutually exclusive division of labour and outmoded views of sex differences. Both the hidden and overt curriculum in schools, and the structures and organisational arrangements that contribute to the continuation of traditional barriers inhibit females in the development of their potential.

The Effects of Legislation on Female Teachers

Relevant legislation for female teachers in Western Australia since the late 1960s includes the Equal Pay Act (1968), the Equal Opportunity Act (1984), the Sex Discrimination Act (1984) and the Affirmative Action Act (1986).

Equal pay for females came in stages from 1968 to 1971 after the introduction of the Equal Pay Act (1968) (Porter, 1986). MacKinnon (1984) suggested that the lower wages for women were associated with the idea that for a woman, home life was primary and work was intermittent and temporary. This perception not only had provided the rationale for lower wages for women, it also provided the rationale to remove married women from the workforce.

The Sex Discrimination Act (1984) completed its passage through parliament on March 7th, 1984. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women formed the basis of this Act (Smith, 1988)

The Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 makes unlawful acts of discrimination on the ground of sex, marital status or pregnancy in the areas of employment, education, accommodation, the provisions of goods and services, the disposal of land, the activities of clubs and the administration of Commonwealth laws and programs. The Act also makes unlawful discrimination involving sexual harassment in education and employment.

(Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (a), 1984, p.6)

Following the Sex Discrimination Act (1984), the Commonwealth Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act was passed on October 1st, 1986 and came into operation on February 1st, 1987 (Smith, 1988). Affirmative action incorporates the use of legislative reform and management programs to achieve progress towards equal opportunity (Ziller, 1980), and is part of a total Equal Employment Opportunity policy which enables the redress of past discrimination whilst ensuring that all employees have equal access to the promotional opportunities on the basis of merit, skills and appropriate qualifications. Under Section 8(1) of the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act 1986:

Employers are expected to identify and eliminate practices which directly or indirectly, discriminate against women. The requirements of this section are supported by the Sex Discrimination Act (1984 Commonwealth)
(Burton, 1988, p.1)

The Effects of Ministry of Education Policies on Female Teachers

In Western Australia, until the early 1970s, female teachers were severely restricted in their professions by lower pay and forced resignation from permanent positions after marriage. The latter meant the denial of other benefits such as long service leave, Christmas and holiday pay, superannuation and promotion. Women have also

been constrained by regulations that made promotion more difficult for them, such as country service requirements which impact differently on women and men. Other discriminatory policies of the Western Australian state school system have included a pregnancy bar with a consequent loss of benefits such as permanency and superannuation; lack of accouchement leave; and a favouring of the breadwinner policy.

Until 1968, female teachers were forced to resign upon marriage and were re-employed on temporary status, as determined by departmental needs. Although accouchement leave was introduced in 1968, married female teachers were not admitted to permanent staff in Western Australia until 1972.

Closely associated with the Ministry of Education policy on lower salaries for women was the breadwinner policy. This was based on the premise that the breadwinner, who in most cases was male, was the preferred candidate for a teaching position.

Until the establishment of the merit promotion system in 1990, country service was an essential requirement for most promotions within the Western Australian state secondary school system. With the advent of promotion by merit, country service is now no longer a prerequisite for promotion.

Research Overview

Since the 1960s, researchers have advanced a variety of reasons for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions in education. Reviews from the 1960s and 1970s indicated that more women than men lacked self confidence;

fewer women than men aspired to promotional positions; there was a conflict of home and family responsibilities with women's career commitments; women were less likely than men to receive encouragement and have networks and mentors; there was a pervasive bias against female decision-makers in patriarchal education systems; administration preparation programmes were sex-biased; and few women had formal administrator preparation or certification. These suggested reasons represent barriers to the promotion of female teachers, additional to the constraints imposed by the regulations and policies of the past.

According to Sadker, Sadker and Klein (1991), the current lack of representation of women in key administrative positions, cannot be attributed to their lack of academic degrees or certification. Recent research has identified more subtle structural issues relating to assumptions about male leadership and "new visions of leadership based on female and humanist principles" (p.284).

Research conducted in Western Australia by Wallis (1991) investigating female Deputy Principals' perceptions of career, found that women's career decision-making was a response to their career experiences, and that a set of meanings created from those experiences led to self-limiting behaviours. Her research showed that female teachers' career opportunities were externally limited. They could not, according to Wallis, pursue a career through the present Western Australian state education system without massive costs in enmity, in effects on self-esteem, in working constantly to counter political moves by the male network, and in making difficult changes to family patterns. As a result, even relatively ambitious women felt overwhelming pressure to self-limit their careers. Wallis concluded that her research

supported recent literature on women's employment which suggested that the effects of formal equal employment opportunity procedures have been small.

The Problem

Within the microcosm of the school, male staff assume more of the positions of perceived status and power in both teaching and administration. They predominate in subjects perceived to have high academic status such as physics, chemistry, mathematics and computing; in co-ordinators' roles; and in senior administrative positions (Collins, 1990). Teachers are important role models for students, and the sex of the teacher involved, the level at which they teach or the promotional position they hold are all subtle indicators of stereotypes and the status designated to a particular subject or sex (Diller & Houston, 1983; Vertinsky, 1983).

In 1991, in physical education positions in Western Australian government secondary schools, males outnumbered females by 374 to 350 appointments respectively, or as a percentage, males comprised 51.6% of the establishment. Of the Heads of Department in secondary schools, women held only five (7%) of the 70 substantive appointments. Taking into account that the percentage of female physical education teachers is 48.4%, they are grossly underrepresented in promotional positions.

Table 1 presents the number and proportion of female and male teachers and Heads of Department in a range of subject areas for Ministry of Education secondary schools in Western Australia (1991). The table also provides a rank order by chi-squares of the significance of the proportion of female and male Heads of Department, based on the number of females and males teaching each respective

subject. These data highlight the overall lack of representation of females at the Head of Department level with a chi-square 'across subjects' of 335.59 ($p < .001$). Physical education ranked fourth ($\chi^2 = 47.45$) in terms of underrepresentation of females as Heads of Department, behind English, mathematics and social studies, with each chi-square being significant at the 0.001 level.

Despite the fact that all policy and regulation initiated barriers to female promotion have been removed during the period 1968 to 1972, there is still only a small number of female Heads of Department in physical education.

The purpose of this study is to investigate reasons, from the perspective of female teachers and Heads of Department, why so few females hold Head of Department positions in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia, in the context of the almost equitable proportion of females and males teaching the subject, and the absence of Ministry of Education policy restrictions on female promotion.

It would seem appropriate at this stage to clarify the terminology that will appear in the discussion to follow in reference to the promotional position currently termed 'Head of Department'. Until 1991, incumbents of the position were referred to as 'Senior Master' or 'Senior Mistress' depending on their sex. Collectively they were often known as 'Senior Teachers', however this title was not an official one. The change in nomenclature from 'Senior Master/Mistress' to 'Head of Department' was necessitated by the institution of 'Advanced Skills Teachers' (comprised of 'Senior Teachers' and 'Key Teachers') by the Ministry of Education in 1991, to reward

teachers with 15 or more years of teaching experience who were not in promotional positions.

A general description of the context, scope and duties of a Head of Department is provided in Appendix A. There is no job description specifically related to physical education available. The Ministry of Education is currently developing subject-specific duty statements for Heads of Department.

TABLE 1

**HEADS OF DEPARTMENT BY SUBJECT AREA IN WESTERN AUSTRALIAN
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR 1991**

Subject	Total Teachers		Proportion of Teachers		Heads of Department		Proportion of Heads of Department		χ^2	Rank Order
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Art-Craft	81	187	30.2	69.8	10	2	83.3	16.7	16.176*	6
Business Education	26	290	5.2	94.8	3	7	30.0	70.0	13.158*	7
English	352	640	35.5	64.5	80	24	76.9	23.1	78.026*	1
Mathematics	491	386	55.4	44.6	87	3	96.7	3.3	61.907*	2
Physical Education	374	350	51.7	48.3	65	5	92.9	7.1	47.453*	4
Science	623	272	69.6	31.4	124	3	97.6	2.4	47.170*	5
Social Studies	503	249	66.9	34.1	100	1	99.0	1.0	47.957*	3
Across Subjects	3240	3289	49.6	50.4	556	95	85.4	14.6	335.592*	

(Information provided by the Ministry of Education, W.A. 1991)

* Indicates significance at the 0.001 level.

(Chi-squares have been calculated only for those subjects with sufficiently large numbers of teachers and/or Heads of Department to obtain a meaningful result. Consequently Agriculture, Alternative Upper School, Computing, ESL, Home Economics, Low Achievers, Library, LOTE, Manual Arts and Reading Resource have been omitted.)

RESEARCH QUESTION

The questions which initiated and directed the following research were:

Research Question

From the perspective of female physical education teachers and Heads of Department, what reasons underlie the fact that there are so few female Heads of Department in physical education?

Subsidiary Research Questions

1. To what extent do female physical educators perceive that Ministry of Education policies have been responsible for this situation?
2. What external systemic barriers do female physical education teachers perceive as restricting their advancement to Head of Department?
3. What internalized psychological barriers do female physical education teachers perceive as restricting their advancement to Head of Department?
4. What are the comparative perceptions of teachers within the three selected categories:
 - (i) female physical education teachers with four or five years' teaching experience;

(ii) female physical education teachers with 15 or more years' teaching experience; and

(iii) female physical education teachers who currently hold or have in the past held Head of Department positions;

in terms of their career aspirations and promotion or nonpromotion to Head of Department?

5. What measures could be taken to encourage females to apply for Head of Department positions in physical education?

Significance of the Study

The domination of males in promotional positions in physical education represents a situation likely to affect the gender image of the subject, just as it has been shown to be a factor affecting the image of subjects such as physics, chemistry, mathematics and manual arts (Browne, 1991). According to Browne (1991), the imbalance of sexes in senior positions is of particular concern, because females are not seen to hold status positions and consequently, girls and other female teachers are not provided with positive female role models. The absence of females at Head of Department level also ensures the perpetuation of the male perspective in department policy, the syllabus, and learning experiences provided for students.

This study offers an investigation of the neglected area of women in decision-making roles in physical education through the eyes of those in crucial positions with regard to the advancement of women's careers. A study of female physical education teachers in schools is a fruitful avenue of research into understanding on the one

hand, the external systemic and attitudinal barriers to equal opportunity for women; and on the other, the internalised psychological barriers restricting their advancement.

From the figures presented in Table 1, it is evident that merely changing policy has not been sufficient to bring about any real change in the career patterns of female physical educators in terms of promotion to Head of Department. It is anticipated that as a result of this study, it will be possible to determine what measures could be taken to encourage females to apply for Head of Department positions in physical education.

THESIS OUTLINE

The following chapters present the background, methodology and findings of my research into the lack of female leadership in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia.

Chapter 2 is a review of related literature which investigates the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions. The chapter initially addresses general evidence regarding the dominance of males in authority; and then the significance of having women in decision-making roles in terms of role models, subject image and implications for curriculum and policy development and implementation. Reasons for the lack of women in senior positions in education are then examined to reveal nine clusters of contributing factors. In the light of conflicting views expressed by various researchers with regard to these explanations, the question of 'Is there a basis for treating females and males differently?' is considered. The chapter concludes with a

more specific investigation of the physical education area and its particular implications for female promotion to senior positions.

The methodology chapter provides a brief description of the study's feminist base and qualitative approach. It outlines the procedures undertaken, and describes the methods and instrumentation utilized for data collection and analysis.

The following six chapters describe the findings of research undertaken to determine reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education. An account of the experiences, opinions, perceptions and aspirations of the three categories of teachers in relation to the major issues addressed by the research are presented.

Chapter 4 describes the demographic and background profiles of the respondents in terms of age, marital status and dependents; the secondary school they attended as students; qualifications; the number of schools at which they had taught; breaks in service; their reasons for choosing physical education as a career; their future career plans; responsibilities assumed in addition to their teaching duties; and their membership of professional associations and/or sporting organisations. Each aspect of the profiles is considered with regard to its influence on the promotional aspirations of the respondents.

The perceived impact of Ministry of Education policies and regulations is addressed in Chapter 5. It is proposed that although past policies have grossly discriminated against females, particularly those who were married with dependents, the constraints imposed have not been a major contributing factor to the underrepresentation of

females at Head of Department level. Policies implemented as a result of the Equal Opportunity Act (1984) and the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act (1986) are judged to have had little success in redressing the imbalance.

Chapter 6 details the perceived external systemic barriers to promotion identified by female physical educators. These included patriarchy within the education system, the male model of leadership, and the image of physical education. It is proposed that the perceived image of physical education as male dominated, the expectation of male leadership, and the inadequacies felt by women in competing for the Head of Department position, are strong contributing factors to the underrepresentation of females as leaders in physical education.

The internalized psychological barriers perceived by female teachers as constraints on their promotional orientation are described in Chapter 7. The relationship between these internal barriers of family responsibilities; lack of skills and experience; lack of encouragement and support; low promotional orientation; female teachers' own perceptions; and age and health concerns, and the external structural constraints on the career advancement of females is discussed. It is suggested that experiences within the school system and expectations generated by the male model of leadership and augmented by the image of physical education, reinforce the stereotyped gender-role of females and shape their perceptions regarding barriers to promotion.

Chapter 8 presents a summary of the perceived barriers to promotion, and a comparative overview of the perceptions of the three categories of teachers interviewed is provided in Chapter 9. Respondents in all three categories perceived the image of physical education; female teachers' own perceptions regarding

promotion and the Head of Department position; and the low promotional orientation of female physical educators to be amongst the most significant barriers.

The respondents' perceptions of future trends in terms of the number of female Heads of Department are described in Chapter 10. Based on an analysis of the influence of each of the factors identified as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education, and a prediction regarding their future impact, it is proposed that the number of females in leadership positions will rise. The importance of mentoring and the provision of role models in order to achieve such an increase is emphasized.

Having presented and discussed the major findings of the research in the preceding chapters, the final chapter provides an interpretation of the interrelationships between the identified barriers to promotion in the light of stereotypic attitudes and expectations regarding gender-roles. It is proposed that the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education is a gender-based phenomenon. Recommendations which attempt to address the problem are then directed at three key groups, namely, the Ministry of Education; teacher education institutions; and female physical education teachers. The thesis concludes with an optimistic view to the future in terms of redressing the imbalance of female leadership in physical education, given the continuation of trends in societal and educational change.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This review begins by investigating the underrepresentation of females in decision-making roles and positions of authority in society, and more specifically within the subsystem of education. The significance of having women in promotional positions is addressed in terms of the importance of role modelling, subject image, and the 'female perspective' as it may influence curriculum and policy development and the allocation of resources. Suggested reasons for the lack of representation are then examined in the light of changes in Ministry of Education policy and societal expectations regarding equality of opportunity. The review concludes with an examination of physical education; the nature of its ideologies and function as a socialising agent; the underrepresentation of females at the Head of Department level; and the resultant implications for the profession and its clients.

It would seem important at this stage to make a distinction between the terms 'sex' and 'gender' because many of the judgements and assumptions made regarding what women and men 'should' or 'should not' be able to do are bound up with the concept of 'gender' rather than 'sex'. According to Scraton (1990), 'sex' is the "innate, biological foundation of male or female status", as distinct from 'gender' which refers to "the socially constructed, normative but not necessarily eternal or inevitable conception of male or female status." 'Femininity' and 'masculinity' refer to the "stereotyped set of expected attributes associated with society's conception of gender." (p.100). Gender categories are overlaid and stereotyped by reference to notions of femininity and masculinity, and the suitability of certain behaviours is decided by reference to feminine and masculine stereotypes. It is in fact gender

categorisation based on socially constructed expectations which proves to be the limiting factor in the context of stereotyping and female career opportunities. The importance of conceptualising gender relations as a system was emphasized by Connell, Kessler, Ashenden and Dowsett (1982), who argued that gender patterns within institutions such as family, school or sport, mesh with one another to make an overall pattern. This system is one of male power and female subordination.

In the present study, the term 'sex' will be used to differentiate between women and men on a biological basis and for data analysis. The term 'gender' will be used in relation to the discussion of issues pertaining to women and men more broadly, and to female and male teachers in terms of perceptions, expectations, orientations and so on.

The Underrepresentation of Females in Promotional Positions

The school environment closely mirrors the values and expectations of the general society, and in doing so, accords to its members a differential distribution of rewards, responsibilities and status. Though all teachers experience pressures and changes, individuals experience them in different ways, and have differing degrees of power and resources to confront, challenge or improve their educational opportunities and career prospects. Teachers' careers are structured by ideologies that influence and differently define the position and status of females and males (Evans & Williams, 1989). Opportunities for advancement are constrained by sex, social class and the occupational status of the subject area, and extend across schools to provide structural advantages for certain groups and disadvantages for others (Ball, 1987). The structure of schools and their subject departments are deeply shaped by

patriarchy, and women are often profoundly disadvantaged in career terms by male dominance in schools. Even in the primary sector where women teachers outnumber men, the latter are disproportionately represented in senior positions (Burgess, 1986).

According to De Lyon and Mignuolo (1989), there is no shortage of data to show that women teachers do not occupy promotional positions as frequently as their male colleagues. A report to the Schools Commission titled Girls, school and society (McKinnon, 1975), expressed concern regarding the underrepresentation of females in positions of authority in the education system, along with the apparent division between females and males in terms of staffing of particular subject areas and identification with specific age groups of children. The Education Department of Western Australia, in a report to the Minister for Education (1976), made comment on "the inverse relationship between the seniority of positions and the number of women in these positions" (p.14), and the fact that there were considerable differences between the overall career patterns of female and male teachers. The report further elaborated stating that in the secondary school system, male teachers typically occupied positions such as superintendent, principal, and senior teacher, while women tended to be more visible as classroom teachers, librarians and clerical staff.

Evidence from all states in Australia shows that "women are still at, or close to the bottom of all education employment hierarchies" (Sampson, 1986, p.38). In 1986, although females comprised 42.5% of teachers in Western Australian government schools, only 8.2% were principals, 46.6% were deputies and 15.5% were Heads of Department (New South Wales Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, 1988). Within the same report titled The National data base on the education of girls in

Australian schools, the notion of the underrepresentation of females was clearly reinforced in the summary statement: "The representation of women in promotional positions in government secondary schools increases as the level of promotion decreases" (p.55). The same phenomenon was recognised by Davies (1990), who said that available figures suggest "...a consistent decline in the proportions of women post-holders as seniority increases" (p.36). Although the teaching profession may be female dominated numerically, the majority of education administrators are male, and the formal decision-making is in the hands of men (Davies, 1990; Sadker, Sadker & Klein, 1991).

In the more specific context of physical education, Burgess (1988) provided research evidence concerning the inequity of career prospects of females and males. Similar evidence was provided by Evans and Williams (1989), confirming that there is gender differentiation in terms of access to and maintenance of key power positions in physical education. It is predominantly the male physical education teacher who successfully moves into the decision-making roles (Leaman, 1984).

Browne (1991) presented 1989 staffing statistics on the numbers of Senior Teachers in physical education by location and sex in Western Australian government schools (Table 2). Of the 69 Senior Teacher positions (57 substantive and 12 acting) 91.3% were filled by males and only 8.7% by females despite the more equitable breakdown of physical education teachers in the total establishment at 55.3% male and 44.7% female. Browne concluded that in the promotional position of Senior Teacher, women were grossly underrepresented, and suggested that this situation required immediate attention and investigation.

TABLE 2**SENIOR TEACHERS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION BY LOCATION AND SEX**

LOCATION	POSITION AND SEX Designated Senior Teachers			
	SUBSTANTIVE		ACTING	
	F	M	F	M
♦ Metropolitan	3	41	0	11*
♦ Country	1	12	0	1
TOTALS	4	53	0	12

* In the case of two males in acting positions in metropolitan schools, the substantive positions were held by females.
(Browne, 1991, p.223)

The Significance of Having Females In Promotional Positions

Decisions concerning appointments and promotions may superficially appear to be isolated incidents in the careers of particular teachers or departments. However, such decisions have an important bearing on power structures, patterns of innovation and change, the model of particular subject areas and the way in which all of these are portrayed to school students (Burgess, 1988). The consequences of the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions are serious and far reaching, impinging on three major aspects of educational significance, namely the lack of opportunity to gain a female perspective on the structure of education and schools, or influence policy and curriculum development; the image of the subject taught as affected by its teachers and departmental heads; and the nature of role models presented to students and teachers in terms of women in decision-making capacities. The question of equal career rights for teachers is also an issue.

According to De Lyon and Mignuolo (1989), the sex differentiation evident at senior management levels reduces women's "... influence and power over policy development in schools, the formal and informal curriculum, the allocation of resources and the appointment of staff." (p.49). The management style in a school can affect the nature of school curriculum and can limit the learning experiences of the students. McKinnon (1975) in a report titled Girls, school and society also expressed concern over the effect on young people of a situation where men are almost universally in positions of authority over women. "Teachers' attitudes can play an important role in actively encouraging or discouraging girls' achievements in so far as teachers influence school policies and programmes involving both the content and method of schooling." (p.96).

Even when females establish a right to participate in the formal processes of institutional decision-making, and to present an alternative perspective, their influence can often be rendered ineffective. Typically, women's talk is supportive and facilitatory when interacting with men, and the control over the typography of the conversation is thus surrendered to the men (Spender, 1982). Men meanwhile, actively assert their own conversation 'rights' by completing women's sentences, failing to respond to topics and issues raised by women, and interrupting without permission (Acker, 1983). "While women are marginal in the system men have set up, even their criticisms can be trivialised and dismissed" (Spender, 1982, p.47).

In the subject area of physical education, men dominate the senior positions and their interpretation of what constitutes an appropriate physical education curriculum tends to prevail. Despite the fact that women have assisted in curriculum development, their lack of seniority has rendered their influence somewhat limited (Sikes, 1988).

Vertinsky (1983) expressed similar views regarding male dominance in discussing physical education in England :

The Head of Department is often male, he confers with the Head Teacher, also usually male and plays a major role in developing physical education policy, timetabling, assigning facilities and buying equipment. It is hardly surprising then that secondary physical education programmes tend to be dominated by male attitudes towards the teaching of games and the distribution of professional rewards, and that students seldom see female physical educators in positions of power or authority. (p.241)

These views were also supported by Diller and Houston (1983) and Dahlgren (1988).

Knoppers (1989) believed that women should occupy leadership roles because "... there is more than one approach to ethics and knowing and relating to others... for many people one style tends to dominate. Women tend to use a nurtural, relational style while men are trained in a justice-orientated, individualistic and autonomous style... the presence of females may tend to counterpoint this rigidity" (p.38).

Literature suggests that the sex of a teacher has an effect on the pedagogical process, and that this is an important underlying factor in the development of a subject's image. "The preponderance of male teachers in physical education and domination by males of the special and promotional positions, present a situation likely to affect the gender image of the subject, just as they have been shown to be factors affecting the image of subjects such as physics, chemistry, mathematics and manual arts" (Browne, 1991, p.127)

Studies in mathematics (Fennema, 1984) and science (Kahle, 1987; Kelly, 1987; Schibeci, 1986; Vockell & Lobonc, 1981) have all indicated that the predominant sex of the teacher, in this case male, is a factor in the subjects having a masculine image. Females on the other hand tend to cluster in subjects such as languages, English, business education and home economics. In these areas, the majority of Heads of Department are also female (see Appendix B), and as a consequence the image of the subject is a feminine one, attracting predominantly female students. According to Deem (1978), in single sex schools where girls were more likely to be taught mathematics and science by female teachers, they were less likely to think of these subjects as masculine. The image of a subject is a major influence in student choice regarding courses of study and possible career decisions, and is therefore an important consideration in terms of the balance of representation of females as its teachers and Departmental Heads.

The position of women and men in the educational hierarchy and the gender specific nature of certain responsibilities are means of reinforcing gender-stereotyped expectations which tend to place women in subordinate roles. Sociological research has emphasised the importance of 'modelling' in the process of socialization into stereotyped roles through identification and imitation. According to Goslin (1965), one mechanism for socialization is the provision of significant other individuals whose values, attitudes and social behaviours are relevant examples for individuals to follow and imitate during their lives. This is of particular importance during childhood, but may continue throughout a person's life, and usually involves someone of the same sex. Women who occupy promotional positions within the school system provide role models for both female students and female teachers.

Because teachers are important role models, there is particular cause for concern regarding the underrepresentation of females in positions of authority in the education system and in the identification of female and male teachers with specific age groups of children, or in particular subject areas (Ball, 1987; Browne, 1991; Hutchinson, 1981; McKinnon, 1975). It has been recognised over a number of years that the sexual imbalance of responsibility and power in schools is likely to have a detrimental influence on the students' perceptions of female teachers and perhaps women in general. The majority of students are accustomed to men occupying the senior positions, and it is likely that the staffing patterns contribute to students' perceptions about suitable roles for males and females, and encourage assumptions about sex-based capabilities which reinforce stereotyped images for girls and boys (Hutchinson, 1981; McKinnon, 1975; Stewart, 1976). Females are seen as incapable of decision-making, efficient control and top level administration as both girls and boys become accustomed to the idea that females occupy subordinate positions. A report to the Commonwealth Schools Commission's Working Party, entitled Girls and tomorrow : The challenge for schools reinforced this in its statement :

...the invisibility of women staff is a constant feature of the reality presented to children over the ten years or so they spend at school, and has enormous potential as an influence on their perceptions of what is appropriate and possible for females and males... Women have shown that they have the ability to perform tasks requiring leadership, dominance and assertion and it is crucial for schools to present a picture of women as widely competent human beings...this would enhance the acceptance by boys of females in non-traditional roles and it would also have a positive effect on girls' self concepts and levels of self esteem."
(Miland, 1984, p.26)

Within the school environment, role models are not only significant for the student population, but also for the teaching staff, influencing their professional aspirations, and perceptions of career opportunities.

Women in the lower positions in the hierarchy perceiving few women at the top, may consciously conclude that the positions are for men only or that women are unsuitable for such positions and therefore do not consider themselves capable of fulfilling the necessary requirements or feel that, even if formally qualified, they would not be appointed to such positions... The predominance of men in positions of seniority may at the same time encourage male teachers to perceive opportunities for upward mobility and work towards gaining the qualifications and experience necessary for advancement. (Stewart, 1976, p.34)

Hutchinson (1981) confirmed that we must recognise the far reaching implications of female students' perceptions regarding the status of women teachers and the ways in which these may contribute to the perpetuation of a cycle of depressed expectations and aspirations among female teachers. If girls have "... become accustomed to the idea that females occupy subordinate or lower status positions in schools, they may well expect no better for themselves, and may even regard ambition in females as an unnatural vice rather than a virtue" (p.44). Sampson (1981) summed up the need to recognise the unique role that educators play in our society to shape young minds. "In a day and age when women are moving into leadership roles in other areas of society, school-girls and school-boys need the example of efficient, accepted women leaders in schools as part of their day to day experience." Without that they will "... gain a distorted view of power and competence of females in our society" (p.27).

Females in promotional positions serve as role models in terms of leadership skills and competence, and serve to advertise the fact that similar people can function in that environment. "Much of the success or failure of women and minorities who enter

male dominated areas has been attributed to the presence or absence of role models" (Knoppers, 1989, p.39).

Overall, in the light of findings from the literature regarding the very significant effect that the sex of the teacher, and the sex balance in administrative power can have on the pedagogical process in terms of determining curriculum, allocating resources, teaching strategies, subject image and role modelling, the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions within the education system warrants urgent investigation and positive action.

REASONS FOR THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF FEMALES IN PROMOTIONAL POSITIONS

In a study investigating promotion in the Australian government schools system, Sampson (1986) discovered that females and males had similar motivation for seeking promotion. The challenge of increased responsibility and the opportunity to influence the system and the organisation of schools or the curriculum were rated amongst the most important. A slightly greater proportion of females than males were interested in promotion as a result of dissatisfaction with their present position or because they wanted a change of responsibility. Salary was a marginally more important reason for males than for females applying for promotion and conversely, lack of financial reward a reason for not applying. Considering the similarities in motivation for seeking promotion for females and males, what account can be given for the marked disparities existing in the representation of females and males in promotional positions?

Research into teachers' careers has suggested a range of factors which contribute to the differences in promotional status between female and male teachers. According to Hoferek (1986), the barriers to career advancement experienced by women may be internal and, or external. Internal barriers exist in the form of self-devaluation or perhaps devaluing the work of other women, a type of 'minority group self-hatred'. The external barriers are more structural; built-in to the system; taking the form of groups interacting; interdependent elements which affect the hiring, advancement decisions and the institutional climate for women. Spender (1982) stated that:

...there are probably one hundred good reasons for males being better candidates (for promotion) than females, however this says little about males and females and a great deal about male control...there is no biological base for women being without authority, excluded from the curriculum, required to undertake the full responsibility for childcare, of servicing children and another adult and expected to follow men rather than establish their own financial base...these are all social arrangements (p.41).

The negative effects of stereotyping and sex discrimination on promotional procedures and on women's opportunities for development comprise a major portion of the possible deterrents discussed in the literature, in conjunction with a number of more specific factors which impinge on women's career patterns. In the past, educational opportunities closely reflected cultural images of 'maleness' and 'femaleness', and despite the popularity of teaching as a career for women, very few women reached positions of seniority in the administrative structure in schools. "Differences in female and male career patterns may reflect unequal opportunity for access to various positions in the teaching service as well as social pressures which originate in society beyond the Department itself" (Stewart, 1976, p.10).

In a survey of special schools in Glamorgan conducted by Morgan (1988), the most frequent explanations given by women for men being more successful at gaining senior posts were that appointing bodies discriminated in favour of men rather than women; that women were given fewer opportunities to gain the experience necessary to obtain senior posts; and that women regarded themselves as less suitable for senior posts and were therefore less likely to apply.

These responses, according to Morgan, clearly indicated that the women did not believe they had the same promotional prospects as the men. De Lyon and Migniuolo (1989) confirmed this by stating that much of the uncertainty women may feel about management posts is undoubtedly based on concrete features within women's experiences.

Within the section to follow, reasons for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions, as discussed in the literature and summarized in Table 3, will be addressed under the headings :

- ◆ Policies and Regulations.
- ◆ Patriarchy Within the System.
- ◆ Gender-role Stereotyping.
- ◆ The Male Model of Leadership.
- ◆ Family Commitments.
- ◆ Low Promotional Orientation.
- ◆ Women's Own Perceptions.
- ◆ Lack of Skills and Experience.
- ◆ Lack of Encouragement and Support.

Policies and Regulations.

According to the report entitled Girls and tomorrow : The challenge for schools (Miland, 1984), the underrepresentation of women in executive positions in schools is attributable to aspects of promotional practices in education systems. Married women in particular were identified as a 'disadvantaged' group due to their lack of geographic mobility and the resultant restrictions regarding placement on permanent staff, and the typical 'break in service' due to child bearing with a consequent loss of seniority. The report concluded that "...it is clearly a discriminatory system that sees years of continuous full-time service including years of country service as a major criterion for promotion" (Miland, 1984, p.25). Policy is clearly an important consideration which has had significant bearing on female promotional opportunities.

Between 1932 and 1947, women were forced to either resign upon marrying or transfer to temporary staff and be retained on a monthly basis. During this period, it was perceived that a married woman's role was in the management of the home, rather than breadwinning, and that it was not desirable to have married women on the teaching staff, particularly in high schools. These regulations clearly reflected cultural expectations of the period and consequently the promotional avenues for female teachers were severely limited. The underlying principle at this time seemed to be that females were not to be placed in a position of authority over males, and two main factors hindered the 'seniority based' promotion of women. Firstly, seniority was tied to rates of pay and the female rate in all categories was lower than that for the male; and secondly, female teachers had to resign upon marriage and become temporary teachers, reducing the opportunity to gain seniority over male colleagues and at the same time discouraging many females from acquiring further qualifications.

The lifting of structural barriers to female promotion, particularly married females, is only recent history in Western Australia. Accouchement leave was not granted until 1968 and equal pay for females and males was not achieved until 1971. The regulation allowing married female teachers to receive permanent status was not officially gazetted until 1972 and it was 1976 before the clause stating that married women must sign a guarantee to teach anywhere in the state to gain permanency was removed. It was not until 1972 that Western Australia had its first female principal of a coeducational senior high school (Hutchinson, 1981).

Promotional positions have requirements with regard to formal qualifications and teaching experience. Prior to the changes in regulations regarding equal pay, accouchement leave and permanency, there was little incentive for women to upgrade their qualifications or think in terms of a promotional career. The 1974 annual survey of teacher qualifications revealed considerable differences in all qualifications held by males and females. "More women have the minimum necessary qualifications for teaching and more men have above the minimal qualifications required...more males than females undertake either long initial training or part-time study programmes after initial training" (Stewart, 1976, p.16). Consequently, on the basis of formal qualifications, more males have been eligible for appointment to promotional positions and this undoubtedly reflects the previous limitations on promotional opportunity (Stewart, 1976). Research further indicated that since the full range of Principal positions in primary and secondary schools was opened to women, the female enrolment in the Higher Certificate Courses had increased to almost 50 percent of the total enrolment for the first time since the institution of the courses (Stewart, 1976). In addition to the requirement of formal qualifications in order to gain promotion, was the determining factor of seniority of

service. In a report to the Minister for Education in 1976 entitled Males and females in the state education system of Western Australia, the committee concluded that as a legacy of past policy and the requirement for resignation upon marriage, many female teachers with considerable teaching experience were denied access to promotional positions because of a break in service, and that therefore "it will obviously take time for changes in the Regulations to have their full effect in terms of correcting the imbalances of opportunities for males and females" (Education Department, p.21). "The opening up of principals' positions to women may encourage more women to plan for a promotional career...the guarantee of employment following periods of leave may assist women in continuing teaching careers which involve promotion" (Stewart, 1976, p.33).

Social changes in more recent times have also influenced attitudes to the employment of female teachers. In June 1980, the Australian Teaching Federation documented a report concerned with the fact that female teachers did not hold positions of leadership and administrative responsibility in the same proportion as male teachers. They urged all affiliates to support measures to encourage greater participation by female teachers in the decision-making process at school level. The recommendations were:

- * The abolition of current regulations and procedures which discouraged women's progress through the system to the administrative level.
- * The abolition of penalties for broken service.
- * The introduction of family/parental leave, permanent/part-time work which will maintain teachers' security and career prospects.
- * Affirmative action programmes (most affiliates have no defined policy; a task for the future).

- * Inservice courses for teachers and administrators to raise awareness of the disadvantages women face in these areas and develop strategies for overcoming these disadvantages.
- * Union education courses for women.

(Australian Teaching Federation, 1980).

In the United States, the Sex Discrimination Act was legislated in 1975, requiring that "a person should be treated by reference to his or her own attributes, and not by reference to those associated with an 'average person' of his or her own sex." It was directed towards "raising individuality above sex or gender category membership" (Scruton, 1990, p.100). This was a recognition that the stereotyping associated with gender actually limits human potential for women and men. Scruton (1990) highlighted the significance of the fact that this Act was couched throughout in terms which refer to the 'complainant' as female. "This is a recognition of the very real inequalities in our society, and of the likelihood of the majority of complainants actually being female" (p.100). The Australian equivalent of the Sex Discrimination Act was not promulgated until 1984, and encompassed a broader range of foci. The Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (Division 3, Section 145) and subsequent amendments required that:

each Government Department prepare and implement an Equal Opportunity Management Plan in order to eliminate and ensure the absence of discrimination in employment on the grounds of race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, religious or political conviction, and impairment; and to promote equal opportunity for all.
(cited in Education Circular, May 1990, p.261)

In the Ministry of Education's Policy Statement on Equal Employment Opportunity (1990), Margaret Nadebaum, the Chief Executive Officer, made the assurance that

The Ministry of Education is fully committed to the achievement of equality of opportunity in employment. The Ministry's commitment extends to ensuring that all employees are treated with justice, respect, equality and dignity in relation to access to employment entitlements. These include training and advancement and access to information required for the optimal performance of their duties (1990, p.261).

Responses to the 'Equal Employment Opportunity' concept were far from unanimously positive, particularly when addressed from the male perspective. They included such statements as:

"I should have been born black and female."

"I believe that the equal opportunity thing has gone overboard in their ideas about giving women equal opportunity. Under this new system, women are being given more of an opportunity to get to the top positions without having to go through the same procedures as the men."

"All promotion should be on merit, not on a 50/50 basis or whatever. To make up for past discrimination is discrimination itself."

"Women who are career minded, and especially those in top jobs, are more likely to be unmarried than married. This appears to indicate it is relatively difficult for women to combine promotion in their occupation with the responsibilities associated with marriage and motherhood."

"I have worked with a female Deputy Principal who touched me frequently on the forearm, the neck, the shoulder; who called me daring; and who pushed her breasts into my upper arm and made occasional references to my trousers, the shape and the extent to which they enhanced my line."

(Ministry of Education , 1989)

Such responses reflect strong stereotypic attitudes, an aspect which will be fully discussed later in the review.

The 1989 policy concerning the promotional system in Western Australia stated that:

Merit promotion is now fully implemented in the Ministry. All promotions effective in 1991 will be based on merit. A major review is to be undertaken in the latter half of 1990, in cooperation with the State School Teachers' Union of Western Australia, to ensure that merit selection procedures meet the aim of selecting the most suitable applicant for each position and are seen to be fair and equitable. (Ministry of Education, 1989)

Since so many legal barriers, which previously blocked the upward career paths of women, have been removed, it could reasonably be expected that there would now be large numbers of talented female teachers applying for promotion. This is not the case. As far back as 1976, in a report to the Minister for Education entitled Males and females in the state education system of Western Australia, the committee in attempting to identify regulations which resulted in unequal opportunities or conditions for females and males, recognised the fact that "there may also be social factors outside the immediate control of the 'Education Department' which may limit the extent to which regulations and procedures can ensure practical equality for all categories of teachers" (Education Department, p.16).

Patriarchy Within the System

It has been suggested that the low representation of women in leadership roles is not so much a function of women's lack of interest and qualifications as it is of institutional and structural factors. "Sex segregation is embedded in organisational

structures and sustained by organisational inertia...because they are in power, males can continue to write rules and set policies which enable them to write rules and set policies..." (Knoppers, 1989, p.43). According to Ball (1987) "women's concerns about their lack of opportunities and their experiences of discrimination in the organisation are frequently tied to an ideological critique of the male domination of the institution as a whole" (p.73). This lack of opportunity and discrimination may damage self-esteem and sense of personal worth which functions to ensure the continued dominance of the male perspective.

Women are profoundly disadvantaged in terms of career rewards by male dominance in administrative positions across various aspects of schooling and within and between specific subject areas because the structures of schooling and subject departments are deeply shaped by patriarchy. Secondary schools are male institutions in which the definition of the school reflects the values and meanings of male culture (Ball, 1987). The 'gatekeepers' to jobs are predominantly men, and they do not always believe that women are capable or suitable to advance to senior positions because of personal qualities and conflicting family and work roles. (Apple, 1986; Ball, 1987; Deem, 1978). Kane (1976), Lorber (1984) and Smith (1988) all supported the notion that the underutilization of women in administrative positions is caused by discriminatory practices and procedures built into the hiring and promotion practices. The decision-makers, being in most cases male, make personal evaluations based on a range of stereotyped assumptions that favour the male applicant and disadvantage the female. Kane (1976) qualified her statement by adding that male decision-makers may genuinely believe that women are not interested in or capable of assuming administrative responsibilities. Hoferek (1986) was another writer who recognised the effect that 'gatekeepers' could have on the

promotional progress of women, stating that each education institution had paths to leadership built in to the system. Along these paths, which may be formal or informal, are individuals who act as 'gatekeepers'; those who develop criteria or practices that may block people from being admitted into the institution or advancing within it.

Possible explanation for the patriarchal nature of the system was offered by Davies (1990), who suggested that coeducational schools tend to be a replication of the 'natural family structures' which in turn often means the replication of conventional gender divisions. This leads to a 'spiral devaluation' whereby women are not given the opportunity to demonstrate administrative competence and men's natural leadership ability is given prominence. Davies (1990) highlighted a number of areas of concern in the management context. These included the vertical division of labour in terms of who occupies which rank; the horizontal division of labour, particularly the academic-pastoral and science-art dichotomies; the allocation of mentoring, inservicing and encouragement; the provision of flexibility to take account of family commitments; and the dynamics of meeting and discussion procedures which determine informal power processes.

Connell (1985), suggested that schools are denoted by a particular 'gender regime':

The way it embodies patterns of authority is an important part of the political order of the school. The association that our society makes between authority and masculinity...is a significant underpinning of the power structure of the school system where most of its administrators, principals and subject heads are male (p. 138).

The report entitled Girls and tomorrow : A challenge for schools, highlighted the concern expressed by many women that selection panels are predominantly male and biased towards male applicants, and that this in many cases reflects a limited perception of the female role (Miland, 1984). Sampson (1986) summed up the effect of the patriarchal nature of educational institutions by saying :

Large government systems have lost sight of their objective - their role in teaching and socializing children. Mastery of bureaucratic trivia, or ability to manipulate the promotion system, or to present an image of dominance or infallibility appear to be the most important attributes for people who are now selected to be in charge of children. Many women for these reasons, are alienated from the aura currently associated with power and leadership in schools, without realizing it is possible to exercise such positions in a variety of more human or child-centred ways (p.143).

According to Evans and Davies (1988), more research is needed to investigate how the opportunities for teachers can be structured by the perspectives and actions of others, and how they experience conditions of control over their opportunities, careers and lifestyles inside the institutional workplace. They believe there is also a need to explore how these processes both express and help sustain gender inequalities and opportunities.

Gender-role Stereotyping

Dyer (1986) described gender-role stereotyping as "...a social process whereby particular behaviours, attitudes, beliefs and values...are perceived to be more appropriate to one sex than the other... They more accurately might be thought of as 'gender attributes' as they are qualities which are reinforced through experiences with major social institutions" (p.24). Parents, significant others and teachers are

instrumental in the gender-role stereotyping of girls and boys from an early age, as they grow up to see themselves as having different abilities, different levels of control over their own circumstances and differing potential futures (McKinnon, 1975).

According to Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt (1978), male children are characteristically positively reinforced early in life for direct, independent behaviour, while females receive reinforcement for more passive, indirect, dependent and relational behaviours. The generalised stereotypes about sex-linked behaviour have a negative influence on the occupational aspirations of females.

Cultural expectations of women's and men's participation in the workforce have traditionally viewed the man as breadwinner for himself, and his dependent wife and children. A woman's career was contingent upon family commitments and her income was seen as a supplement to that of her husband. "Definitions of full-time work, the hierarchy of career structures and the determination of salary and other benefits in the wider society as in the State Education Department have reflected such a concept of the nuclear family" (Stewart, 1976, p.15)

Expectations about individuals are not based only on their capabilities and personality traits as people. Over and above such considerations is an overlay of expectations based on their sex. According to McKinnon (1975), the female stereotype in Australia is one of "dependence, inferiority and self-doubt and of incompetence in areas where social power and status are involved" (p.8). The expectations applied to individuals because of their sex are backed by sanctions expressing approval or disapproval of particular behaviours and attitudes. Girls and boys have these expectations reinforced through social realities. Many significant choices are unnecessarily restricted by stereotyped expectations about individuals. These constraints bear

more heavily upon women due to their inferior social power and resultant lower confidence to make significant decisions. There is also resistance to their exercise of choice in ways which would threaten the more powerful positions held by males (Griffin, 1989; McKinnon, 1975). According to McKinnon (1975), in the past people have tended to adopt their prescribed sex roles without analysing or questioning the stereotype in terms of its appropriateness or relevance.

Perhaps the greatest barrier inhibiting women from developing their full potential and choosing from among the full range of occupational and life alternatives is this prevalence of social and occupational stereotypes that reflect underlying sexist myths and attitudes. These stereotypes subtly shape the perceptions and attitudes of both women and men in our culture (Hansen & Rapoza, 1978). Many features of the organisation of schooling reinforce the conventional stereotypes, in particular that of the female as subordinate. The male dominated hierarchies in education and the allocation of duties in schools characteristically confirms women's subordinate, dependent status. The male role on the other hand is still being confirmed as involving leadership, administration, control of large groups and skills in teaching the physical sciences and mathematics (Ball, 1987; Miland, 1974).

Knoppers (1989) suggested that one means of keeping women out of leadership positions is to cite gender differences, assume they apply for everyone, and use them to justify sex segregation. Female teachers constantly receive strong messages from managers and colleagues which are likely deterrents to the pursuit of promotion opportunities, and function to foster doubts regarding the appropriateness of management work as a career option for women (Al-Khalifa, 1989). Society has internalised a host of attitudes about the relative capabilities of women and men.

One of these, according to Kane (1976), is the invalid belief that leadership requires qualities associated with men and that men therefore make better leaders. These attitudes, she said, are at work in the informal decision-making processes and make it much more difficult for females to be selected and appointed to promotional positions. Paralleling the 'male positive' assumptions regarding leadership, are a set of negative assumptions or stereotypes regarding women's attitudes about careers and work, claiming that women are not interested in careers and they do not want extra responsibility.

Hansen and Rapoza (1978) believed that the attitudes and motivations which underlie the career aspirations and decisions of women are the products of social norms and socialization processes which put women into "powerful psychological conflict as they are forced to cope with vocational choices" (p.97).

Traditional views about what constitutes femininity conflict with the maximum realization of women's potential in relation to both psychological health and vocational development. Much of our thinking has rested on the assumption that masculinity and femininity represent extremes of a unidimensional bipolar trait; achievement, independence and competence belong at the masculine end while passivity, dependence and nurturance fall on the feminine end of the continuum (p.177).

This dualistic way of thinking makes it difficult for women to see themselves as both competent and feminine (Hoferek, 1986). According to Bem (1975) however:

femininity and masculinity represent complementary domains of positive traits and behaviour and...it is possible for an individual to be both feminine and masculine, caring and competent, and orientated towards affiliation and achievement, depending on the context of the situation. Only when the artificial constraints of gender are eliminated is one free to be one's own unique blend of temperament and behaviour (p.72).

Hansen and Rapoza (1978) also contested the validity of masculinity and femininity as uncompromising extremes stating "it is a fact that all emotions are part of the human nature of men and women...cultural forces have shaped not their existence but their acceptability; they are repressed, but this does not render them inactive" (p.189).

Davies (1990) recommended that too much attention to internalised 'sex-roles' is dangerous for three reasons. Firstly, "it draws attention away from the parties involved in the reproduction of discrimination" attributing expected roles to a notion of the society's need; secondly it blames females for not succeeding due to "learned aspirations, conduct patterns and domesticated traits"; and thirdly, because it accentuates the concept of 'sex difference' rather than 'gender inequity' (p.51).

Questions are also being asked in the literature about whether there are any longer sound grounds for accepting that females and males, merely because of their sex, be different sorts of people following different life patterns in conditions of unequal social power. Women are increasingly viewing their occupations as lifetime careers with relatively short periods committed to the care of young families as evidenced from the increasing proportion of women in the workforce. "Widespread social changes have implications for many aspects of the working patterns of males and females in the economy generally and the teaching profession in particular" (Stewart, 1976, p.15).

Upon comparing the traditional stereotypes attributed to female teachers with more recent social developments, McKinnon, as early as 1975 and Sampson (1981), concluded that changes in women's roles in terms of life expectancy, size of family, place in the workforce and so on have come so rapidly, that the old stereotypes of female teachers are in error, yet the framework of attitudes and ideas which causes

most people to judge females and males according to different criteria still lingers, continuing to restrict perceptions regarding female career aspirations. Today, the incongruity is further magnified as awareness of the concept of equality of opportunity increases, and yet females remain largely underrepresented in promotional positions.

The Male Model of Leadership

The concept of a male model of leadership is closely linked to both gender-role stereotyping and the patriarchal structure of the education system.

Women, whether by biology or socialization, do behave differently from men, they are temperamentally different, and if we assume that the male management model is the epitome of good leadership, or just the most efficient model, then women do not fit it...women are seen as somehow deficient and in need of special training in assertiveness and task effectiveness which will change them to fit the system. (Sampson, 1981, p.19).

According to Steinle, Deputy Director General of the South Australian Education Department:

...despite changes in social attitudes reflected in other professional positions, parents and members of the general public still tend to think of education administration in terms of males. The headmaster, the male director, the male inspector and so on, are the generally accepted norm, and I think even to women themselves, there is little doubt that women seeking promotion in the Education Department, despite a few exceptions, will need to do more than a little pioneering and pathfinding. Male applicants are on firm ground... (cited in Sampson, 1981, p.26)

Davies (1990) confirmed that there is an implicit tendency to present the male-as-norm in management terms and to see how women differ from this.

They are perhaps 'less' ambitious, 'lacking' in confidence, 'over' emotional, 'too' family centred or 'under' achieving. The net result is to confirm that ambition, overconfidence and maximum achievement are all universal goals and that emotions and orientations to family are somehow barriers and handicaps (p.31).

Spender (1982) said that "if males perceive their standards, based on their experience, as the only standard, then it is reasonable for them to argue that women simply do not 'measure up' in their terms" (p.42). Research has shown that perceptions of women as lacking job competence may be a social artefact attributed to female leaders by people who have had little experience with women in leadership roles and are therefore ignorant of how they perform. Wentworth (1980) for example, pointed out that despite the fact that a 1980 survey of teacher trainees enrolled at a Melbourne College of Advanced Education showed that females had significantly higher leaving level examination results, women are perceived to lack job competence. Sampson (1981) found that teachers who did work with female seniors found them at least as competent as their male counterparts.

Because school leadership is often linked to stereotypically defined masculine traits and behaviours, it is not just a lack of knowledge or training which serves to create barriers for women, but their rejection of those elements of the role which they perceive as masculine: the aggressive competitive behaviours, emphasis on control rather than collaboration and negotiation, and the pursuit of competition rather than shared problem solving (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Hansen & Rapoza, 1978; Kane, 1976).

According to Bryson (1987), the style of management currently being promoted tends

to be one that women generally do not find attractive, and many of the informal requirements for senior positions are difficult for women to meet. The 'management ethos' acts as a form of protectionism and resistance for men, not necessarily consciously, to the entry of women into jobs that until now have been their uncontested domain. Bryson believed that one of the major problems was that "equality is being 'promoted' through policies which treat everyone as if they were physically able, intellectually unimpaired, white Anglo-Saxon heterosexual males" (1987, p.265). This means that individuals can only achieve equality if they have similar life circumstances to the male dominant group. Women are therefore usually disadvantaged by their different family responsibilities and different experiences.

The question of numbers has its impact in a variety of ways on the personal experiences and likely successes of the few. Women are often highly visible as a result of their minority, which can have disadvantages in terms of the additional pressures it brings to bear on those who have status or who 'become tokens', symbols of how women can perform, stand-ins for all women (Acker, 1983). In this way, "all their mistakes are attributed to their sex while their achievements are explained by their exceptionality" (Knoppers, 1989, p.41). Women in positions of authority may therefore hide or minimize traits or behaviours that they see as distinctly 'feminine' or different. "They are under considerable psychological pressure to identify with the dominant male members rather than their own social category in all settings" (Ball, 1987, p.207).

Of particular concern in Australia, is that certain traditionally female attributes, such as skill in interpersonal relationships, tend to be overlooked as qualifications for promotion, despite their relevance in today's schools in which pastoral care and

interaction with the community are increasing in importance. "The nature of skills identified as essential for performance of the position can preclude consideration of otherwise worthy female applicants" (Miland, 1984, p.25). Davies (1990) posed the question "If women do not strive for senior positions, do we remould women or do we begin to question the hierarchically ordered and increasingly technicist notion that we have of education administration?" saying the "leadership theory that assumes a male perspective, or theory in which male values are so deeply embedded as to be invisible, ensures that only males or women adopting male views will be selected as leaders" (p.71).

Sampson (1981) argued that "if we don't believe that bureaucracies such as the Education Department work particularly well, and if women's behaviour can be seen as a strength...less competitive, more affiliative...it could be said that management could be improved by the talents of both men and women" (p.19). "Teachers should not have to adopt a male lifestyle in order to gain status and be in a position to use their experience in decision-making positions" (Hutchinson, 1981, p.40).

A critical analysis of derivations and implication of some of our ideologies about managerial and leadership styles may, according to Davies (1990), highlight how a feminist view may lead to a somewhat altered perception of administrative practice. Research has revealed few differences in the currently 'espoused' leadership qualities, with females and males scoring equally on 'initiation', and females scoring slightly higher on 'consideration'. Such findings have however, made little impact on the overall hierarchical nature of school administration.

Family Commitments

An important reason frequently given for women not seeking promotion is family commitment. The traditional assumption is that women who choose to marry and have children could not seriously expect to pursue a career in teaching. For those who made a choice between family and career in favour of the latter, the structural barriers which confronted them were often insurmountable. Prior to the implementation of promotional systems based on merit rather than seniority, the patriarchal structures were incompatible with married women's lives. The National Union of Teachers and Equal Opportunity Commission (NUT) survey, found that the people most frequently discriminated against in terms of promotional opportunities were married women, and concluded that at least part of the discrimination was a consequence of the stereotype of the female teacher as a married woman with children who is uninterested in promotion (1979, p.51).

According to Ball (1987) and Bryson (1987), there are factors outside the school context which disadvantage females. Many men are able to pursue careers via 'two person careers' in which nonworking wives support their husbands' work and take responsibility for home duties. Married female teachers on the other hand, are more typically part of a 'two career family' with little support from the husband and dual responsibilities. Women tend to perceive home-life as a pressure, and hard work where they have little time to themselves; while for men, home is a place of refuge to recharge their energies (Langrish, 1981). Women are therefore often forced to choose between career and family. Personal priorities and responsibilities outside work roles can be seen to vie with professional commitments. For many women with dependents, the balancing of different roles and responsibilities is a considerable

organisational achievement, but it is also experienced as a source of pressure. A move into management comes to be seen as compounding this problem (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Whitcombe, 1980). With women organised to undertake childcare and home-making, it is undeniable that many males are released from the responsibility of life maintenance tasks and are therefore more able to devote time and commitment to their job. They are also more mobile, both to and from work and in terms of transferring from one district to another (Sampson, 1981; Spender, 1982).

Arnot's research led to the realization that in the view of female teachers, the ideology of 'familism', that "exaggerated identification with the myth that the family is the only place where a woman may experience self-fulfilment", was firmly established in the thinking of significant others in the workplace and this placed a constraint on career opportunities (1984, p.19). In a study conducted by Sampson (1986) investigating promotion in government schools, women more often than men (37% to 20%) named the reason for not seeking promotion to be that they felt unable to cope with the extra demands and responsibilities; were reluctant to devote the necessary time to extra responsibilities; and perceived a conflict of after school commitments and domestic responsibilities. Women, more often than men, also gave their partner's career as an important reason for unwillingness to seek promotion. Providing women with a wide range of experience in organisation and administration skills from their early years of teaching may "alter the balance between family role and career in some women's lives...in the course of gradually developing leadership work experiences, family responsibilities may become more shared, or may not seem too overwhelming an obstacle" (1986, p.141).

Whatever the underlying cause, women seem to be more involved and committed, in terms of time, to their families. There has been very little rethinking in a changing society regarding the automatic allocation of family roles according to sex, regardless of individual interest, talent or qualifications. Today, women are spending less time away from the workforce through child-rearing duties, some women are opting for careers and no families, while dual careers in both workforce and family areas are becoming more common for women and men. It is being increasingly acknowledged by educational systems that family commitment provides little reason to suggest that a family woman's social circumstance makes her any less suited to leadership than those women and men without family responsibilities (McKinnon, 1975; Sampson, 1981).

Davies argued that the dual role for women of management and family life has become a "convenient peg on which to hang explanations for 'underachievement' and has become almost as much a form of 'victim analysis' as sex role socialization" (1990, p.39). Since there are married women in promotional positions, it would seem that organisation of family life does not necessarily act as a barrier to career, it simply requires better time management skills.

Low Promotional Orientation

The literature reviewed provides conflicting opinions with regard to the low promotion orientation of women as a factor of their underrepresentation at senior levels. One theory put forward, usually by males to account for this phenomenon, is that women are less committed than men to teaching as a career, seeing teaching as a means of providing a subsidiary income and a job that can be easily accommodated to the

demands of family duties (Ball, 1987). Sarros (1983) investigated the underrepresentation of women in administrative positions in secondary schools in Victoria and found that male teachers had higher ultimate professional aspirations than female teachers, as demonstrated by their active seeking of promotion. The lack of interest in promotion by female teachers stems largely from the socialization process and gender-role stereotyping of the female role which, according to Sarros, neither encourages nor provides incentives for females to aspire to career success to the same extent as males.

If individuals wish to seek promotion, then they are expected to display a long term commitment to and participation in their occupational organisation. Statistics in the past have shown that women have a more interrupted and usually shorter work history than men. Employers therefore tend to perceive women as displaying weaker career commitment and persistence than is usually a prerequisite for promotion. According to McKinnon (1975), a very important factor in the small number of women in promotional positions is the fact that "undoubtedly...women do not aspire to positions of administrative responsibility so strongly as men do, a fact partly explained by domestic responsibilities, but also affected by the sex role stereotypes internalised by women teachers" (p.99).

Whitcombe (1980) believed however, that to say that women are underrepresented in senior positions because they do not apply for positions due to their lack of interest in promotion, is an oversimplification of a complex situation. Their underrepresentation was due instead to the fact that men pursued a more aggressive policy of planning their career steps, and applied for positions on their own initiative. It would appear that women lacked this confidence to follow a promotional path of their own accord.

Whitcombe also found men to have a greater awareness of the promotional process, a better knowledge of regulations and where to seek information, and more familiarity with available inservice programmes, making an effort to be included while females tended to wait to be asked. The clue to the underrepresentation of females at the senior levels lies in the lack of awareness of females regarding steps involved in the promotional system, men being better able to use the system to advantage. Females seem to require the support of a mentor in order to advance.

Ball (1987) believed the low promotional orientation of females to be a sexist perception. The notion was also criticized by Deem (1978); NUT (1979); and Acker (1983), who found little support in their research for lack of commitment as a main reason for the inequalities evident in promotional positions. The NUT survey conducted in London (1979) came to the conclusion that the low promotion orientation of female teachers was a 'myth'. "The majority of our respondents considered themselves to be career-orientated and would welcome the challenge and wider responsibilities that promotion would bring. There is no evidence whatsoever that marriage and or the acquisition of a family would alter this" (p.51). Archer and Lloyd (1985) decided that a "critical review of research casts doubt on much of the accepted folk-lore about females' low ambition, or significant differences in aggression" (p.41). The measured differences between sexes on some socialized traits may be statistically significant, but they are not necessarily educationally significant and have little explanatory power for the gross inequities in social structures. A British study - Promotion and the Woman Teacher (1979) and a New Zealand study - Teacher Career and Promotion Study (1982) both revealed that despite beliefs to the contrary, significant numbers of women teachers seek responsibility and promotion. The report entitled Girls and tomorrow : The challenge

for schools concluded that unless Australian women differed significantly from their British and New Zealand counterparts, it would be inaccurate to propose that women in this country are not found in leadership positions mainly because they do not aspire to be there (Miland, 1984).

Sampson (1986) also claimed that "women are taking their careers seriously and lack of commitment is not the reason why they don't apply for senior positions" (p.141). In a survey investigating promotion in government schools, she discovered that a significant number of women considered their own careers to be equal to or more important than those of their partners, and that these women would be prepared to take a job which necessitated moving and a change of job for their partner. Although the proportion of male teachers taking this stand was greater (55% to 38%), Sampson concluded that "women's lower career salience is a fallacy." (p.141).

Women's Own Perceptions

Internalised views of the incompatibility of leadership roles with femininity held by women themselves have been cited as a reason why women are viewed as less competent, less objective and less logical than men. It has been suggested that "the severest obstacle to women leaders may be the lack of acceptability by other women" (Sampson, 1981, p.29). Women tend to undersell themselves and the contributions of other women. A 1980 survey of 114 males and 116 females enrolled in a Melbourne College of Advanced Education revealed that while most of the men saw themselves as reaching Senior Teacher and higher promotional positions, only 40% of the females did. According to Wentworth (1980), this illustrated the fact that women often do not appear to consider themselves as potential leaders.

Some highly capable women make a conscious choice not to apply for promotion because it would either mean losing aspects of the job that they value, or trying to resolve tensions between their beliefs and the administrative practices of the establishment. Some female teachers believe that remaining in the classroom is of equal value to being promoted out of it. They value contact with the students, working as part of a team and the fact that they are not forced to assume a set of beliefs with which they disagree. In this way, understandings that women themselves have about their own development may affect their career development (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Sampson, 1986). There is also evidence to suggest that women can be scrupulous in self-evaluation and therefore more critical and selective about career moves than many male teachers.

According to Al-Khalifa (1989), promotion into managerial posts is perceived by some female teachers as a move which creates a gap between the teacher's view of her own competence and skills, and those demanded by the position. This view appears to be shared by many men, and by the 'gatekeepers' although usually from a different perspective, probably based on negative stereotyping of women's abilities and career commitment. One should remember that women are themselves subject to gender stereotypic attitudes and many have been socialized into believing that a man is indeed a better administrator than a woman (Kane, 1976).

Horner's research (1972) as reviewed by Hoferek (1986), implied that one of the reasons women were not found in prominent positions in our society was that females feared success and therefore avoided achievement. A conflicting view was expressed by Olsen and Willemssen (1978), who claimed that women perceive more positive than negative outcomes for success, and that if negative consequences do

occur, they are more likely to be from the reactions of other people than an internal personality variable such as 'fear of success'. They concluded that underachievement by females is more likely to be a result of cultural and social restrictions than the internal traits of women.

Sampson (1986) also expressed concern regarding the assumption that women doubt their own competence in administrative roles, saying that:

a sense of superior confidence is an important factor motivating many women who do apply (for promotional positions) and most women do not demonstrate a personality deficit in this regard...reasons why women do not push themselves and compete with men for appointments are more likely related to their well-founded lack of experience" (p.142).

A factor which compounds the problem is that many female teachers, particularly those who have achieved success in their careers, perceive no evidence of discrimination against themselves or their colleagues. They believe that the problem lies in the lack of commitment among their female contemporaries, quoting their own experiences as proof of career possibilities available, if only females persevere. Such a perception, according to Ball (1987), ignores the limited number of senior posts available, the resultant competition and the mechanisms at work in discriminating between candidates.

Lack of Skills and Experience

Female teachers' lack of qualifications and administrative experience is another frequently proposed reason for their underrepresentation in administrative positions.

Hutchinson (1981), in research conducted in Western Australian state schools, found that female teachers were only slightly less interested in promotion than males. Lack of experience and lack of continuity of service were given by the women as the main reasons for not applying for promotion. Females averaged fewer years of teaching experience, fewer years on permanent staff and lower qualifications than males, a possible legacy of regulations existing in past years. She concluded that because the opportunity for promotion for the majority of female teachers is such a recent development in Western Australia, "...promotion of women has not yet become the accepted norm for female teachers or male administrators" (p.39).

The results of a study by Sampson (1986) investigating promotion in Australian government schools, also revealed that lack of experience and qualifications was given by many females as a reason for not seeking promotion. She concluded that although it cannot be argued that pieces of paper automatically improve the quality of teaching or administrative capacity or practice, the mere possession of further qualifications indicates effort to continue learning and to update skills, and this remains a significant factor in any promotion system based on merit. Results also revealed that over half of the female teachers surveyed had added further qualifications and consequently could apply for promotion on an equal basis with men, in greater numbers than once was the case.

Sampson's study further indicated that men undertook more inservice training and were significantly more likely to have had such training in administrative areas such as running a department, senior management or timetabling. Reasons given by the women for not attending such courses included residential requirements, distance, teaching commitments and lack of relief. A greater proportion of males were shown

to be allocated organisational or administrative tasks in their first five years of teaching and the lack of early apprenticeship for female teachers was seen to be an important factor in women's reluctance to apply for promotion. Females also had fewer opportunities than males to try themselves out on everyday organisational activities such as running assemblies, leading committees or the co-ordination of major school events. This situation in many respects provides legitimisation of stereotypic perceptions concerning appropriate roles for women and men in schools (Kane, 1976; Sampson, 1986).

The Women in Education Conference Report (1981), conceded that there may be some valid criticisms in terms of women's leadership skills and experiences, and suggested that "...the skills of women may need bolstering in areas such as the important process skills inherent in many leadership roles...how to operate with meeting procedures, how to motivate staff, how to be assertive, persistent and eloquent in support of ideas or policies being initiated" (Sampson, 1981, p.29). Women were not as conversant with promotional procedures as their male counterparts and their career planning skills were less developed.

One of the most common justifications for keeping the promotional ranks confined to men is that of arguing that women are not qualified. According to Spender (1982), "while men are able to monopolise the influential positions, they argue reasonably that women do not occupy these positions and women therefore do not possess the qualifications or experience" (p.42). This becomes a circular argument: that women do not have the experience of being in influential positions can and does become a reason for not appointing them to such positions.

Encouragement and Support

According to Ellis (1987) many women do aspire to senior positions, but fail to apply for them not only through lack of leadership experience, but because they do not receive the initial patronage and support given to men. Sampson (1986) in a survey investigating promotion in government schools, found highly significant sex differences in the perception of encouragement to apply for promotional positions. Women received far less encouragement from superintendents or other departmental officers than men. Therefore, the social perception that leadership and decision-making in administration was appropriate for males was confirmed by significant others.

Male teachers are more likely to be supported in undertaking inservice training through access to relevant information, positive encouragement and active facilitation, especially in areas linked to promotional opportunity, due to the widespread belief in men's stronger career orientation (Davies, 1990). A further factor advantaging males was highlighted by Whitcombe (1980), in the fact that the male notion of 'support' was that wives wanted them to advance and were prepared to cope with changes of residence and the responsibility of the children while for females, 'support' was equated with helping with the household tasks and encouraging husbands in their careers.

Ellis (1987) expressed concern regarding the need to encourage females to "acquire skills in educational management to clarify their career objectives and to develop strategies for realizing their career aspirations" (p.26).

Many of the traditional explanations within the literature for women's low representation in promotional positions, appear to be legacies from research conducted in the 1960s and 1970s and are of less relevance today. De Lyon and Mignuolo (1989) questioned the stereotypic assumption that men have greater career motivation than women and therefore automatically plan their careers more effectively. They also questioned why having full family and professional lives should disqualify women from being seriously considered for senior positions, suggesting that the focus should instead be on the way career structure, selection procedures and the assumptions of those involved in the appointments system discriminate against women. Sadker, Sadker and Klein (1991) indicated that recent research has identified more "subtle structural issues relating to assumptions about male leadership and new visions of leadership based on female and humanist principles" (p.284). Among these issues are double standards in terms of differential support and encouragement provided to female and male teachers; the 'tokenism' label assigned to women in status positions; and sexually related policy constraints and their debilitating effects on female careers.

Acker (1983) was critical of sociological writing on the influence of gender on teaching careers, stating that literature was full of unfounded and superficial statements like "women teach and men manage"; "women seem less able than men to disagree impersonally without emotional involvement"; and "a woman's family situation makes it improbable that she will develop a strong professional commitment, or in the unlikely event that she had one to begin with, that she will be able to maintain it" (p.125). She believed that such writings suffer from a number of shortcomings, the main one being the repeated representation of a 'deficit model' of women which leads to a 'blame the victim' approach. This approach places the

burden of blame for their underrepresentation at promotional levels on women, with little or no attempt to assess the structures within which they function. According to Acker, it is too simple to assume that lack of ambition and family responsibilities produce low commitment or lack of promotion among married women teachers. The sequence of events and decisions is more complex.

From the literature review, nine major clusters of factors emerged as reasons for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions in education. These reasons provided the conceptual basis for the development of the interview guides used for data collection. The reasons, with corresponding references, are summarized in Table 3.

TABLE 3**SUMMARY OF REASONS PRESENTED IN THE LITERATURE FOR THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF FEMALES IN PROMOTIONAL POSITIONS**

Suggested reason	References
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies and regulations 	Equal Opportunity Act (1984); Hutchinson (1981); Miland (1984); Ministry of Education (1989-91); Scraton (1990); Stewart (1976).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchy within the system 	Apple (1986); Ball (1987); Connell (1985); Davies (1990); Deem (1978); Evans & Davies (1988); Hoferek (1986); Kane (1976); Knoppers (1989); Lorber (1984); Sampson (1986); Smith (1988); Stewart (1976).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender-role stereotyping 	Al-Khalifa (1989); Ball (1987); Bem (1975); Lipman-Blumen & Leavitt (1978); Davies (1990); Dyer (1986); Griffin (1989); Hansen & Rapoza (1978); Hoferek (1986); Kane (1976); Knoppers (1989); Miland (1984); McKinnon (1975); Sampson (1981); Stewart (1976).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The male model of leadership 	Acker (1983); Ball (1987); Bryson (1987); Davies (1990); Hutchinson (1981); Knoppers (1989); Miland (1984); Sampson (1981); Smith (1988); Spender (1982); Wentworth (1980).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family commitments 	Al-Khalifa (1989); Arnot (1984); Ball (1987); Bryson (1987); Davies (1990); Langrish (1981); McKinnon (1975); NUT Survey (1979); Sampson (1981); Sampson (1986); Spender (1982); Whitcombe (1980).

Suggested reason	References
• Low promotional orientation	Acker (1983); Archer & Lloyd (1985); Ball (1987); Deem (1978); McKinnon (1975); Miland (1984); NUT Survey (1979); Sampson (1986); Sarros (1983); Whitcombe (1980).
• Women's own perceptions	Al-Khalifa (1989); Ball (1987); Hoferek (1986); Kane (1976); Olsen & Willemssen (1978); Sampson (1981); Sampson (1986).
• Lack of skills and experience	Hutchinson (1981); Kane (1976); McKinnon (1975); Sampson (1981); Sampson (1986); Spender (1982).
• Encouragement and support	Acker (1983); Davies (1990); De Lyon & Mignuolo (1989); Ellis (1987); Sadker, Sadker & Klein (1991); Sampson (1986); Whitcombe (1980).

IS THERE A BASIS FOR TREATING FEMALES AND MALES DIFFERENTLY?

In the report entitled Girls, school and society (McKinnon, 1975), a number of questions were raised which are pertinent to the differential expectations of females and males, their resultant representation in positions of authority, and the significance of this representation. The questions probed areas such as:

- * are there any legitimate grounds for treating girls and boys differently in school, for having different expectations about the sorts of people they are or should be, or about the kind of lives they will lead?
- * if there are no legitimate grounds for treating them differently then is the objective to make girls more like boys, boys more like girls, or to work towards a human variety which transcends sex?

- * what power does the school have in such a differentiation?
- * how far are the characteristics that females and males will develop already predetermined through differing biological predispositions even before birth?
- * what hopes do schools have of altering sex stereotyped perceptions?

According to the report, biological evidence cannot of itself answer questions about whether people should be treated differently. It depends on whether the differences established are relevant to the activity in question. Even if it were established that females and males were in general better at distinctive types of activities, the problem of disentangling 'nature' from 'nurture' still remains. It can not simply be assumed that natural predispositions should be left to operate without intervention, even if they could be isolated. If biologically determined characteristics were to be used as a basis for expectations about people based on their sex, it would have to be established that there is no overlap between females and males on relevant characteristics. According to McKinnon (1975), no biological evidence does that. Hutt (cited in McKinnon, 1975) on the other hand, argued that the inherent differences between females and males were so strong that cultural and social differences over the person's lifetime can only modify attitudes and behaviours within the limits set by biology and the psychosocial pattern set down at birth. Females lack of success in competitive fields and their naturally nurturant behaviour is the result of their female biology. Other biological scientists contest the proposition that the biological differences between the sexes are sufficient explanation of developed personality differences between them, or a sufficient justification for assigning different social

roles to them. They point to the influence of upbringing which makes clear distinctions between girls and boys, and to social arrangements which expect different behaviours of them.

The existence of small average differences does not seem to adequately justify the arbitrary and implicit assumptions of pervasive sex differences in aptitudes, aspirations and interests, and there are no good grounds for generalizing about 'all females' or 'all males' or to assign them to different social functions in conditions of unequal power. The differences in capacities and personality traits can be greater within each sex than those between sexes (McKinnon, 1975).

There is disagreement about the extent to which different processes are influential in affecting gender-role socialization, but whatever the contribution of biology, it is clear that people learn a significant part of what it means to be female or male in the particular environment and society in which they are raised.

FEMALES IN LEADERSHIP ROLES IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The nature of sport and its cultivation of male dominance and superiority has particular implications for physical education and serves to exacerbate other factors contributing to the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles in this area.

Teaching physical education tends to be directly linked with sporting ability. Physical education teachers are seen as physical people who play sport proficiently. The stereotype of the male is a 'macho' image, while the female stereotype promotes vigour and athleticism, and is one in which the female has placed herself outside the

weak and submissive stereotype of femininity. According to Sikes (1988), an alternative stereotype of art and creativity is developed which has in the past been reflected in the typical traditional activities offered to girls and boys. Male and female physical educators tend to uphold and accept these stereotypes and compared to teachers working in other subject areas, a high percentage have traditional attitudes concerning equal opportunities and differential treatment of the sexes (Pratt, Bloomfield & Searle, 1984).

Physical education is a social construct, "a selection from culture, which contains explicit and implicit values about appropriate missions, goals and objectives" (Dewar, 1985, p.160). Like all school subjects, physical education constitutes an "ideological statement, a way of classifying, organising, legitimating and transmitting knowledge in society" (Evans & Davies, 1988, p.2), and like other subjects in the school curriculum, it is a site of struggle, a contest of and for competing definitions about what is to count as worthwhile knowledge; what the body, the individual, school and society ought to be. These values, assumptions and definitions held by individuals within and outside the profession guide, facilitate and constrain the work of teachers and shape their students' identities and behaviours. Physical education teachers tend to occupy a marginal status within schools and this has severe implications for their career opportunities and professional status. While individual teachers may in theory have equal access and opportunities for career advancement, they do not have equal status, or the social and professional resources to bring to the competitive stakes (Evans & Davies, 1988).

According to O'Rourke (1991), sport plays an important role in keeping women unequal, not just within the institution of sport itself, but more generally. Sport

supports male dominance (Bray, 1988; O'Rourke, 1991). Historically, men in western societies have co-opted sport as an essentially male activity, because of its origins in nineteenth century Britain, where the universal belief was that the sexes were different biologically and in terms of intellectual capabilities, and sport was promoted to enhance male identity, solidarity and exercise of power. The fact that there are still fewer women's sporting events is a legacy of this earlier exclusion. Although some women today are given recognition as being competent in sport, this recognition tends to be provisional, and O'Rourke (1991) believed that most people accept that men are better at sport than women because they are stronger, faster and tougher. Sporting prowess is positively valued and associated with social acclaim and economic benefits. "Better at sport' is readily translated into 'better at other things'" (p.7). Men, by implication, can be seen as more capable and skilful than women, at least in activities of importance.

Sport plays a key role at both the individual and societal levels in the construction and maintenance of the dominant form of masculinity (O'Rourke, 1991). Connell (1985) referred to this concept as 'hegemonic masculinity'. Boys are still taught that sport is a significant part of manliness and learn various skills and a sense of superiority, the need to be tough and to bear pain. In this way, sport provides direct training in a sense of power and forcefulness as well as promoting a sense of male solidarity. This has profound effects. Sport is a key medium for conveying messages of gender domination. Not only is it associated with physical power where men are accepted as having the natural advantage, but it is also an important and admired social activity (O'Rourke, 1991). "Sport as a male preserve...is an important cultural practice that contributes to the definition and re-creation of gender inequality" (Theberge, 1985, p.194). According to Boutilier and San Giovanni (1983), sport for

boys serves the functions of socializing them into the male gender role, and denigrating women and femininity.

Until the 1970s, the invisibility of women as athletes meant that sport participation could 'prove' a man was masculine. The entrance and visibility of many female athletes has changed the nature of sport as a gendered activity, and mere participation by males may have become insufficient to establish their superiority. Therefore, by holding on to the leadership positions in sport, men are still able to demonstrate their superiority over women (Knoppers, 1989). This is strongly reflected in physical education at secondary school level.

Delano (1990) suggested three approaches to the analysis of the problem of underrepresentation of women in leadership positions in physical education and sport. First, the individual approach which ignores social forces, and blames women for their perceived inadequacies, lack of expertise and failure to apply for promotion. This approach focuses on internalised gender roles, role conflict and choices made. Secondly, the 'micro-structural' approach in which the established patterns of human relationships in specific organisations are called into question. Possible reasons given for the lack of women in sport leadership are success of the 'old boys' network', occupational socialization, occupational segregation and the fact that women receive less support and encouragement. This approach tends to ignore the extent to which male dominance is institutionalised in sport. Finally, the 'macro-structural/ideological' approach which involves a larger view of the problem, taking into account the pervasive ideologically linked negative stereotypes about women's capabilities in leadership, a double workload, and the maintenance of the status of sport as a male preserve. Sport has traditionally been seen as a place where sexist versions of

masculinity are constructed and maintained, and it is therefore not perceived as the proper place for women, particularly in positions of leadership in authority over men. This approach views sexism as a structural and ideological phenomenon which influences the underrepresentation of women in sport leadership.

Scruton (1990) pointed out that powerful gender ideologies are created by the internalization of gender images and ideas, reinforcing the means by which gender differences came to be taken for granted. Gender divisions in physical education cannot therefore be understood solely as practices of differentiation, they must also be recognised in the ideological underpinnings of the subject. She highlighted the three concepts of physicality, motherhood and sexuality.

'Physicality' describes the natural physical sex differences which have implications for teaching content, organisation and style. In this context, Scruton believed that not all teachers place their stereotypic perceptions within a biological perspective, some recognising social tradition and cultural determination as more significant in creating gender differences in physical ability. The 'motherhood' concept is based on the historically distinct gender assumptions related to the aims of physical education. For girls it was health related for the future of a healthy race, while for boys it was character building and served to develop leadership qualities. While the ideologies of motherhood and domesticity and their associated restrictions no longer appear to directly influence the content and teaching of physical education, it is the dominance and internalization of the ideological constructs of the 'woman's place' which put indirect but substantial limitations on the experiences and opportunities afforded to female physical education staff. The 'sexuality' concept is one in which ideologies of

femininity and masculinity demarcate clear boundaries that are reinforced by separate and different opportunities afforded to females and males.

Personal change for teachers is not necessarily a smooth development nor is it the result of "either personal will or external constraints...rather the adult career is usually the product of a dialectic relationship between self and circumstances. As a result of meeting new circumstances, certain interests may be reformulated, certain aspects of self changed or crystallised and, in consequence, new direction envisaged" (Sikes, Measor & Woods, 1985, p.2). As teachers' careers are located within school structures, it is the relationship between teachers' selves and the circumstances in which they are located that is of concern. Characteristics specific to physical education result in a unique set of circumstances which impinge upon the career development of female teachers in this subject area. The evidence of implicit and explicit sexism towards female teachers has implications for power relations between males and females in the physical education department and the structure of the school (Burgess, 1988).

According to Templin (1988), many perceive physical education as a troubled department, lacking leadership, direction and the support of the administration within the school. This appraisal, albeit a British one, has an important bearing on how females within the department view their careers as teachers, and the careers of their colleagues. Another aspect particularly relevant to physical education is the notion that career development is generally associated with age and experience. For physical education teachers whose specialist expertise is based on physical ability, the relationship between age and career is particularly significant. According to Sikes (1988), it tends to be taken for granted that physical education teachers will stop

teaching physical education at around 40 years of age. Many females in particular, do not enjoy the image of an 'aging' physical education teacher.

Women tend to be in a difficult position with regard to promotional prospects.

Physical education departments tend to be organised with an overall Head of Department who is usually male...

Evidently, the culture makes it difficult for a woman who teaches physical education in a mixed school to accept the risks of a professional advancement, even under a headmaster who is willing to give overall responsibility to a woman in physical education. It seems there is quite a powerful collusion at work to maintain the man as the one who shoulders the main administrative burden of managing the department, and to maintain the woman as the one who is protected from this necessity. Yet it is the women, working in girls' schools and women's colleges who have taken the lead...in some of the more creative developments in physical education.
(Richardson, 1973, p.308)

Although this statement is dated, the inference made is still relevant today.

This tendency for males to occupy senior positions in physical education departments was confirmed by Scraton (1990), and Evans and Williams (1989). They maintained that it seemed to be females who have left their teaching jobs, not through any lack of commitment, but as a result of lack of opportunity.

In Britain, because physical education is in a position of marginality and low status in terms of the school curriculum, promotion into the pastoral system becomes a common route for physical education teachers. One female teacher in Templin and Schempp's study was quoted as saying:

there is virtually no chance of a woman becoming head of department in this school. The Head (principal) would never contemplate a female head of department, and my only chance of promotion is in pastoral care or a move to an all girls' school" (1989, p.243).

Griffin (1989) suggested that to frame the problem of female underrepresentation in senior positions in physical education as one of simply providing equal access, failed to question the structure of sport and physical education and the meaning they have in a male-dominated society. Important considerations include the socio-historical context, the differential power relationships among different social groups by sex, race and class, and perspectives and experiences of women in a male-dominated society. She proposed a framework for the discussion of gender socialization in physical education comprising gender as a performance variable; as an issue of sex difference; as an issue of inequality; a perspective from which most sport performance and interest differences between girls and boys are not biologically based but the result of inequitable distribution of resources, opportunities and rewards in sport; and as a socially constructed set of power relations from which perspective the function of gender is to perpetuate a male-dominated society.

Bem (1975), and later Hoferek (1986), discussed the notion of internal role conflict as experienced by females in physical education, based on the belief that they perceive themselves to be high on socioemotional characteristics and low or lacking on instrumental characteristics such as leadership, decision-making and risk-taking abilities. This dichotomy implied by previously used psychometric tests had been challenged by Bem (1975) among others, who believed the notion to be simplistic, claiming that in reality, people are more complex than supposed by such a bipolar approach, with many not filling this dualistic mode. Bem maintained that some

individuals are balanced in their perceptions of themselves as socioemotional and instrumental, using the term 'androgyny' to refer to the "perceptions of oneself as high on socioemotional characteristics and high on instrumental characteristics" (1975, p.11). Furthermore, people who perceive themselves as highly socioemotional and highly instrumental would not experience internal role conflict in leadership positions because the requirements of the situation would always be consistent with some part of their self-perception. Women in physical education tend to rate themselves high on both clusters of characteristics and would therefore be theoretically comfortable and competent in leadership positions, yet they remain grossly underrepresented at Head of Department level. A possible explanation for this may lie in the fact that while most women in physical education probably do not experience 'internal role conflict', they may experience 'external role conflict' which incorporates logistics such as time commitment and energy involved in fulfilling the demands of one's professional career and personal life, and social norms which emphasize a woman's home and family responsibilities while her personal norms tell her to achieve in her profession (Hoferek, 1986). In referring to the physical education profession, Duquin (1979) stated that "the woman who decides to seek leadership status must learn to deal with both the misconceptions of her co-workers and supervisors as regards the proper role of women in the organisation" (p.14).

SUMMARY

This review has investigated the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions, firstly addressing general evidence provided in the literature regarding the dominance of males in authority. The significance of having women in decision-making roles was then considered in terms of role models, subject image and

implications for curriculum and policy development and implementation. Reasons for the lack of women in senior positions in education were then examined to reveal nine clusters of contributing factors: policies and regulations; patriarchy within the system; gender-role stereotyping; the male model of leadership; women's family commitments; women's low promotional orientation; women's perceptions of their own abilities and the system; women's supposed lack of skills and experience; and the lack of support and encouragement that women receive to seek promotion. In light of the explanations given and the opposing views expressed by various researchers with regard to their credibility and current relevance, the question was then asked 'Is there a basis for treating females and males differently?'

From the literature, there is clearly disagreement about the extent to which different processes are influential in affecting gender-role socialization, but whatever the contribution of biology, it is apparent that people learn a significant part of what it means to be female or male in the particular environment and society in which they are raised.

The review concludes with a more specific investigation of the physical education area, and the particular implications that factors such as the nature of sport, the perceived status of the subject in schools, the relationship between age and career, and the notion of role conflict for females in physical education have in terms of female promotion into senior positions.

Despite disagreement among some researchers as to the credibility of various factors identified by the literature as barriers to female promotion, all nine clusters were utilized as the framework for the development of interview guides.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This section is divided into four subsections. The subsections describe the procedures: subjects and settings; the instrumentation; data collection methods, their reliability and validity, and ethical issues; and data processing and analysis.

A qualitative approach was decided upon as the most appropriate means of addressing the research question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to develop the analytical, conceptual and categorical components of explanation from the data itself, rather than from the preconceived, rigidly structured and highly quantified techniques that categorize the social world into operational definitions constructed by the researcher. According to Miles and Huberman (1988):

Qualitative data...are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts. Within qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, assess local causality, and derive full explanations... Qualitative data...go beyond initial preconceptions and frameworks...the findings from qualitative studies have a quality of undeniability (p.15).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Patton (1980) argued that theory about the social world which 'fits and works' is that which is generated inductively from the data rather than by dictating relevances in concepts and hypotheses beforehand.

The research design was an interpretive one, using qualitative methods for data collection and analysis in order to discover 'reasons why' there are so few female

physical education teachers occupying Head of Department positions in Western Australian government secondary schools.

The study has its base in feminist theory which is concerned with the reappraisal of the position of women in society (Evans, 1988). In addition, "Feminist theory is not simply about women, although it is that, it is about the world, but seen from the usually ignored and devalued vantage point of women's experience" (Ferguson, 1984, pp.xi)

Feminist research necessitates the placement of the social construction of gender at the centre of its inquiry, and views gender as a basic organising principle which profoundly shapes the concrete conditions of our lives:

Through the questions that feminism poses and the absences it locates, feminism argues the centrality of gender in the shaping of our consciousness, skills and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege. The overt ideological goal of feminist research in the human sciences is to correct both the invisibility and distortion of female experience in ways relevant to ending women's unequal social position.
(Lather, 1987. p.6)

The researcher believed that feminist methodology was appropriate to this study.

This approach is consistent with that of Ferguson (1984) and Shakeshaft (1987) who argued for the importance of studying women's careers from a women's perspective, a perspective which is usually ignored and devalued. It is supported by Shakeshaft and Nowell's statement that "Theories and concepts which emerge solely from a male consciousness may be irrelevant for the female experience and inadequate for explaining female behaviour" (1984, p.187). Further, Oakley (1981) argued that

women and men hold different images of themselves and their social relations. An account of the position of women must therefore begin with the view of culture and gender identity as generated by women in which the researcher needs to ask "how women see the position of women, men and society in general."

Individual in-depth interviews were used in this study in order to document female teachers' own accounts of their lives, career aspirations and perceptions of the education system and wider social world. Verbatim transcripts facilitated detailed analysis and the compilation of an account of what these female teachers perceived as the barriers and encouragements for promotion in physical education within Western Australian government secondary schools.

A selected sample of female physical education teachers was utilized. The sample was subdivided into three categories; one comprising 10 females with four or five years' teaching experience; a second, comprising 10 female teachers with 15 or more years' experience; and a third group comprising all female teachers who currently hold, or have in the past held Head of Department positions in physical education (a total of seven). Selecting the sample in this way enabled comparison between the perspectives of the three categories of teachers, each possessing a set of characteristics that differently influenced their perceptions and aspirations. Awareness of gender issues; employment and service policies; changing stereotypes and expectations of women; and experiences within the education system, were among the factors that differently characterised the three designated groups.

SUBJECTS AND SETTINGS

A sample of female physical educators teaching in Western Australian government secondary schools was selected based on the criteria of the following three nominated categories:

- Group 1 : Female physical education teachers with four or five years' teaching experience. For the purposes of discussion, this category will be referred to as 'inexperienced' teachers.
- Group 2 : Female physical education teachers with 15 or more years' teaching experience. For the purposes of discussion, this category will be referred to as 'experienced' teachers.
- Group 3 : Female physical education teachers who currently hold or have in the past held Head of Department positions. For the purposes of discussion, this category will be referred to as 'Heads of Department'.

The rationale underlying such a delineation was to obtain as broad a view as possible of female teachers' perceptions and experiences within the education system in the face of both changing Ministry of Education policies and regulations, and a changing society. More specifically, the 'inexperienced' teachers who had taught for four or five years were acquainted with the education system, having graduated with a heightened awareness of gender issues at a time when no policy restrictions imposed limitations on their career opportunities. The extent of the promotional aspirations of

these teachers was therefore supposedly attributable to factors outside the dictates of Ministry of Education regulations. The researcher also expected that after teaching for four or five years, the teachers would have had sufficient experience, in probably more than one school, to ascertain the degree of satisfaction with their choice of profession, and to have given their future career aspirations some consideration.

The teachers with 15 or more years experience comprising the 'experienced' category, were at a stage in their professional careers when promotion could be considered as an immediate alternative. When these women first began teaching, policy restrictions inhibiting promotion for females were just beginning to be addressed. Accouchement leave was granted in 1968, and equal pay for women in 1971. The regulation allowing married female teachers to receive permanent status was not officially gazetted until 1972, the same year that Western Australia had its first female principal of a coeducational senior high school. These factors, combined with the notion of seniority of service as the major criterion for promotion, had proved an enormous barrier for female teachers at the time, and prior to the policy changes there had been little incentive for women to strive for higher qualifications or to think in terms of a promotional career. It was expected that to begin teaching under such circumstances may have had some effect upon the perceptions and aspirations of these teachers. These women had experienced considerable changes in both Ministry of Education policy and cultural expectations.

Finally, the teachers who currently hold, or in the past held a Head of Department position in physical education, had seemingly overcome the many barriers to promotion cited by the literature. It was hoped that these teachers would add valuable insight to the issue in question through their perceptions from a promotional

position. Their range of ages was of additional interest in terms of the prevailing policies and regulations at the time they commenced their teaching, and also at the time of gaining promotion.

The intention was to use cluster sampling by school to increase the objectivity of subject selection. However, after conducting the initial interviews, it became evident that the method of sampling was not conducive to a broad range of responses. Because teachers tended to focus upon their most recent experiences, those from the same school were inclined to relate similar experiences, thoughts and perceptions. Sample selection was therefore completed by contacting randomly selected metropolitan secondary schools to compile a list of female physical education teachers who met the criteria of the three nominated categories. None of the teachers interviewed were from the same school. Groups 1 and 2 comprised 10 female teachers, and group 3 comprised all female physical education teachers who currently hold, or in the past held Head of Department positions.

From the names listed within the three categories, contact was made with individual teachers to explain the purpose of the study and to request an interview. An appointment was then made with those consenting to take part, and permission obtained from the principal for the researcher to enter the school. Selection of participants based on the criteria already discussed was restricted to the metropolitan area, as the time factor and cost of travelling to country centres was prohibitive. The sample of teachers available within the metropolitan area was deemed to be representative as many of the teachers had taught in country areas at some stage during their careers.

Interviews were conducted in a private location at each respondent's school during the second term of the 1992 school year. The school was chosen as the setting for interviews since it was the teacher's workplace and would therefore be an environment conducive to anxiety free, accurate and informative responses.

INSTRUMENTATION

The interview was used as the means of data collection. The decision to use interviews was based on the following advantages outlined by Isaac and Michael (1981), Sikes (1988) and Patton (1980). Firstly, the interview is holistic in that it enables the conceptualisation of individuals' careers within their total life experiences, and therefore takes account of historical influences on career developments. Secondly, the interview allows flexibility, depth of clarification and permits probing in order to obtain 'richer', more complete data. It provides the respondent a form of reference with which to react without placing any constraint on the reaction. "The fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms" (Patton, 1980, p.205). Thirdly, unexpected responses which may reveal significant information not anticipated by the research design can be incorporated. A fourth advantage of the interview lies in the fact that the researcher is able to establish and maintain a rapport with the respondent to assess the respondent's level of knowledge, and to monitor and ensure the effectiveness of communication between the researcher and the respondent.

The researcher did consider incorporating a questionnaire as a means of gathering initial responses from a wider sample, but this notion was rejected. A questionnaire,

while facilitating uniformity, reliability, ease of coding and data manipulation, tends to be superficial and artificial, and it was feared that its forced choice nature may preempt, irritate or threaten respondents (Isaac & Michael, 1981). A low percentage of returns was also considered as a potential problem, as was the possibility of 'untrue' or incomplete responses resulting from differing question interpretations. It was therefore decided that the use of a questionnaire would add nothing to the 'richness' or meaningfulness of the data to be gathered through interviewing the selected female teachers.

An interview schedule using a guided approach was considered the most appropriate form of interview to obtain information from the selected female teachers (Denzin, 1978). Three interview guides were developed, one for each of the categories of teachers. Gorden (1975), Patton (1980), and Tripp (1981) proposed that such a guide should provide only an outline of the topics to be covered due to the importance of allowing the respondent some joint responsibility for the structuring of the interview in terms of the ordering of questions. In this way, the interviews remain both conversational and situational. The outline does however increase the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection more systematic for each respondent, while providing sufficient flexibility to explore concepts as fully as necessary. Logical gaps in the data can be anticipated and closed. "The interview guide simply serves as a basic checklist during the interview to make sure that all relevant topics are covered" (Patton, 1980, p.198).

The interview guides (see Appendix C, D and E) were structured on the basis of the nine clusters of factors emerging from the reviewed literature as reasons for the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions, according to Patton's matrix

of question options. He suggested that from the matrix one can select which pieces of information are most important to obtain. For the present study, five of the 'past' categories of questions were utilized in interviewing respondents regarding their life experiences and teaching histories; six of the 'present' categories were incorporated into the interview guides; and two of the 'future' categories of questions were used to determine the respondents' career plans and perceptions regarding future trends in female leadership in physical education. The matrix, as applied to the present study, is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

PATTON'S MATRIX OF QUESTION OPTIONS AS UTILIZED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERVIEW GUIDES

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
Behaviour/experience questions	*	*	
Opinion/value questions	*	*	*
Feeling questions	*	*	*
Knowledge questions		*	
Sensory questions	*	*	
Demographic/background questions	*	*	

(Adapted from Patton, 1980, Table 7.2, p.210)

A matrix of the clusters of topics from the interview guides and their correlation with the specific research questions is presented in Table 5. A first draft of each interview guide was piloted to determine whether it was sufficiently comprehensive to cover the specific research questions as perceived by both the researcher and the respondents. The pilot study also provided the researcher with some insight into the possible nature and scope of responses to be expected, and assisted in the preparation of effective questioning techniques.

TABLE 5

A MATRIX TO INDICATE HOW CLUSTERS OF INTERVIEW TOPICS RELATE TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS	CLUSTERS OF INTERVIEW TOPICS (See Interview Guides - Appendices C to E)												
	School attended	Reasons for career choice	Mobility	Career plans	Constraints on career development	Awareness of promotion pathways	Skills and qualities needed for promotion	Perceptions of H.O.D. position	Image and status of P.E.	Gender roles in P.E.	Why so few female H.O.D.'s	Is it important that there are?	Experiences as H.O.D.
To what extent do female teachers and Heads of Department perceive that past policy has been responsible for the situation?			♦	♦	♦						♦		
What external, systemic barriers do female physical education teachers believe restrict their advancement to Head of Department?			♦	♦	♦	♦		♦	♦	♦	♦		♦
What internalized, psychological barriers do female physical education teachers believe restrict their advancement to Head of Department?	♦	♦			♦		♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦	♦

CLUSTERS OF INTERVIEW TOPICS (See Interview Guides - Appendices C to E)

SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS	School attended	Reasons for career choice	Mobility	Career plans	Constraints on career development	Awareness of promotion pathways	Skills and qualities needed for promotion	Perceptions of H.C.D. position	Image and status of P.E.	Gender roles in P.E.	Why so few female H.O.D.'s	Is it important that there are?	Experiences as H.O.D.
What are the comparative perceptions of teachers within the three selected categories in terms of their career aspirations and promotion or non-promotion to Head of Department?	♦	♦			♦		♦	♦	♦	♦	♦		♦
What measures could be taken to encourage females to apply for Head of Department positions in physical education?						♦		♦				♦	

Background and demographic questions (see Appendix F) were dealt with at the conclusion of the interview. Patton (1980) suggested that these types of questions have a tendency to be boring and perhaps embarrassing. Since the purpose of qualitative interviewing was to encourage the respondent to provide descriptive information as soon as possible rather than becoming conditioned to short-answer, routine responses, the background and demographic details were gathered by means of a survey sheet completed by the respondents at the conclusion of the interview.

The interviews were conducted over a period of six weeks during April and May of 1992. Locations for each interview were private within each teacher's school, and the duration of the interview sessions ranged between one and two hours. Confidentiality was assured.

DATA COLLECTION

According to Patton (1980), the primary data of an in-depth open-ended interview are quotations "...there is no substitute for these data" (p.246), and therefore some method of recording the verbatim responses of the subjects is essential. For this reason, an audio-recorder was used in the study. By doing so, not only was the accuracy of data collection increased by obtaining a permanent verbatim record of the account, but the researcher was permitted to be more attentive to the verbal and nonverbal behaviour of the informant, monitoring responses, searching for inconsistencies and thinking about questions to come. An additional reason for using audio-recording of interviews was to enhance the reliability and validity of the responses. Each interview was replayed as many times as necessary in order to fully transcribe responses and also to detect subtle tone changes, turns of phrase

and other 'hidden messages' which provided further insight into the values, attitudes and perceptions of the respondents.

According to Patton (1980), the period immediately following the interview is critical to the rigour and validity of qualitative measurement. On completing each interview, the researcher spent an equivalent period of time reviewing the recorded data and adding pertinent comments regarding observations made during the interview, or immediate thoughts and feelings regarding the responses obtained. This is a "time of quality control to guarantee that the data obtained will be useful, reliable and valid" (Patton, 1980, p.251).

The selected female teachers were each involved in one in-depth interview using a guided approach. The interviews were of one to two hours' duration, conducted in a private location chosen by the teacher. The respondents were aware of the purpose of the interview having already been informed as to the nature of the research at the time of initial contact. Upon meeting the respondent the researcher recapitulated the major points to clarify any uncertainties that the respondent may have had prior to commencing data collection. Two microcassette recorders were used to facilitate clarity of recording and these were pretested with the respondent to ensure a quality reception. Immediately following the in-depth interviews, background and demographic data were collected. Respondents were then thanked and assured of feedback on the outcomes of the research as soon as it became available.

The recorded interviews were then fully transcribed in order to provide the most accurate data possible for interpretation and independent analysis.

The interview transcripts were returned to respondents for verification and to provide the participants with an opportunity to make any desired changes and additional comments. Tentative arrangements for follow-up interviews to clarify any pertinent issues had been made, but they were not required.

Reliability and Validity

It was recognised that there can be difficulty in establishing that the interpretations and findings of an interview are valid and reliable. In this study these issues were of particular concern as the interview was the sole method utilized for data collection, and findings were not therefore corroborated through triangulating methodologies.

External reliability is concerned with whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in similar settings. According to Goetz and Le Compte (1984), five major problems requiring recognition and management in order to enhance external reliability of data are: the researcher's role and status being identified; the types of people serving as informants and the decision process invoking their choice being delineated; the social context within which the data are gathered being carefully described; the assumptions underlying the choice of terminology and methods of analysis being explicitly detailed; and the data collection and analysis methods being precisely presented. Each of these suggested strategies was addressed in the methodology of this study.

Internal reliability, according to Goetz and Le Compte (1984), refers to the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher. Five suggested

strategies to reduce threats to internal reliability are: verbatim accounts of participant conversations and raw data such as direct quotations from documents; the use of multiple researchers; the use of participant research assistants to confirm observations; peer examination of results to corroborate findings; and the use of mechanical devices to record observations. For the present study, data was collected using a microcassette recorder to provide verbatim accounts of respondents' conversations and facilitate accurate transcription; and subject scrutiny and peer examination of results was utilized in order to corroborate findings. The results were reliable to the extent that these measures enhanced reliability.

Internal validity addresses the problem of whether researchers actually observe and measure what they think they are observing and measuring. It refers to the "extent to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality" (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984, p.20). Campbell and Stanley (1963) and Cook and Campbell (1979) considered solving the problem of internal validity credibly to be a fundamental requirement of any research design. They described threats to internal validity in experimental research which Goetz and Le Compte (1984) believed to be equally applicable to qualitative research. The first of these was history and maturation: the extent to which phenomena initially observed are the same as those observed subsequently, incorporating developmental changes in individuals over a period of data collection. Since data for the present study was obtained from the selected respondents utilizing only one in-depth interview, history and maturation effects posed no threat.

Secondly, the probable effects of the researcher's presence on the nature of data gathered must be considered. Respondent's accounts may be affected by the nature

of the interviewer-informant interactions. It is important that the interviewer act in a nondirective manner and as a facilitator only. In each case the interviewer was known to the respondents as a teacher and postgraduate student conducting research to determine why so few females hold Head of Department positions in physical education.

Thirdly, selection and regression effects occurring as a result of the particular participants chosen for observation may pose a threat to internal validity. Gorden (1975) suggested that validity is increased by finding those informants who had the knowledge and were willing to give it. In the case of the present study, selective criterion-based sampling was utilized to choose the teachers for the interviews.

Finally, spurious conclusions may be drawn by the researcher. These effects are reduced by the elimination of alternative explanations, through discussion with the informants and through corroboration. The researcher therefore ensured the clarification of all responses by the informants who were given the opportunity to verify interview transcripts and make additions and/or amendments.

Threats to the external validity of qualitative research are those effects that reduce or obstruct a study's comparability and translatability. "External validity depends on the identification and description of those characteristics of phenomena salient for comparison with other similar types" (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984, p.51). They argued that qualitative researchers should aim for comparability and translatability of generated findings rather than outright transference to groups not investigated. Comparability refers to "the degree to which the components of a study are sufficiently well described and defined that other researchers can use the results as a

basis for comparison with other studies addressing related issues" (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984, p.228). Translatability refers to "the degree to which the researcher uses theoretical frames, definitions, and research techniques that are accessible to or understood by other researchers in the same or related disciplines" (p.228).

Denzin (1978) also identified a number of sources of potential invalidity as they applied to the interview situation in particular. The first problem to be addressed is that of self-presentation, in which the interviewer's stance on particular issues must not be translated into the interaction process so that it influences responses. Secondly, the interviewer-informant relationship must be seen as one in which information is exchanged, a special relationship freely entered. Both the interviewer and the informant had expectations of the situation; the interviewer that the informant was responding truthfully and fully, and the informant that the interviewer would respect confidentiality. Thirdly, the physical environment and the way in which the respondent reacts to it can present potential difficulties resulting in varied responses. Whether the location chosen for the interview is familiar to the interviewer or respondent may affect the formality and privacy of the interview situation and consequently the responses. For the present study, interviews were conducted in a private location chosen by each respondent. Finally, the process of interaction may create attitudes and behaviours which did not previously exist. The knowledge that one is being interviewed may lead to "a deliberate monitoring of the self so that only certain selves are presented" (p.127). The sources of potential invalidity were accounted for as far as was possible throughout the study.

Ethical Considerations

The need to carefully consider ethical issues in qualitative research was highlighted by Spradley (1979), who stated that:

no matter how unobtrusive, ethnographic research always pries into the lives of the informants... interviewing presents a powerful tool for invading other people's ways of life. It reveals information that can be used to affirm their rights, interests and sensitivities or to violate them. All informants must have the protection of saying things 'off the record' which will never find their way into the (researcher's) field notes (p.36).

The aims of the investigation were communicated to all informants and they were made aware of the value of the research in terms of the promotional opportunities of female physical education teachers. Neither the teachers interviewed for the present study, nor their schools, have been identified by name. The analysis of data did not compare or contrast individual teacher's attitudes, perceptions or aspirations. All interviews were confidential and conducted in a place where privacy was guaranteed.

Data gathered will not be used for any purpose other than outlined for the study, and feedback on the findings will be provided to all participants.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was assisted by making an audio-recording of each interview to enable an exact and verbatim transcription. Careful analysis of each interview was therefore possible and this has substantially increased the reliability of the analysis of data.

Because the research was of an inductive, emergent nature, the intention was to avoid imposing categories on the data from the researcher's viewpoint that 'created order' rather than 'discovered it'. The informants' knowledge is organised into categories which are in some way systematically related. The researcher's goal is to employ methods of analysis that lead to discovering this organisation of knowledge (Spradley, 1979).

Data analysis was conducted according to the following steps, derived from the work of Goetz and Le Compte (1984), Jones (1985), Mostyn (1985), Strauss (1987) and Woods (1986). The first step involved a careful and systematic review of the interview guide questions. Secondly, the transcriptions of the interviews were read and re-read to detect suggested lines of analysis and to point to connections with the literature. Thirdly, the data were coded as emergent major categories were identified. In this way, data were organised in a form more conducive to concept formation. Fourthly, the emergent patterns or themes were identified. Fifthly, cognitive mapping took place to diagrammatically represent the modelling of categories. Finally, the data were interpreted by examining the emergent themes and patterns that were identified in relation to the related literature.

The respondents themselves were asked to verify that the verbatim reports were an accurate representation.

An account of the experiences, opinions, perceptions and aspirations of the three categories of teachers in relation to the major issues addressed by the research are presented in Chapters 4 to 10. Profiles of the respondents are described in Chapter 4. Chapters 5 to 8 discuss perceived constraints on promotion, namely: the impact of

Ministry of Education policies and regulations; external systemic barriers; and internalized psychological barriers. Chapter 9 provides a comparative overview of the perceptions of the three categories of teachers interviewed. Finally, the respondents' views on future trends regarding females in leadership roles in physical education are presented in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENTS

The demographic and background data gathered from the respondents constitute 'presage variables' as discussed by Dunkin and Biddle (1974) in their model for the study of classroom teaching. These variables comprise the characteristics of the teacher, including formative experiences; teacher-education experiences; and personal properties, and can have a major influence on the job performance and career aspirations of teachers.

Since the sample selected for the study was based on the criteria of the three nominated categories of female physical education teachers, namely the 'inexperienced', the 'experienced' and the 'Heads of Department', the respondents' 'presage' profiles will be discussed in terms of the three delineated groups.

Age Range

The teachers comprising the 'inexperienced' group ranged in age from 25 to 27 years. Of the 10 respondents, six were 25, two were 26, and two were 27 years old.

The 'experienced' group, again a sample of 10, included teachers with a greater spread of ages, ranging from 35 to 60 years. This included one 35 year old, three 36 year olds, one 38 year old, two 39 year olds, one 42 year old, one 47 year old, and one teacher aged 60 years.

A total of seven teachers comprised the population of the 'Heads of Department' group. The respondents' ages in this category ranged from 34 to 70 years. One of the Heads of Department was 34, one was 39, two were 41, two were 43, and one was 70 years old. She had been retired for 15 years at the time of the interview, having been appointed in 1970 as the first female Head of Department in physical education. Table 6 presents an overview of teachers' ages by decade for each category.

TABLE 6
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY AGE

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	20s		30s		40s		60s		70s	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	10	100								
EXPERIENCED			7	70	2	20	1	10		
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT			2	29	4	57			1	14
TOTAL	10		9		6		1		1	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	37		33		22		4		4	

Age is a factor which provides valuable insight into a teacher's maturity; possibly her teaching experience dependent upon the number and length of breaks in service; her present stage in life and therefore critical influences which have impacted on her career; and the extent to which policies and regulations have impinged on her development in the teaching profession.

It was expected that the respondents in the 20s and 30s age groupings would exhibit promotional aspirations, having entered the education system at a time when there were no policy restrictions or imposed limitations on their career opportunities, and when the issues of equal opportunity and gender equity held a high profile. The respondents in the 40 to 70 year age range embarked on their teaching careers when policies were extremely discriminatory against females, a disadvantageous climate not conducive to seeking promotion, and yet the 'Heads of Department' group is comprised primarily of teachers in this age range (71%). The impact of past policies will be further considered in Chapter 5.

Marital Status and Dependents

Of the 10 respondents in the 'inexperienced' group, eight were single and two were married. No teachers in this category had any dependents.

In the sample of 10 'experienced' teachers, five were married and of these two had three dependents. One other of the respondents was divorced and had a child of whom she did not have custody, but visited regularly.

The 'Heads of Department' category included five female teachers who were married, three having dependents. Another, now aged 70 and retired, had three dependents during her teaching career. One of the teachers was divorced with a dependent.

Table 7 summarises the marital status and number of dependents of the respondents in each group.

TABLE 7**CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY MARITAL STATUS AND DEPENDENTS**

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	MARRIED		DIVORCED		SINGLE		DEPENDENTS	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	2	20			8	80		
EXPERIENCED	5	50	1	10	4	40	3	30
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT	5	72	1	14	1	14	5	72
TOTAL	12		2		13		8	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	45		7		48		30	

Table 7 indicates that 52% of the teachers in the sample were either married, or had been married and then divorced; and that 30% of the women had dependents. Of the three categories, the 'Heads of Department' group had the highest percentage of married teachers (72%) and the highest percentage with dependents (72%).

Marital status and breaks in service for child rearing have been particularly strong determinants of career opportunities in the past due to policy restrictions imposed on females. Accouchement leave was not granted until 1968, and the regulation allowing married female teachers to receive permanent status was not officially gazetted until 1972. Despite the removal of the policy limitations some 20 years ago married women, particularly those with children, are still faced with the dilemma of the duality of family and career roles. It was expected that marriage and dependents may have been barriers to the promotion of females, both in terms of past policy and the added responsibilities that family imposed. Instead, six of the seven past or

current Heads of Department (86%) were married and had dependents at the time of promotion. Of the 13 unmarried respondents, only one had attained Head of Department status, and a further one (from the 'Inexperienced' group) had promotional aspirations.

School Attended as a Student

Of the 27 female physical educators interviewed, 17 (62%) attended coeducational government schools as students, while the remaining nine (33%) attended single-sex nongovernment institutions. One of the 'experienced' teachers attended school in England. Table 8 provides a breakdown of the type of school attended by the respondents.

TABLE 8
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOL		GOVERNMENT SCHOOL	
	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	6	60	4	40
EXPERIENCED *	2	20	7	70
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	1	14	6	86
TOTAL	9		17	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	33		62	

* One attended school in England

Attendance at a coeducational school as opposed to a single-sex school has relevance in terms of the physical education experiences of females and the nature of the role models encountered. Those who attended coeducational schools may have had both female and male teachers, and the Head of Department of physical education would have almost certainly been male; while those attending the single-sex schools would have encountered only female physical education teachers and a female Head of Department in that subject. It was anticipated that secondary school experiences may have differentially influenced the achievement and aspirations of the teachers.

Six of the seven respondents in the 'Heads of Department' category attended government schools, where they did not encounter any female role models of leadership, and yet aspired to and gained promotion, while six of the 10 'inexperienced' teachers attended nongovernment schools where they did have female Heads of Department in physical education, and yet not one of them expressed any desire to strive for promotion.

Qualifications

All 27 respondents had attained permanent status. Of the 10 respondents in the 'inexperienced' group, two were three year trained, and the remaining eight were four year trained with either a Bachelor of Education degree, or a Bachelor of Physical Education degree and a Diploma of Education. All the teachers in this category originally graduated with these qualifications. No further study had been undertaken after entering teaching.

The 'experienced' group comprised three, three year trained teachers and seven, four year trained teachers. Unlike the 'inexperienced' group, four of these women had undertaken further study after graduating in order to raise their qualifications to either a Higher Certificate or Bachelor of Education degree. Two of the three year trained teachers were studying units towards a Bachelor of Education degree. The main reason given for improving qualifications to four year status was to qualify for the corresponding pay increment. Only one of the 10 respondents had completed further study in order to qualify for promotion. The teacher who was not upgrading her qualifications was the breadwinner for her family, and said that although she had commenced further study on numerous occasions, the opportunity for full-time employment and family responsibility were a priority, and had curtailed her study endeavours in every instance. Two of the respondents had just completed Graduate Diplomas, one in Computing and the other in Educational Administration, with a view to career change; and one respondent was in the process of completing a Graduate Diploma in Health, a qualification of some relevance to physical education, but which could also lead into related areas outside the school system.

All teachers in the 'Heads of Department' category had the required equivalent of a four year qualification. Four of these teachers had returned to study in order to upgrade their qualifications after entering the teaching force. One of the respondents had completed two degrees; one in education and one in science; and a Master of Education.

Table 9 summarises the number of years training undertaken by teachers in each of the three categories, and indicates how many have undertaken further study to upgrade their qualifications to four year status.

TABLE 9
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY QUALIFICATIONS

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	3 YEAR TRAINED		4 YEAR TRAINED		IMPROVED ORIGINAL QUALIFICATION	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	2	20	8	80		
EXPERIENCED	3 *	30	7	70	4	40
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT			7	100	4	57
TOTAL	5		22		8	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	18		81		30	

* Two currently studying for a Bachelor of Education Degree

Qualifications are a vital consideration in the eligibility of a candidate for promotion. A teacher must be four year trained and have permanent status in order to apply. Five of the respondents interviewed (18%) would be precluded from applying for a Head of Department position in physical education. Of the remaining eligible 22 teachers (81%), seven (33%) are currently, or have in the past, been Heads of Departments; 15 teachers (55%) had not applied for promotion; and one (4%) had been unsuccessful in her application.

Number of Schools at which Teachers have Taught

The number of schools at which respondents within each of the categories have taught is summarised in Table 10.

TABLE 10
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AT WHICH TEACHERS
HAVE TAUGHT

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS											
	1		2		3		4		5		8	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	4	40	2	20	2	20	2	20				
EXPERIENCED					2	20	6	60	1	10	1	10
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT							4	57	3	43		
TOTAL	4		2		4		12		4		1	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	15		7		15		44		15		4	

Table 10 indicates that the more experienced teachers have taught in a greater number of schools than those teachers in the 'inexperienced' group. The relevance of this factor lies in the nature and variety of experiences encountered by teachers as they transfer from one school to another. Perceptions of career and promotional aspirations may both be impacted upon by positive or negative dealings with various Heads of Department, school administrators, other staff and students.

Country service can be an indicator of teacher mobility, although in many instances, transfers to country centres are enforced rather than voluntary. Until the introduction of promotion by merit in 1990, country service was a prerequisite for promotion, and the likelihood of a country posting in order to gain promotion to a Head of Department position in physical education is still high. The 'Heads of Department' category had

the lowest percentage of teachers who had taught in a country school (43%). The other categories both had a percentage of 60. Overall, 56% of the respondents had completed country service.

Breaks in Service

Until 1968, accouchement leave was not granted to pregnant women, and child-bearing required resignation and a consequent loss of seniority. Leave without pay and accouchement leave, while no longer termed as breaks in service, impose the penalty of the nonaccrual of leave time in terms of service and therefore seniority. Resignation constitutes a loss of seniority and permanent status.

Respondents in both the 'experienced' and 'Heads of Department' categories had a greater number of breaks in service than did the 'inexperienced' respondents. Table 11 lists the breaks in service taken by teachers in each of the three categories.

Since the introduction of promotion by merit in 1990, the damaging effects on promotion of a teacher's breaks in service have theoretically diminished, since seniority is no longer the major criterion.

Only two of the teachers believed that their breaks in service had disadvantaged them in terms of their permanency, seniority, and therefore, career opportunities. Both respondents were from the 'experienced' category; one was the family breadwinner, and had resigned and lost permanency three times through pregnancy, and on a further three occasions due to travel necessitated by the husband's family.

The other had resigned on three occasions to travel with the husband in the pursuit of his career, and twice due to pregnancy. In each instance, seniority was lost. The remainder of the respondents did not feel that their breaks in service had been detrimental to their careers.

TABLE 11
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY BREAKS IN SERVICE

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	NUMBER	NATURE OF BREAK IN SERVICE
INEXPERIENCED	1	1 YEAR'S LEAVE WITHOUT PAY
	1	3 TERMS' RESIGNATION TO ENTER THE NONGOVERNMENT SCHOOLS SYSTEM
EXPERIENCED	2	NUMEROUS BREAKS IN SERVICE THROUGH PREGNANCY, RESIGNATION DUE TO HUSBAND'S CAREER AND FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES
	6	1 YEAR'S LEAVE WITHOUT PAY,
	1	1 YEAR'S ACCOUCHEMENT LEAVE
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	2	1 YEAR'S LEAVE WITHOUT PAY
	1	1 YEAR'S ACCOUCHEMENT LEAVE TAKEN ON TWO SEPARATE OCCASIONS
	1	1 YEAR'S RESIGNATION AND 1 YEAR'S ACCOUCHEMENT LEAVE TAKEN TWICE
	1	9 MONTHS' ACCOUCHEMENT LEAVE
	1	REQUIRED TO RESIGN THREE TIMES THROUGH PREGNANCY
	1	8 WEEKS' ACCOUCHEMENT LEAVE TAKEN TWICE

Reasons for Career Choice

The reasons underlying an individual's choice of career may have a bearing on the extent of her dedication and provide insight into possible career development and aspirations. Table 12 lists the reasons why respondents chose physical education teaching as their career.

TABLE 12
REASONS FOR SELECTING PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHING AS A CAREER

'INEXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	n
Physical Education was perceived as an easy alternative	1
Always wanted to be a teacher and was talented in sport	1
Talented in sport and couldn't think of any alternative	1
Liked physical education teachers	3
School experiences and love of sport	4

'EXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	n
Nice lifestyle and both parents were physical education teachers	1
Offered a teaching bursary and enjoyed sport	1
School experiences, parent a teacher, and physical education an easier alternative	1
Good lifestyle and might be easier than something else because of talent in sport	2
Enjoyed sport and physical education looked like fun	2
School experiences and love of sport	3
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	n
School experiences, liked the teachers, and love of sport	1
Always wanted to be a teacher, love of sport, and liked the physical education teachers	1
School experiences	1
Enjoyed sport and was talked into it by a friend	2
Talented in sport and admired physical education teachers	2

To facilitate further analysis, the reasons listed in Table 12 have been broken down into single factors influencing career choice, and these are presented in Table 13, together with the frequency and percentage of respondents who acknowledged each of the factors as contributing to their decision to become physical education teachers.

Differential emphasis was placed on various factors by the three categories of teachers interviewed. The 'inexperienced' group identified 'school experiences' (40%) and a 'love of sport' (40%) to be equally the most influential factors, followed by 'physical education teachers' (30%), and a 'talent in sport' (20%).

The 'experienced' group prioritised the factors somewhat differently. The factor most frequently identified was a 'love of sport' (60%), followed by physical education being perceived as a 'good lifestyle' (50%), 'positive school experiences' (40%), and physical education as an 'easy alternative' (30%).

Teachers in the 'Heads of Department' category accorded the greatest influence to 'a love of sport' (57%) and an admiration of their physical education teachers at school (37%), followed by 'positive school experiences' (28%), and a 'talent in sport' (28%).

Overall, teachers identified 'a love of sport' to be the major influence in their career choice (52%). In most cases, this was combined with either their 'positive school experiences' or their 'admiration of physical education teachers', ranked second and third respectively (37% and 26%) by the total sample.

TABLE 13
FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CAREER CHOICE

FACTOR	INEXP		EXP		HEADS OF DEPT		TOTAL	% OF TOTAL SAMPLE
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Love of sport	4	40	6	60	4	57	14	52
Positive school experiences	4	40	4	40	2	28	10	37
Liked P.E. teachers	3	30			4	57	7	26
Talent in sport	2	20	2	20	2	28	6	22
P.E. a good lifestyle			5	50			5	18
P.E. an easy alternative	1	10	3	30			4	15
Desire to teach	1	10			1	14	2	7
Parents are teachers			2	20			2	7
No alternative	1	10					1	4
Offered a bursary			1	10			1	4
Talked into it by friends					1	14	1	4

These findings highlight the impact that physical education experiences and role models can have on girls during their school years, and the part they might play in shaping future career aspirations.

The number of teachers selecting physical education as a first preference was also considered. Of the 10 teachers in the 'inexperienced' category, all but one (90%)

went into physical education as a first choice. The single differing respondent began studying another course, but perceived it as too difficult and time consuming, and transferred into physical education. In the 'experienced' category, seven of the respondents (70%) selected physical education teaching as their first choice. Of the remaining three, two began their training as primary teachers and then changed to physical education when a conversion course known as S3 was introduced. The other respondent had moved into physical education from physiotherapy, basing her decision on a dislike of physics, a subject which formed an integral part of the physiotherapy course. Of the 'Heads of Department' group, only three (43%) had entered physical education as a first choice. Two of the respondents began their training as primary teachers; one transferred to physical education through the S3 conversion course, and the other moved into the subject area when she was given the opportunity, in 1943, to participate in a 10 week training course in teaching 'boys' physical education'. Another of the teachers in this category had desired a career in teaching, and had drifted into physical education because of her sporting prowess. For the other respondent, her career choice was based on deciding between physiotherapy and physical education. The latter was finally chosen as the 'easier' alternative. A summary is presented in Table 14.

TABLE 14
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY CAREER CHOICE

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	P. E. WAS 1st CHOICE		P. E. WAS NOT 1st CHOICE	
	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	9	90	1	10
EXPERIENCED	7	70	3	30
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	3	43	4	57
TOTAL	19		8	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	70		30	

For 70% of the teachers, physical education had been their first career choice. For at least three of the other respondents, physical education would have been selected, had there been an appropriate course available at the time career decisions were made.

Future Career Plans

While only four teachers (14%) expressed some regret with regard to their career choice, 13 (48%) were either actively seeking alternative careers, promotion out of the physical education area, or perceived physical education as a short term career to be curtailed in the near future by marriage and dependents.

Only two respondents (7%) made mention of any aspirations for promotion to Head of Department positions in the subject area, and two Heads of Department expressed satisfaction and enjoyment with regard to their position, and a desire to remain in that leadership role.

Table 15 provides a summary of the possible future career plans of the respondents.

TABLE 15
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY FUTURE CAREER PLANS

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	REGRET CHOICE		PERCEIVED CAREER PLANS
	YES	NO	
INEXPERIENCED		1	Don't want to stay in physical education. Studying Natural Therapy.
	1	2	Not suited to physical education. It's a short term career. Don't like dealing with undisciplined students. Going back to study.
		1	Promotional aspirations for a Head of Department position.
		1	Expectation of marriage and children, then moving into the curriculum development area.
	1	2	Will remain in physical education until marriage and children. Will then study something else.
		1	Don't want to remain in physical education. Studying Physiotherapy.

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	REGRET CHOICE		PERCEIVED CAREER PLANS
	YES	NO	
EXPERIENCED	1	1	Will stay in physical education, can't find a satisfactory alternative. Currently studying BEd. May apply for Head of Department.
		1	Will remain in physical education while at current school - the situation is too good to give up. May eventually go for Deputy Principal.
			Concerned about age. Currently studying computing to enable a transfer out of physical education.
		1	Concerned about age. Currently doing BEd to qualify for promotion - preferably to Deputy Principal.
		1	Concerned about age. Would like to work at a tertiary institution and may return to study to enable this.
		1	Concerned about age. Looking for an alternative. Has applied for promotion before, but was unsuccessful.
		1	Working towards a Deputy Principal position. Will remain in physical education until then.
		1	Will remain in physical education until retirement in 5 years' time.
		1	Would like a change from physical education to something that could be taken more seriously.
		1	Loves teaching physical education and will continue in the area. Has vague promotional aspirations.

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	REGRET CHOICE		PERCEIVED CAREER PLANS
	YES	NO	
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT		1	Has enjoyed the Head of Department position. Very rewarding. Now looking for promotion to Deputy Principal due to family commitments.
		1	Thoroughly enjoys physical education. Tried Deputy Principal position. Returned to physical education and will remain there.
		1	Currently in an acting Deputy Principal's position and has been on and off for past nine years. Trying for a substantive position.
		1	Thoroughly enjoying physical education but aiming for Principal.
		1	Loved physical education so did not aspire any further (retired).
	1		Physical education does not lead anywhere. A job for the young. Now resigned but was looking for something else.
		1	Enjoys physical education. Hated the Head of Department position. Not suited, therefore regressed to teacher and is now happy.

The views of respondents in Table 15 raised two questions. Firstly, if the majority of teachers selected physical education as their first career choice, then why did so few of them wish to remain in that area? Secondly, why did only two of the respondents indicate any aspirations for promotion to the Head of Department position? These issues will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

Responsibilities Assumed in Addition to Teaching Duties

The majority of the respondents (93%) had taken on responsibilities in the physical education department, additional to their required duties. Because of their promotional position, teachers in the 'Heads of Department' category had all assumed additional responsibilities, as had all 10 of the 'experienced' group interviewed, and 80% of the 'inexperienced' group. These extra duties included co-ordinating health education and outdoor education, staging dance productions, organising carnivals, and being in charge of girls' physical education. Five of the teachers in the 'experienced' category (50%) had been acting Heads of Department in physical education.

While 93% of the respondents assumed additional responsibilities within the physical education department, only 67% of them took on extra responsibilities within the whole school system. Six of the seven respondents (86%) in the 'Heads of Department' category had assumed additional responsibilities within the school system, as a result of their position. The majority of the 'experienced' group (80%) had likewise assumed responsibilities outside their teaching duties, taking on such roles as year co-ordinator, and membership of various school committees dealing with discipline, school development, reporting procedures, timetabling, communications, and the school council. This demonstrated their interest and ability to take part in decision-making and their leadership potential. It seems incongruous that so few of this group expressed any aspirations for promotion. Only four of the 'inexperienced' group (40%) had taken on responsibilities in the whole school system, probably due to their limited experience.

Table 16 summarises the number of teachers within each of the categories who had taken on responsibilities additional to their teaching duties, either in the physical education department or more generally within the whole school structure.

TABLE 16
CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES ASSUMED

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	DEPARTMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES		WHOLE SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITIES	
	n	%	n	%
INEXPERIENCED	8	80	4	40
EXPERIENCED	10	100	8	80
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	7	100	6	86
TOTAL	25		18	
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	93		67	

By assuming added responsibility within the physical education department, teachers become better acquainted with the administration and functioning of the department, and have the opportunity to develop their organisational and leadership skills. It also provides individuals with challenges and invites them to demonstrate their capabilities in various roles. While some responsibilities may be allocated and therefore mandatory, others taken on voluntarily may indicate a teacher's willingness or desire to assume some control over the functioning of the department, and thus provide

insight regarding her promotional aspirations and perhaps her potential as Head of Department.

Membership of school committees indicates an interest in the functioning of the school as a whole, demonstrates a desire to contribute to decision-making, and promotes the leadership potential of the teacher involved. Committee membership has also virtually become a prerequisite for advancement under the promotion by merit system now in operation.

When viewed in terms of the lack of promotional aspirations expressed by the females in both the 'inexperienced' and 'experienced' groups, the acceptance of additional responsibilities may best be interpreted as a measure of the delegation of duties in physical education departments. It does indicate, however, that the majority of the respondents would have a gained number of the skills required for a Head of Department.

Membership of Professional and Sporting Organisations

The 'inexperienced' group has the highest overall membership of professional associations, and yet these respondents expressed least satisfaction with teaching physical education, and virtually no promotional aspirations. Table 17 lists the major professional associations patronised by the respondents.

TABLE 17

CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY MEMBERSHIP OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND SPORTING ORGANISATIONS

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND SPORTING ORGANISATIONS MEMBERSHIP														TOTAL
	ACHPER		WAPETA		COEDAWA		RLSA		WASSA		S.T. ASSOC		SPORT ORG		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
INEXPERIENCED	4	40	7	70	2	20	2	20							15
EXPERIENCED	3	30	4	40	1	10			1	10	1	10			10
HEADS OF DEPARTMENT	1	14	3	43					1	14			1	14	6
TOTAL	8		14		3		2		2		1		1		
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	30		52		11		7		7		4		4		

ACHPER : Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
 WAPETA : Western Australian Physical Education Teachers' Association
 COEDAWA : Camping and Outdoor Education Association of Western Australia
 RLSA : Royal Life Saving Association
 WASSA : Western Australian Schools' Sports Association
 S.T. ASSOC : Senior Teachers' Association
 SPORT ORG : Other Sporting Organisations

Table 17 indicates that the highest membership is accorded to the two professional associations, WAPETA (52%) and ACHPER (30%). WAPETA is a relatively new association formed in Western Australia in 1989. Being a local body, it is perhaps more personalised and has better access to individual teachers within schools. The low registration fee is possibly a further reason for its relative popularity. ACHPER, while being the original and perhaps best recognised professional body for physical educators in Australia, is viewed by many practising teachers as irrelevant to their immediate needs, hence the relatively low membership.

Membership of professional associations and sporting organisations demonstrates an interest in the area and a dedication to the profession. Through such membership, teachers' awareness of relevant changes and developments is maintained, and they are provided with reference groups and a networking system beyond their immediate department or school.

A 'perceived correlation' matrix (Table 18) was prepared to demonstrate intercorrelations between the given aspects of the respondents' profiles. The degree of interrelationship perceived by the researcher is based on the views and experiences expressed, and is denoted as either a 'slight', 'moderate' or 'high' correlation. Age was perceived to correlate highly with the number of schools at which teachers had taught; the number of service breaks taken; and a willingness to assume responsibilities additional to teaching duties, both within the physical education department and in the whole school. That is, respondents in their 30s and

40s had taught at a greater number of schools, taken more service breaks, and assumed more additional responsibilities, than the teachers in the 20s age group.

Future career plans, and marital status and dependents were both perceived to have a 'moderate' correlation with age. That is, respondents in their 20s expressed little desire to remain in physical education, while those in their 30s and 40s felt satisfied with their career choice, were enjoying teaching, and a small number were aspiring to promotion. Teachers in their 20s were predominantly single (80%), while 70% of those in their 30s and 40s were, or had been married with dependents. When age was correlated with membership of professional associations and sporting organisations, the interrelationship was also 'moderate', but negative. In other words, a greater number of the younger respondents were members of these organisations, primarily WAPETA and ACHPER, than the respondents in the 30s and 40s age groupings. Reasons for choosing a career in physical education were perceived to have a 'slight' correlation with age, the older respondents basing their choice primarily on their school experiences as students and their love of sport, while the younger teachers gave a more varied response, including such things as physical education being an easy option, the lack of other alternatives, and sporting talent, as well as school experiences.

Marital status, and more particularly dependents, was perceived to have a 'moderate' correlation with breaks in service. Forty-four percent of all breaks taken by respondents were for accouchement leave or leave due to related family responsibilities. When marital status was correlated with future career plans, there was a 'slight' perceived correlation, primarily for the 'inexperienced' category. Within

this group, 30% of teachers gave their expectations of marriage and children as being the reason for perceiving physical education as a short term career.

The school attended by the respondents as students correlated 'moderately' with their reasons given for selecting a career in physical education teaching. 'School experiences' were second only to a 'love of sport' in a frequency ranking of factors contributing to career choice (see Table 13).

When the promotional aspirations of the respondents are correlated with the given aspects of their profiles, there is a 'high' inverse relationship with future career plans. Only two (20%) of the 20 female teachers in the 'inexperienced' and 'experienced' categories expressed any aspirations in terms of promotion to Head of Department.

TABLE 18

A MATRIX INDICATING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GIVEN ASPECTS OF THE RESPONDENTS' PROFILES AND THEIR PROMOTIONAL ASPIRATIONS

	AGE RANGE	MARITAL STATUS & DEPENDTS	SCHOOL ATTENDED	QUALS	SCHOOLS TAUGHT AT	SERVICE BREAKS	REASONS FOR CAREER CHOICE	FUTURE CAREER PLANS	EXTRA RESPONSIBILITIES	MEMBER PROF/SPORT ORG	PROMOTIONAL ASPIRATIONS
AGE RANGE		♦♦			♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦	♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦	
MARITAL STATUS & DEPENDENTS	♦♦					♦♦		♦			
SCHOOL ATTENDED							♦♦				
QUAL'S								♦			♦
NO OF SCHOOLS TAUGHT AT	♦♦♦								♦		
SERVICE BREAKS	♦♦♦	♦♦						♦			
REASONS FOR CAREER CHOICE	♦		♦♦								
FUTURE CAREER PLANS	♦♦	♦		♦		♦			♦	♦	♦♦♦
EXTRA RESPONSIBILITIES	♦♦♦				♦			♦			
MEMBER PROF/SPORT ORG	♦♦							♦			

- ♦ Denotes a 'slight' perceived correlation between the two aspects of profile
- ♦♦ Denotes a 'moderate' perceived correlation
- ♦♦♦ Denotes a 'high' perceived correlation
- ♦- Denotes an inverse relationship between the two aspects of profile

In summary, the aspects of the respondents' profiles which were perceived to have a high interrelationship were:

- ◆ age and the number of schools at which teachers had taught. Respondents in the 30s and 40s age groups had taught in a greater number of schools than respondents in their 20s, thus being exposed to a broader range of experiences;
- ◆ age and the number of service breaks taken. Respondents in the 30s and 40s had taken a greater number of breaks in service than the teachers in their 20s;
- ◆ age and extra responsibilities. Respondents in their 30s and 40s with greater teacher experience were found to take on more responsibilities beyond their required teaching duties, both in the physical education department and within the whole school structure, than the younger teachers;
- ◆ future career plans and promotional aspirations. Other than the female teachers in the 'Heads of Department' category who either had been, or were currently in the promotional position, only two of the remaining respondents had any aspirations towards promotion.

CHAPTER 5

THE PERCEIVED IMPACT OF POLICIES AND REGULATIONS ON PROMOTION

Ministry of Education policy and associated regulations were identified by the literature as having a significant bearing on female promotional opportunities (Hutchinson, 1981; Miland, 1984; Stewart, 1976). Married women have been particularly disadvantaged by past policies requiring their resignation and relegation to temporary staff; the lack of provision for accouchement leave until 1968; and the impact of restricted geographic mobility on their gaining permanent status. Until the last of these structural barriers was finally removed in the mid 1970s, there had been little incentive for females to strive for promotion.

When respondents were asked which factors they perceived as constraints on their career development, although a number recognised the effect that past policy may have had on female promotion, only two (7%) said that they had experienced such constraints. A past female Head of Department now retired, who began teaching in 1942, expressed her perceptions of the policies at the time:

We'd got married when we came home in the middle of our course (at Melbourne University). We had to go and see the professor in charge of the University and ask him if we could get married - another girl had got secretly married.... It was such a crime in those days - as a female teacher you weren't allowed to get married
(Head of Department)

In terms of the effects such a policy had on the promotional prospects of females, she went on to say:

In the old days, a married woman couldn't get promotion at all... then finally when they said you could go for promotion, there was this business of having a specialist qualification like a Diploma of Phys Ed, and then do your Higher Certificate and you had to have a top teaching mark... The snag was of course, that the only people that could get these promotional positions were single women who had devoted their lives to their academic studies. They qualified academically and they were in a position to get the promotion because that's all the department would have. Every year people were sacked and that was time that didn't count. It wasn't until finally that they got this new thing in that married women could become permanent, and then once they were permanent, they could apply for promotion.
(Head of Department)

Past policy regarding married women was not only a disadvantage in terms of permanency and seniority, but also affected the accessibility of these women to further education due to time restrictions imposed by family commitments.

A serious consequence of breaks in service for child bearing prior to the granting of accouchement leave in 1968 was a loss of seniority, one of the major criteria for promotion. One respondent in the 'experienced' category related her good fortune as a result of the constraints experienced by her peers:

I have been very lucky actually... I ended up being Senior Mistress of physical education because I happened to be there at the right time. In those days you had to have seniority and all the other ladies had been married and had had children, and when they got married or had a break to have a child, they lost their seniority. I ended up being the youngest on the staff and being the Senior Mistress.
(Experienced)

One of the current female Heads of Department, while not personally affected by these past policies, acknowledged their overall impact:

In the past, when it was based on seniority, it was almost impossible for a female to get Head of Department, because most females were married and had a child, and so had a break in service... I've only had one child, and I can see that if I'd had more children, that might have been a constraint. I only stayed out of teaching for nine months and that was in my second year of teaching. I would imagine that it would have gone against me as far as promotion, if I'd had a break in service again, purely because of seniority. But it didn't have any effect on me as such.
(Head of Department)

Not herself affected by the constraints of past policy, one of the 'experienced' teachers aged sixty and married with three children, expressed little sympathy for the disadvantages suffered by females in the past:

I would say there has been some disadvantage there, but I'm afraid I'm a person who thinks - well, if you're going to have children, if you want to have children, you accept that. I get quite cross sometimes when I read about cases of women being disadvantaged, and they should have this and they should have that. I think if you decide to have children, you've got a responsibility to those children, and it's something that you've got to decide about. You don't have to have children and you don't have to be in-charge.
(Experienced)

A further possible consequence of the lack of opportunity for female promotion in the past due to restrictive policies which limited their chances of gaining seniority, was that females with any aspirations simply left the teaching profession to pursue alternative careers which offered more avenues for advancement. Such moves may have led to a depletion of female teachers with desirable skills and qualities from the physical education teaching area, leaving behind those with few promotional aspirations, hence the current underrepresentation of females in the Heads of Department position. As one of the Heads of Department interviewed stated:

I think a lot of the females that have shown any potential or enthusiasm to do something in the field, have gone out of the school, have gone into the Ministry or health promotion, or those sorts of things.

(Head of Department)

Overall, despite the views expressed by six (22%) of the teachers interviewed, only two (7%) of the respondents had been personally affected by the constraints imposed by past policies and regulations. One teacher had been disadvantaged greatly, but had nevertheless managed to achieve Head of Department status; and for the other 'experienced' teacher, the system had actually worked in her favour, by assisting her to gain relative seniority as her peers married, had children, and lost their status. It can therefore be concluded, that the constraints of past policies and regulations have not been a major contributing factor to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level.

Redressing the Imbalances

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, concern regarding the imbalance of promotional opportunities for females and males escalated. By this time the discriminatory policies and regulations had been removed, and measures to encourage greater participation by female teachers in decision-making at the school level were being put into place. The Equal Opportunity Act (1984) and Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act (1986) propagated new Ministry of Education policies and initiatives to redress past injustices.

Seven (26%) of the interviewed teachers commented on the implementation of what they perceived to be 'compensatory' measures. One of the past Heads of Department, now resigned, perceived a possible effect as:

Promotion is now very quick for women. Once they do become Head of Department, they can move up. With affirmative action, the women have been moving up the ladder very quickly.
(Head of Department)

She went on to suggest this upward mobility to Deputy Principal as a possible reason for there being so few female Heads of Department. The fact that the total population of past and present Heads of Department in physical education is seven, discounts such a suggestion. Female teachers who have moved into Deputy Principal positions have done so by bypassing the Head of Department level.

The other six respondents perceived the attempts of affirmative action to encourage female promotion rather negatively, making comments like:

I think there should be a heck of a lot more of the right people in the job, not just because they're female. I haven't liked a lot of the affirmative action which is pushing females forward.
(Head of Department)

I feel it's important that somebody who wants to be in that position should be able to stand on an equal footing with males to get a position, but not to have any special favours granted to them because they are women.
(Experienced)

I tend to feel that women are always pushed forward now, and men aren't being represented enough. I sort of feel as though it's all swung rather too much the other way. It's overcompensating.
(Experienced)

These women believed that the injustices of the past could not be reversed, and that females and males should be judged on their merits and personal attributes, rather than being either discriminated against or compensated for because of their sex.

In 1991, 'promotion by merit' was introduced for secondary schools, thereby devaluing seniority as the major criterion for advancement. The aim of this new promotion policy was to select the most suitable applicant for each position in a fair and equitable manner.

When respondents were asked about their views on the effects that merit promotion may have on female representation at Heads of Department level in the future, 50% thought the effects would be positive, and the other 50% expressed some reservations regarding the policy's worth. Positive comments included:

Merit promotion will make a difference because a lot of women drop out and have a family and things like that. So they're not going to have to wait all those years to finally get in there and have a go...you can get in there while you're still young and enthusiastic.
(Head of Department)

A lot of women never even thought of being in a position where they could be a Head of Department. Merit promotion is going to allow that. I would hope that within the next two or three years, the number of women in charge of physical education will double. Merit promotion will say - "You're spot on", "You're organised", and so on. "Apply!"
(Head of Department)

I don't think that ability to do the job is related to sex. I think it's related to the person, and maybe merit promotion - if you've got to provide CVs and all that - will improve the situation.
(Experienced)

Women get married and have a family and that constitutes a further commitment and a break in service which up until now has affected seniority. With merit promotion, this may no longer be so relevant.
(Experienced)

The main advantages of the merit promotion system for females were thought to be: a de-emphasis on seniority, and therefore less penalty for married women with dependents; that females will be given the opportunity to promote their capabilities; and that promotional positions, once viewed as out of reach by most females, may be perceived as attainable.

Not all teachers interviewed were supportive of merit promotion. Fifty percent of the respondents were negative in their perceptions. Comments included:

It's obviously the gift of the gab...it's just how referees filled out and how you fill out, you know, 'blab' about yourself. You can go and do courses on how to write your resume and all that sort of thing...on how to butter yourself up...it's wrong. I think it was probably better before than it is now.
(Head of Department)

The current requirements are making it difficult for people to really make a decision on whether to go for promotion or not. They think that it's too much trouble to write up all the criteria...you know, I'm doing the job anyway, but it's just too much hassle.
(Head of Department)

It's not always the best person who gets the job, it's the one who knows how to play the game. It's not the sort of person I want to be...if I were good at playing the system then maybe I'd admire it, but I'm not good at it. I don't say the right things. I don't answer questions the right way. But I am a good teacher and I would be a good administrator too.
(Experienced)

Merit promotion hasn't been all that was hoped for. At the time that seniority was in, I didn't have the seniority. But I feel that merit promotion tends to be 'jobs for the boys'. That if you know somebody... For example, last year's panel had no physical educators on it at all. Apparently the guy who got the promotion was a primary trained YEO who'd done a bit of physical education when he came out of being a YEO. (Experienced)

These comments reflect a sense of disillusion regarding the fairness with which merit promotion is administered. They suggest that the true attributes and capabilities of applicants can still be overlooked due to the need to espouse one's virtues, be they true or false; and the likelihood of a biased selection panel.

From the perceptions of the teachers interviewed it would seem that the new policy of promotion by merit has drawn a somewhat mixed reaction with regard to its potential to increase the number of female Heads of Department in physical education. While overcoming the discriminatory criterion of seniority, it introduces alternative criteria which may prove to be equally discriminatory. The need to promote oneself, an essential element of merit promotion, may also be disadvantageous to females who have traditionally been portrayed as less adept at this skill.

Overall, teachers comments and numerical evidence regarding the number of female Heads of Department since 1984, indicate that policies implemented as a result of the Equal Opportunity Act (1984) and the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act (1986) have thus far had little success in increasing the number of female Heads of Department in physical education.

A major constraint on the effective implementation of all policy changes is the reality of the limited number of promotional positions available. The likelihood of a

significant increase in the number of female Heads of Department in physical education would have been minimal, even if more female teachers were applying for promotion. The lack of positions was perceived as a deterrent by three of the 'experienced' teachers interviewed, who commented that:

The number of vacancies are so limited that the opportunities for promotion are virtually nil. It's not possible for any drastic changes to occur in the current climate. Those in the positions want the security, and, therefore hang on to them. Teaching is still a secure and safe profession in the current economic climate.
(Experienced)

If there were 40 positions available all the time then maybe I'd look at them, but if there are only six and only one of those is in the city...why on earth would I bother to apply.
(Experienced)

Country Service

In the past, country service has been a prerequisite for obtaining permanent status, and an expectation of gaining promotion. Under the present system, the majority of teachers promoted to a Head of Department position are still likely to take up their appointment at a country school. The importance of geographic mobility therefore, presents itself as a further discrimination against married female teachers due to restrictions imposed on them by family commitments. It is also perceived to generally disadvantage teachers with sporting and/or other commitments in the metropolitan area.

Eight (30%) of the female teachers interviewed perceived country service as either a personal deterrent, or a factor discouraging other female teachers from applying for promotion. Responses included:

I wouldn't apply for anything out of Perth because of family pressures.
(Experienced)

I applied for promotion, but the reason I did that was because my marriage had broken up and I was able to. Up until that time I was restricted to city postings... I think if I hadn't been married, I would have done it a lot sooner.
(Head of Department)

I really don't want to go to the country. I've got things on in the city, and if I have to go to the country my sport suffers, friendships suffer...there are a lot of things I don't want to go to the country for.
(Experienced)

I have applied twice for promotion and not got what I wanted. Unfortunately, the special promotions that have been offered have been in very remote country centres - a move which I have felt unable to make for family reasons. I'm divorced and have a nine year old son, but I do not have custody of him. He lives with his father. If I was to go somewhere like Halls Creek, I wouldn't see him for 10 weeks at a time and I'm not prepared to do that. Also, my partner now owns his own business and therefore would not be able to pack up and make the move with me.
(Experienced)

When you become a Senior Teacher, usually your first promotion is in the country, and it's very difficult for a female to ask her family to pick up and move, and her husband to leave his job behind and move to the country.
(Inexperienced)

The fact that country service is so closely linked with promotion is perceived by teachers as a reason for not applying. The expectation that teachers will move to the country acts as a deterrent for many and appears to continue to dampen promotional aspirations despite changes in other aspects of policy over the past 25 years.

CHAPTER 6

PERCEIVED EXTERNAL SYSTEMIC BARRIERS TO PROMOTION

Research into teachers' careers has suggested a range of factors which are perceived as barriers to the advancement of females, and which account for the differences in promotional status between female and male teachers. According to Hoferek (1986), a number of these barriers are external, they are structural, built in to the system, and have an impact on the advancement decisions and the institutional climate for women.

Respondents in this study identified a number of external systemic barriers which they perceived as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at the Head of Department level. These have been grouped under the headings of patriarchy within the education system; the male model of leadership; and the image of physical education.

Patriarchy within the Education System

The review of literature suggested that institutional and structural factors are important contributors to the low representation of females in leadership roles (Ball, 1987; Knoppers, 1982). Despite policy changes, the male dominance of administrative positions in secondary schools together with the predominance of male 'gatekeepers', ensures the perpetuation of the male perspective, and therefore disadvantages the career development of females (Apple, 1986; Deem, 1978).

One of the respondents compared the patriarchy of the education system with that of the church, stating that women striving for Head of Department positions in physical education suffer a similar plight to the women wanting ordination in the Anglican Church. Her comment was:

Women in senior positions in our department is paralleled by the women becoming ministers of the Anglican Church, more so with phys ed because the males who do phys ed are macho men. The difficulty is that the men feel threatened the same as these Anglican ministers - their position is threatened and so they put up all these arguments against it. I had a hell of a time.
(Head of Department)

The female teachers interviewed identified a number of instances in which male dominance had been perceived as a potential deterrent to promotion. One of the current Heads of Department recounted the scenario of her initial application for promotion:

I had a two hour discussion with the Superintendent on - "Did I want a Deputy position at Bridgetown, Esperance or Port Hedland, or did I want a Head of Department position at Belmont which was the biggest in the state, and there would be eight people on your staff, and really - wouldn't a Deputy position be much easier?" There were no other female Heads of Department at the time...and the more he spoke to me, the more determined I was that I was definitely taking phys ed, because he was trying to put pressure on me to take the other positions.
(Head of Department)

This incident occurred in 1980, prior to the implementation of recommendations initiated by the Equal Opportunity Act of 1984. It was an experience which reflected the patriarchal expectations of the time, and is an example of how male dominance was preserved by 'gatekeepers'. It is extremely unlikely that such an incident would

occur in 1992, but other aspects of a patriarchal system continue to affect female teachers.

When asked why they thought there were so few female Heads of Department in physical education, six of the 10 'experienced' teachers (60%) raised doubts regarding the integrity and unbiased nature of the selection process for promotional positions. Although they presented no evidence to substantiate their feelings, their belief that males were advantaged in promotion reflects the impact of patriarchy, and may have affected the promotional aspirations of these women. The doubts of the respondents are reflected in comments like:

It seems to have been the accepted thing that a male occupies that position. Maybe females have applied and their application has been rejected because it was a female's...
(Experienced)

And in reference to the selection of applicants for promotion according to the new merit system:

Perhaps the selection process is biased towards males also...I wonder about whether the selection panels are made up of equal numbers of men and women.
(Experienced)

One 'experienced' teacher felt that males definitely had the advantage in terms of promotion, and that this represented a situation which had not changed over the past 15 years since she began teaching. Her comment was:

I was a first year out teacher and so was my compatriote, and because he was a male, he got the in-charge job...being female was definitely a disadvantage. I think that could be pretty similar now. Talking to one of the phys eders up at 'M', that was definitely the case. The male got the in-charge job even though she was far more competent. All conditions being equal, I think a Principal would probably give it to the male.

(Experienced)

Whether such a comment, relating blatant discrimination against females on the basis of their sex, is an accurate description of what is happening in secondary schools or not, it indicates the extent of the underlying stereotypic notions and attitudes in educational institutions that still have an impact on teachers' perceptions.

One third of the respondents had either encountered obstacles from the administration as female Heads of Department, or believed that the position would be deliberately made more difficult for a female by the administration as a result of their traditional, stereotypic attitudes. One of the current Heads of Department had been through some particularly negative experiences, which she described as follows:

I don't think I would have had anywhere near the hassles with administration that I have had if I was a male...the justification of some of the things I've had to put forward. The fights for things... At one particular school I stepped into a very chauvinistic administration, very negative. The put-downs came hard and fast. I just didn't expect to be spoken to or treated like that in my profession. I had to stand up to the Principal really hard. If you wanted something you had to more than just go for it, you had to keep pushing. I'm sure that a guy wouldn't have got the same sort of treatment I did.

(Head of Department)

Another Head of Department related her experiences with the administration when she first took on the position in 1979:

The school was very male orientated...the female Deputy had no status in the school and there were no other female Senior Teachers. To have a female in phys ed was unheard of. So I had a lot of obstacles from the administration that I had to overcome. I had all my programmes critically looked over. Taking kids on camps wasn't part of the school's programme at that stage, so being female and wanting to take kids away was even harder...Yes, there were difficulties...there was pressure felt.

(Head of Department)

And yet another Head of Department, now retired, shared her similar experiences of the early 1970s:

The Principal made life very hard. He had a lot of trouble with the fact that I was in charge of phys ed. Everything I did he'd try to 'white ant' and say "No, you can't do that!".

(Head of Department)

There were also a number of teachers in the 'experienced' category who perceived that there would be difficulties for a female Head of Department of physical education in terms of acceptance by the school hierarchy. This was indicated by comments like:

I think you're battling the attitudes of a lot of the hierarchy. I would imagine that there's still a predominance of males in administration and I think you'd be fighting that attitude all the way through.

(Experienced)

It may be more difficult for the female working with traditionalists to get her point across, to be taken seriously in a school, because there's still a lot of that sort of attitude in the schools.

(Experienced)

It would be harder for a female...when you look at some of the staff around, there is that certain element that would be very sort of patronising, and wonder how you are going and check you out, and as soon as you do something wrong be very quick to point it out.

(Experienced)

Not all respondents however, had negative perceptions of school administrators.

Three of the 'experienced' teachers felt that many of the traditions were being broken down, and that, if a female was competent in her Head of Department role, she would be accepted and respected just like her male counterpart. As was pointed out by one respondent:

These days I don't think they (the school administration) mind on the whole. Perhaps there is initial surprise, but then it comes down to the person in the same way it does for a man. I think in the main, she would be judged by how she did the job, not that she was a woman.
(Experienced)

Another respondent was in a school with a female Principal and described only positive experiences during her time as the acting Head of Department of physical education. She perceived the other Heads of Department, all male, as very "sensitive and supportive" and she had no difficulties at all in dealing with them. One of the current Heads of Department thought that being female was in fact advantageous. She commented:

I think the administration and a lot of the Senior Teachers wanted to help me. They weren't sort of patronising...I suppose if I had been a male, they may have expected me to have already done these sorts of things. So maybe sometimes it might be harder for a male... Yes, I think they were really quite supportive.
(Head of Department)

Although this teacher's experiences were positive, by her own admission there still exists the expectation that Heads of Department will be male, and doubt concerning a female's competence in leadership.

Male dominance of the school hierarchy was perceived to pose further problems for females which may discourage career advancement. The Head of Department position, by its nature, entails a certain amount of negotiating with other Heads of Department and school administrators. Nine of the teachers (33%), said they felt threatened by the politics associated with the Head of Department position; the power struggles which inevitably eventuated; and the need to continually 'manipulate' the administration. The feeling of inadequacy expressed by the teachers may be related not only to the patriarchy of the system, but also to their personal lack of experience and skills in dealing with such matters. This may be an indirect product of the male dominance, or lack of female representation, in decision-making roles.

Ten teachers (37%) expressed concern at the difficulties they perceived for female Heads of Department in their dealings with the school management structure. Of these, four were from the 'Heads of Department' category and had actually experienced the unpleasantness of such dealings in their decision-making role. The first female Head of Department described the difficulties she encountered due to a change of Principal and a resultant change in administrative style:

The pendulum swung from 'little Hitler' to 'democrat par excellence'. Suddenly everything was done democratically. You had to be so bloody democratic that you couldn't make a decision. I found it difficult to adjust to this business...I'd been effective doing what I'd been doing. Now things had been turned around and we had to have staff meetings every week, and then you'd get the 'strengths' coming in. It became a power game.
(Head of Department)

An 'experienced' teacher, who had taken on an Acting Head of Department position for six months, was deterred from applying for the substantive position because of her experiences. She stated that:

The main thing I didn't like was going along and being involved in the politics of the school and administration, and seeing the power structures and power broking that went on, which I considered wasn't really fair and equitable for all people there. It really turned me off promotion...I didn't like the pecking order of the bureaucracy, like those who speak loudest and have been there the longest, and those who are strongest get exactly what they want. And they were all male. And you'd have to match words against them. One of the ones that I'd had a major confrontation with because he thought I was favouring the female physical education staff and who had berated me in front of all my peers, was number one on the pecking order at the school. I felt personally that I didn't stand a chance against them. They were the 'in crowd'. Being a woman definitely did not help in that situation, I can tell you.

(Experienced)

It is apparent that the teachers' views of the school administrators and the patriarchal nature of the education system, is the direct result of their personal experiences in a variety of school settings. These teachers and Heads of Department expressing concerns and feelings of threat and intimidation, had encountered traditional, male dominated hierarchies. There were however, four respondents (15%) who did not perceive patriarchy as a problem or deterrent, due to their positive experiences with very supportive administrators and school management bodies. One female Head of Department related her situation:

I am the only substantive Head of Department female in the school, apart from the female Deputy. There's only the two of us. I have never been intimidated or found there to be any problems... We don't seem to have power factions anyway in senior staff.

(Head of Department)

Another current Head of Department described how her entry into the promotional position had coincided with the introduction of Unit Curriculum:

It was a good sort of leveller as far as I was concerned because it brought all the others (Heads of Department and Administration) back to the same level as me as far as experience was concerned. But if I ever had problems or things to decide, I always felt comfortable going and asking them for advice...they were always very supportive and encouraging.

(Head of Department)

Although this respondent's experiences had obviously been positive, she did recognise the need for negotiating skills:

One thing I had to learn was how to manipulate the administration...do I go in there and play dumb and feeble, or do I go in there and say "I want this", or do I sit back and take what I'm given? And I think you have to approach each administrator differently. You have to be a little smart and play them all differently. So that was a challenge.

(Head of Department)

It is not difficult to understand how these 'power broking' experiences can be perceived as either positive or negative, depending upon the approachability and response of those involved. Just as the school experiences of students played an important role in career choice, so the experiences of teachers within the school structure impacts on their perceptions of the Head of Department position. Those who encounter a patriarchal system with stereotypic attitudes reflecting male dominance, may be deterred in their own promotional aspirations, and may also influence others against advancement by relating negative experiences and perceptions.

Overall, although patriarchy within the system was perceived by some of the respondents as contributing to the lack of female representation at Head of Department level, the majority of teachers made no mention of these structural barriers to female promotion. It would appear that the traditional stereotypic attitudes of school hierarchies are breaking down in response to wider societal change, and that within many schools, the administrators and Heads of Department are becoming more accepting and supportive of females in decision-making roles. If this is the trend, the fact that it has not had an impact on the number of female Heads of Department in physical education indicates the existence of other factors deterring the promotional aspirations of female teachers.

The Male Model of Leadership

The concept of a male model of leadership is closely linked to both the patriarchal structure of the education system and the stereotyping associated with gender-roles. According to the literature, there is a tendency to present the male and his incumbent attributes as the 'norm' in decision-making roles (Davies, 1990), and then to perceive the female as deficient in leadership qualities, lacking the skills and competencies of her male counterparts, because she differs from this norm (Spender, 1982). Added to this is the rejection by females of the elements of these management roles which they perceive as masculine: the aggressive competitive behaviours and the emphasis on control, rather than collaboration, negotiation and problem solving (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Hansen & Rapoza, 1978; Kane, 1976).

When respondents were asked whether they thought it would be more difficult for a female to be the Head of Department of physical education, 13 (48%) indicated that

the male model of leadership, and the traditional male dominance of the position would make it a more difficult role for a female. One of the current Heads of Department summed it up by saying:

I suppose a lot of women don't take on that position, or don't see themselves in that controlling role. They see themselves more as one of the workers, rather than one of the people that tell you what to do.
(Head of Department)

A former Head of Department reiterated these perceptions:

I don't think that women are aggressive enough to strive for that sort of thing (Head of Department position). Women deep down think they're sort of dominated by men, and that's going to be a hard thing to change. Women are just a bit below men...you know...I'm not suited to an in-charge position. I like to be friends with people, and to be in charge you've got to be a dictator, and that's not in my personality.
(Head of Department)

This particular teacher had in fact been a Head of Department for eight years, and then regressed to teaching because she did not believe she was suited to the position 'personality-wise', and felt she did not possess the necessary management skills. Another respondent from the 'experienced' category, who had been an Acting Head of Department for 12 months, also felt unsuited to the position for these reasons.

A comparison was made by one of the teachers in the 'Head of Department' category, between her leadership style in the promotional position, and that of a former male Head of Department, to illustrate the 'control' aspect of male leadership:

You've got to be tough and you've got to be fair! I see myself as an egalitarian and I treat the staff with the same respect as I expect to be treated. I value what they say and what they do because it used to greatly annoy me when my Head of Department would say - "I'm Head of Department and this is what goes!" He wanted the decision because it was his decision. There was no consultation.
(Head of Department)

An 'experienced' teacher voiced her despair at the hopelessness of even attempting to fight the male dominance:

Well, I always think the blokes have got it, and no-one's going to listen to me anyway, so I think - oh blow!
(Experienced)

Another 'experienced' teacher admitted that her perceptions of a male in the dominant role had discouraged her from applying for promotion. She said:

A male has always been in charge and I always used to think of them as being forceful and dominating figures, and that you'd need a man to be in-charge.
(Experienced)

Other respondents just confirmed the stereotype of the male leadership model with comments like:

It would definitely be hard for a woman to move into a position that had traditionally been a male position. The female would then have the power that is traditionally male power, and some people just aren't used to a woman having that power or having to be assertive or aggressive or angry in dealing with people or children. It's not something that is acceptable in our society as the female role.
(Experienced)

Maybe I think it should be a male (Head of Department), not because he's male, but because there is just a difference between men and women. Not that I agree with it, but kids, parents and other teachers are going to look to the man - it's just our society still. I don't necessarily think it's right, but that is what happens, and it's a really tough battle if you want to fight it...women just won't aspire to it. They don't see it as being their role.
(Inexperienced)

Men would find it hard working under females. They feel more powerful and more dominant than the female.
(Inexperienced)

The latter three comments were made by teachers in the 'inexperienced' category, somewhat surprising since these younger teachers graduated with a supposedly heightened awareness of equal opportunity and gender issues. Their perceptions may of course have been shaped by their teaching experiences in schools, where they would have encountered few, if any, female Heads of Department.

Not all of the teachers interviewed perceived potential difficulties for a female Head of Department. Six (22%) of the respondents were quite optimistic that the traditional male dominance in leadership positions was being broken down, and was beginning to reflect changes in the wider society. Comments indicating the effect of altered stereotypic expectations included:

Phys ed in the past has been very male dominated. I think a female would make just as good a Head of Department, but in the past, if we were looking 10 years ago or so, it certainly would have been much harder for them then, than it is now with all the 'gender stuff' that's floating around.
(Experienced)

And a statement made by the same respondent who was earlier quoted expressing her disdain at the "pecking order of the bureaucracy" and the "power broking" that occurred in all-male senior staff meetings where females "didn't stand a chance":

There's nothing to it if you're an organised person. I think all this stereotyping bit is really off-beat and irrelevant these days.
(Experienced)

Some respondents believed that the breakdown of the male model of leadership has been assisted by the influx of new graduates with different attitudes and expectations regarding gender-roles. Their comments included:

The situation is changing...new graduates coming in just have a different feeling about male and female roles. Stereotyped roles even feature in the Health Syllabus now. As these sort of people come through, ideas and even aspirations may change.
(Experienced)

There are always going to be some people that don't like women in charge, you just pick that up...the older guys, they were around when men were running the show all the time. But the younger ones that are coming up, the new people, they accept that... different attitudes.
(Inexperienced)

A current Head of Department described her positive experiences with a relatively young staff at the school of her first promotional appointment:

They were a bit wary of me I think - "Who's this young female coming in to tell us what to do", sort of thing. But it wasn't really evident. It was only after they got to know me that they told me they had been a bit worried and had wondered what I was going to be like... They gave me a chance to prove myself though, as either competent or incompetent. They didn't pressure me from the start.
(Head of Department)

It is evident from such a comment that the expectation of male leadership still underlies the attitudes and reactions of even the younger teachers, though they may be prepared to reserve judgement on a female's capabilities until she has demonstrated her competence or otherwise.

One respondent, a current Head of Department, concurred with Sampson (1981) and Spender (1982), who felt that females bring to leadership an alternate set of qualities and strengths which are equally as important as those espoused by the male model of leadership:

I think women bring into leadership different skills. It's not just status or power. They bring in things like social justice and treating people with greater respect and caring. I really just think that the way women see power is different, unless they try to emulate male power, but I don't think so. They try to do the right thing and I don't see them 'governing' admin in the same way a guy does... I see more value in it generally. Their's is a different way of illustrating power and leadership.
(Head of Department)

Because there are so few females in leadership roles however, there is limited opportunity for them to demonstrate the benefits of female management, and the well entrenched traditional male model remains as the 'norm'.

When the teachers were asked what skills and qualities they thought were essential for an effective Head of Department, the most common responses were: organisational ability (74%); communication skills (63%); the ability to work with others (59%); fairness and honesty (56%); management skills (54%); budgeting skills (41%) and administrative skills (37%). Twenty-six of the respondents (96%) believed that females possessed the necessary skills and qualities to function as effectively in

the leadership role as a male. When asked if they personally could cope as Head of Department, 24 of the teachers (89%) believed they could. This figure comprised eight 'inexperienced' teachers, nine 'experienced' teachers, and all of the 'Heads of Department'.

With such a positive response regarding the leadership ability of female physical educators, it is surprising that so few of them aspired to Head of Department positions. The anomaly is, at least in part, accounted for by the male model of leadership in physical education, and the resultant expectations of others as to the 'suitable' incumbent of the leadership role. The administration, other staff members, students and their parents tend to perceive females as inadequate decision-makers, thereby discouraging the promotional aspirations of female teachers.

As a result of the traditional male dominance of promotional positions, females entering these roles are having to prove themselves above and beyond what is expected of their male counterparts. Blame for failure tends to become gender-related, and women have to work harder to earn the respect of their peers, students and the parents. These concepts are illustrated in the following comments:

We have been conditioned for so long to be second class citizens so to speak, one step behind the male all the time. To exert some authority, you really have to have some specific skills and strengths of character to make sure you are treated equally.
(Head of Department)

Because so few women are in charge, it's almost like they have to prove that they're better to stay there and be taken seriously, and therefore, they have to put more of an effort into it than the males... Others' expectations of a female taking that role are going to be higher than for a male.
(Experienced)

I think in the back of their minds, they're just a little bit worried that if they mess up, they're going to be looked at as messing up because they're a female, not because they made the wrong decision or didn't do the right thing.
(Head of Department)

In summary, the traditional male dominance of decision-making positions and the emergent male model of leadership has resulted in a tendency to measure aspiring females against the male criteria, and find them lacking. The fact that there are so few females in leadership positions to demonstrate their unique skills and qualities, virtually guarantees the continuation of the male model and limits the recognition of the female style of leadership as different but equally effective. The significance of this variable is indicated by the fact that 22 of the respondents interviewed (81%) made mention of the impact that their perceptions of male dominance in promotional positions had on them personally, or on other female teachers. Despite the confidence they expressed in females, with regard to both possessing the necessary skills and qualities for the Head of Department position, and their ability to cope in such a role, the respondents' comments repeatedly pointed to the male model of leadership as a perceived deterrent to the promotional aspirations of female teachers. Women are probably more capable than many males in terms of organisation, communication and so on. The problem arises in the acceptance of their position by those they have to work with, and in the need to continually prove themselves to justify their occupation of promotional positions. The findings of this study concur with the statement made by Duquin (1979) with reference to the physical education profession: "The woman who decides to seek leadership status must learn to deal with both the misconceptions of her co-workers and supervisors as regards the proper role of women in the organisation" (p.14).

The Image of Physical Education

The image of physical education stems from its ties with sport, and is closely linked to patriarchy and the male model of leadership. The nature of sport, and its cultivation of male dominance and superiority, has particular implications for physical education, and serves to exacerbate other factors contributing to the under-representation of women in leadership roles in this area. Sport is a key medium for conveying messages of gender domination through its association with physical power, where men are accepted as having the natural advantage (O'Rourke, 1991).

Characteristics specific to physical education result in a unique set of circumstances which impinge upon the career development of female teachers in the subject. A strange dichotomy seems to exist for females selecting physical education as a career. On the one hand, by choosing a subject area so closely linked with sport, traditionally the epitome of male dominance and power, female physical educators step outside the accepted stereotypic boundaries set for women. To do this they demonstrate assertiveness, competitiveness and a degree of risk taking, all characteristics associated with leadership. As a result, women in physical education might be expected to be competent and feel comfortable in leadership positions and therefore, have higher promotional aspirations than female teachers in other subject areas. On the other hand, because sport, and therefore to some extent physical education, has been traditionally recognised as male dominated, and females entering the area have placed themselves outside the weak and submissive stereotype of femininity, they have in the past according to Sikes (1988), adopted an alternative stereotype of art and creativity. This has been reflected in the differing activities offered to girls and boys. While girls' physical education has traditionally

focused on movement and gymnastics, the boys' activities have perpetuated the 'macho' sporting image. Pratt, Bloomfield and Searle (1984) believed that in this way, male and female physical education teachers tend to uphold traditional stereotypes and that as a result, a greater percentage of them have traditional attitudes concerning equal opportunity and differential treatment of the sexes, as compared to teachers working in other subject areas. Based on this scenario, the gross under-representation of females at Head of Department level in physical education would be expected.

Although the physical education programmes offered to girls and boys in most schools in Western Australia no longer exhibit a differential distribution of activities, the male dominance of leadership roles remains a reality. Of the female physical educators interviewed for this study, 24 (89%) acknowledged the historical dominance of males in the physical education area as a factor affecting the promotional aspirations of its female teachers.

The first female Head of Department in physical education outlined the historical distinctions between boys' and girls' physical education, and the dominance of males. She related her experiences both as a teacher and as a Head of Department during the period 1943 to 1977. A summary of the relevant comments is provided:

At the beginning of '43 they held a special course for about 10 weeks for women to be trained to take over the boys' phys ed in schools, and I was one of the 12 selected. (Up until then she had been teaching in a primary school.) Well, I couldn't get out of bed in the mornings - we had to do all this male phys ed stuff.
(Head of Department)

While teaching in a number of secondary schools, her impressions of physical education were:

The girls didn't have sufficient feminine-type things. They were all just doing softball, and the school was just more or less run for the boys. The oval was used for football and the girls were allowed to have anything that was left over, which meant that you had nowhere to go half the time. So I started making a few changes during the '60s and making my presence felt... I got to the stage where sometimes I was allowed to run what I wanted with the girls. I insisted that we had it all organised so that we had somewhere to go for everything.
(Head of Department)

She introduced gymnastics, dance and ballet into the girls' physical education programme in accordance with her belief that girls should do "feminine-type things", and was very much against coeducational classes:

...that's so wrong, this business of mixing boys and girls...
(Head of Department)

The clear delineation between boys' and girls' physical education at the time is illustrated by this episode with her Head of Department:

The senior master had been there for a year and a half trying to dictate to me what we should be doing, but I put him on the right track very quickly. I said, "Now look, I'm not going to base my programme on what you don't know about girls' phys ed, but by the same token, I wouldn't tell you what to do in boys' phys ed, though I probably know more about boys' phys ed than most of you". I'd been doing it for so long.
(Head of Department)

When asked whether physical education had a masculine image, she said:

More so now than it did when I was working, much more! I think the worst thing that they've done with phys ed is to bring in the fact that games and things shouldn't be segregated into male and female... What I've fought for is equal access to the facilities and so on, and that's why I wanted to get the promotion in the first place, so that I could see fairness done, after having 30 years of no fairness.
(Head of Department)

The account given of a boys' physical education class captures an image that unfortunately remained associated with physical education, and has in the past been responsible for a range of negative perceptions about the subject.

The girls used to amaze me because they would race down to the gym to see who could get there first. And you'd look across to the boys' side and they'd all be sitting on the hill with about half of them doing phys ed and the teacher blowing a whistle up on the hill too... There were a number of males, particularly the unqualified, that we used to get on the staff that were hopeless. They were employed for their sporting ability - if they were league footballers, they got the job in phys ed.
(Head of Department)

This poor image of physical education, commonly termed the 'jock' image, has been responsible for a great deal of damage in terms of the status and credibility of the subject, and also in the perceptions of female teachers with regard to their role in the area. A number of respondents alluded to this 'historical' problem which still lingers in the minds of many:

When I first started teaching (1973), the men did heaps of damage to phys ed. Their attitude to phys ed was slack. Their programme was so much simpler than ours, it didn't have the gymnastics or dance bias. There seemed to be no planning. They'd leave the kids on the field while they were busy doing nothing. Some of the older ones were just so lazy, and they've got this idea that you walk out on the oval, throw the kids a ball and tell them to go for it. I think the men really got the 'jock' image of phys ed going.
(Head of Department)

I think females could probably manage (the Head of Department position) just as well if not better than some of the male phys eders. Some male phys eders tend to be very lackadaisical from the experiences I've had with some of them.
(Inexperienced)

I suppose phys ed has always been that sort of predominantly male area - the 'jock'. Although most phys eders don't really fit that image. But that's the image that they have - the 'old jock phys eder'.
(Head of Department)

This comment was made by a Head of Department in reference to the image associated with the 'Senior Master' of physical education:

There seemed to be a group that came through and were promoted very early through need. A lot of them are still in there and that's the image a lot of people have of Head of Department of phys ed... Nothing ever seems to change with them. They're set in their ways and the other staff don't seem to challenge them or offer new ideas.
(Head of Department)

Another respondent recounted her experiences with a well established male Head of Department:

He's been here 17 years and you don't get him to change very easily. Even when you do suggest change, he's got some way of actually not changing but making you think that he's going to. And even he thinks he's changed, but he hasn't. Ideas are certainly firmly entrenched.
(Experienced)

Such as image of physical education, negative and focused on the male either as teacher or Head of Department, has not been conducive to encouraging females to strive for promotion in the area. A number of respondents were however quite optimistic that the 'jock' image was being dissipated, both through the replacement of

the old "slack" physical educator by a "more dedicated" and "well organised" male teacher; and the fact that females in the department were gaining a higher profile, taking on more responsibility, and making a greater contribution to decision-making.

Comments included:

It used to be the case that males very much dominated phys ed and it seemed almost inappropriate for females to be in charge. But more and more, the males realized that the females do the bulk of the work in the department anyway. There are a lot more approachable males teaching phys ed these days, more dedicated, and certainly more accepting of females as their equals.
(Experienced)

I can see the male dominance of phys ed changing. In both departments I've worked in, the female has been pretty highly ranked within phys ed, and running a certain area. The next step for these people is to become Senior Teacher, and I think they would be given it on their merits for what they've done, if they applied for it.
(Inexperienced)

Still other teachers interviewed were of the opinion that although the image of physical education may be changing, the subject's intimate links with sport would preclude an increase in female leadership unless pre-empting modifications are made in terms of the kudos accorded female athletes and female sport in the wider society. These perceptions were highlighted in such statements as:

In elite sport, women don't earn as much money, don't get the same kudos through the media, and so on. I think that just flows down onto the normal everyday female playing sport and onto the phys ed teachers in schools. They haven't really got as many role models, and it's not as obvious to them that they can be high achievers.
(Head of Department)

Just the media coverage of women's sport compared to men's sport probably indicates the relative weight that people put on men's and women's participation in sport... Unless we see a change in the way society and women in society are viewed, until we get that equality, we're not going to get equality as far as people's attitudes to Senior Teachers of phys ed.
(Experienced)

If women tend to be orientated towards movement and towards sports which aren't necessarily as high profile as maybe football and cricket, then they're not going to be seen with the same sort of kudos as males... You still put the same amount of time in, you still possibly help kids achieve the same amount of positive feedback, but football's seen as important because it's a state sport and dance is seen as - just dance, let's not worry about it, or that's just softball. Whereas people play professional football or cricket. I don't think you're going to get the kudos until those sorts of things change in society first.
(Experienced)

The fact that there have been only seven female Heads of Department in physical education is in itself a significant indicator of male dominance in the area. This originated due to the subject's close links with sport, historically a male domain, and has been perpetuated by the continued higher profile accorded to male sports, and the associated perceptions regarding the nature of physical education. Not one of the respondents interviewed had ever worked with a female Head of Department. A comment made by one of the 'experienced' teachers summed up the situation as seen by many female teachers:

I've never really thought of having a female Head of Department because I've never experienced it. I guess it's just traditional that a male occupies that position. That's the way it's always been.
(Experienced)

A number of other respondents embellished this statement to highlight reasons why female teachers' experiences and perceptions might limit their aspirations for promotion to Head of Department:

Phys ed like sport is a male domain...the dominance of the guys, the macho attitude, the put down of girls... It's an image thing. Phys ed is still a very chauvinistic area.
(Head of Department)

I'd been attending zone meetings for years and it became an 'old boys' conversation. If a female ever came up with an idea, you could see the reaction.
(Head of Department)

A lot of males who do phys ed are probably - not stronger people - but they're usually athletic and dominating, more so than in other departments. There just seems to be more of a difference between the sexes...the females are sort of 'wimps', sports wise.
(Inexperienced)

I would be capable of doing it, but I don't think I would because of being female. You wouldn't get the respect, and people would think it's not a woman's domain to be the Head of phys ed. It's different to science or English or maths. It's the physical side of things. People wouldn't think it was a real job.
(Inexperienced)

The very nature of phys ed makes it difficult for females to take on a leadership role. To assert yourself with all those macho fellows that really, honestly do exert a lot of psychological put-down power, because they're always bigger, always stronger, and if you have a go at them, they're usually better at coming back at you.
(Experienced)

One Head of Department described her reactions at being granted a Head of Department position, after applying for both a Deputy Principal's position and Head of Department:

I was surprised, a bit apprehensive. I think I would have preferred to have gone as a Deputy at that stage. It came about through circumstance. I didn't really anticipate being Head of Department in phys ed. In my day, it was a male role and so I didn't really aspire to it.

(Head of Department)

When respondents were asked whether they thought it would be more difficult for a female to be the Head of Department in physical education, 13 of the teachers (48%) answered 'yes'. This total included four (40%) from the 'inexperienced' category, five (50%) from the 'experienced' category, and four (57%) from the 'Heads of Department' category. Reasons for the greater difficulties perceived for females in the leadership role were: the effects of stereotyping and traditional expectations on the perceptions of significant others, and the lesser ability of females to gain respect and be effective disciplinarians ('inexperienced' teachers); the perceptions and expectations of others ('experienced' teachers); and time constraints due to family commitments, and 'hassles' from males in the system ('Head of Department').

As a result of the historical male dominance in physical education, there is an associated expectation that the Head of Department will be male. This expectation exists not only among physical educators, but also for other staff, the school administration, students and their parents, and society in general. The following statements describe the experiences of three Heads of Department, one past and two current, and highlight the expectations of significant others.

The Superintendent came down and saw me and said, "Look 'A', 'B' is going to Secondary Teachers College". He knew I was unhappy about all these young phys eders coming in and telling me what to do, and he said, "Would you be quite happy for 'C' to take the acting Senior Master?" I said "No I wouldn't", and he said "Why?" I said, "I'm now capable of taking a promotional position, I have the qualifications, I'm no longer tarred with the brush of being a married woman". He said, "Gee, I hadn't thought of that - of course!" So he went up and saw the Principal and they both came straight back to the gym and said, "Wonderful, we hadn't even thought about it". So I was acting then until the end of the year, and then all the males appealed while I was on leave.

(The first Head of Department)

I have it all the time - someone will walk in here, go to the nearest male and say, "Hello, I'm looking for...", and he'll say, "Oh no, you're looking for D... (a female)", and they'll turn around and come in here as much as to say they are expecting a male, and they'll be taken back a bit. Most of the mail that comes out of the Ministry is addressed to 'Mr', or 'Sportsmaster'. So I think that sort of stereotyping is still around.

(Head of Department)

Someone will ring up the school and they'll say, "Who's your Head of Department?" or "Can I speak to your Head of Department?", and I'll say "I am". "Oh, who's your male head?" So they're still sort of back to that - a female in charge of the girls/a male in charge of the boys, and I've had that happen quite a few times...like, "Who's the male head?" There is no male head, I'm it!

(Head of Department)

One of the 'inexperienced' teachers related a similar experience she had, as one of only two physical education teachers at a country school:

There was just one guy and one girl...if ever there was a Senior Teachers' meeting, any problems or anything were always directed to him. He didn't promote that, and he'd always say "No". Sometimes he'd pawn it off to me, but always everyone would go to him, being the male...automatically. Kids would go to him, other teachers, parents. It didn't bother me that much because it was less hassles for me. But yeh - it was an amusing observation.

(Inexperienced)

It would require considerable courage and assertiveness to aspire to a promotional position in spite of the commonly held expectations of significant others.

When female teachers have ignored the stereotyped notion of male dominance in physical education, and overstepped the boundary of their traditional role by taking on a leadership position, they have in many cases been perceived rather negatively, even by their female peers. Seven of the respondents (26%) commented on the stigma attached to becoming a female Head of Department with reference to the uncharacteristic qualities and behaviours these female leaders exhibit:

If you become Head of Department in phys ed, I think you are seen as... It's funny to see the build of women who are Heads of Department - they're certainly not fashion pieces... You've got to be tough.
(Head of Department)

People tend to see female Heads of Department as more 'butch', more male with more male characteristics than they see just a regular female phys eder.
(Experienced)

Female Heads of Department are not good at being assertive rather than aggressive. They don't understand the difference. They don't seem to sort of relate. They're on the defensive all the time. They're not sure of themselves inside. They're not totally relaxed at being a female in-charge. It comes across - they're a bit aggressive and a bit pushy to get their point of view across. I must admit I much prefer working under a male for those reasons.
(Experienced)

Some of the women in charge go a bit 'over-the-top', try to be too autocratic and authoritarian. They come across wrong...they probably don't mean to, but they come across really abrupt, like they're trying to win some power thing. I think they try to overcompensate, but whether that will continue or not I don't know. As the stigma of being a female in charge goes, maybe that will improve.
(Inexperienced)

Perhaps the female Heads of Department are seen in this light because the leadership role requires attributes beyond those considered 'female'. Perhaps the struggle against male dominance and the defiance of others' expectations has resulted in an 'overcompensation' in terms of forcefulness and dictatorship as an aid to survival. Perhaps the leadership role presents these females with a role conflict which they are endeavouring to resolve. Or maybe, because there are so few female Heads of Department in physical education, the 'few' are epitomised as examples of female leadership, and therefore remain highly visible and bear the brunt of the criticism. The abundance of males in the position on the other hand, serves as an effective camouflage for the minority who may be incompetent or have inadequacies. Whatever the underlying reasons for the negative perceptions however, there is little doubt that the cumulative effect of the nature of physical education and the image associated with a female Head of Department, has contributed to the under-representation of females in leadership roles.

When the respondents were questioned regarding their preferences for a male or female Head of Department, not one voiced her preference for a female. Three (15%) said they would prefer to have a male in charge of the department because that tends to cause less "bitchiness"; females "tend to be aggressive rather than assertive"; and "it's tradition, that's the way it's always been". The majority (85%)

said they had no preference. Since none of the teachers interviewed had ever worked with a female Head of Department, such indecisiveness was expected.

While discussing the image of physical education and the nature of the males which dominate it, two of the respondents raised the issue of sexual harassment as an intimidating aspect of working with male physical educators. It was perceived as a greater problem in physical education compared with other subject areas, due to the clothing worn by females and the 'macho' image of the males. One of the 'experienced' teachers said:

I've always felt that the male phys eders have been extremely conservative and sexist in their attitudes. They tend to be the type that harass, sexually harass...you get a hit on your bottom as you walk past, and all this sort of stuff and you're supposed to...I mean, if you argued the point they'd think you were such a twerp. They just don't understand this modern feminism business you know. It's all too much for them. With phys eders, because they're high achievers physically as well as academically, there's always that - I'm better than you are. I'm stronger than you are. I'm going to last longer, and so on. And they say things to their students like, "Oh, you bunch of girls". It's just so terrible. So the wimpy things are associated with being female...but it's nothing like that.
(Experienced)

A current Head of Department also described sexual harassment as a threatening and unpleasant experience for a female physical educator:

I can tell you the day and date that I decided I would only ever wear pants to school. I was fed up with being harassed. I remember walking past an office and being pulled in, and I remember walking out absolutely...going to class and trying to get myself together, thinking what did I do wrong that I was seen as an open target. That's when I put on weight too, and I discovered a few techniques of self preservation. In my first year as a Head of Department one of the guys harassed me...it would never have happened if I'd been male.
(Head of Department)

In addition to the components contributing to the construction of the image of physical education already discussed, the teachers interviewed raised a number of other minor concerns. Four of the 'experienced' group believed sporting prowess to be an important attribute for the person in charge of physical education, and felt that some females may lack self-confidence in this area. This notion is a product of male dominance in sport, and was the specific reason given by one respondent with promotional aspirations, for her desire to move directly to a Deputy Principal's position rather than a Head of Department role. Her comment was:

I like administrative work and have always done the clerical side of running the phys ed department...recording, all the paperwork, the theory part of Physical Education Studies, health ed co-ordination and so on, rather than the practical. It's just a personal preference because I feel my skill competence is lacking in some of the sports. Because the Head of Department is perceived as the 'king pin', he should have a high level of sporting ability in the whole range of activities, and therefore, I'd prefer to go straight to Deputy. That's what I'm applying for.
(Experienced)

The natural reference to 'he' as the Head of Department in this comment further illustrates the underlying expectations of male leadership.

Seven teachers alluded to the low status of physical education in schools and its limited scope as factors discouraging them from aspiring to promotion in the area. Further, the fact that some females perceived teaching as a short-term career, prompted them to look elsewhere for challenge and job satisfaction, resulting in the loss of potential leaders. Comments made by respondents included:

You're just this sort of pen pusher who rushes from class to class, and you just get there and you sort of pant around...so really, all that phys ed means to me is having a good time with the kids, trying to teach them a few basic skills. I feel as though if I was going to do anything and really take my career seriously, I'd have to change to something else.

(Experienced)

I wouldn't want to run the Phys Ed Department with the way that phys ed is going along at the moment. It's so directionless, it's not really seen as important.

(Experienced)

A lot of people were very intelligent and probably should have been doing something other than phys ed, and these sort of people might find that phys ed doesn't challenge them enough professionally. They eventually move out into other areas.

(Experienced)

One of the current Heads of Department felt particularly negative about her career choice, and when asked whether she would recommend the Head of Department position to other female teachers, she replied:

Oh, yeh! Once they've made the first mistake of being a phys ed teacher, they may as well do it properly. Phys ed as a career is fine for males and for some females I suppose, but it gets boring.

(Head of Department)

In summary, the perceived image of physical education as male dominated; the nature of male physical educators, and the resultant expectations of male leadership; the stigma attached to becoming a female Head of Department; and the inadequacies felt by women in competing for the leadership role, are strong contributing factors to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level.

Five of the 10 'experienced' teachers interviewed had actually been Acting Heads of Department for periods of between 6 and 18 months. It is of concern that not one of them enjoyed the experience, or felt inspired to apply for a substantive position as a result of their time as 'leaders'. Perhaps the Head of Department position in physical education is a particularly difficult leadership role because all the 'usual' disadvantages of being a female in-charge are accentuated by the low status accorded physical education in many schools. Being the female leader of a traditionally male dominated and lower status subject becomes a double disadvantage, and this may in part account for the negative impressions gained by the five Acting Heads of Department.

A further reality which may contribute to the lack of female leadership in physical education is the competition that exists among teachers vying for the limited number of promotional positions. Despite the probability that female physical educators would rank highly on competitive characteristics as compared with their counterparts in other subject areas, the fact that they are having to contend with male physical educators who are also highly competitive, in a male dominated arena, would most likely result in the female stepping aside. Perhaps even the prospect of entering such a competition is intimidating for female teachers, and therefore dampens their promotional aspirations.

The very nature of physical education serves to accentuate many facets of the external systematic barriers perceived by women as reasons for the lack of female representation at Head of Department level. Although the patriarchy of the education system was not in itself perceived as a major barrier by the respondents, this together with a male model of leadership as exemplified in physical education, and

the history of male dominance in the subject, present what was seen as a strong deterrent to the advancement of females. Further discouragement is manifest in females' experiences in the department with male physical educators; in the stigma attached to the leadership role for a female; and in the image and status of physical education in schools. The unfortunate aspect of the situation is that while there exists such a lack of female leadership in physical education, male dominance in the area is perpetuated and women continue to be deterred from striving for promotion. Despite the optimism expressed by a number of respondents regarding positive changes in stereotypic attitudes and expectations, the statistics indicate that the effect of these changes has been minimal.

CHAPTER 7

PERCEIVED INTERNALIZED PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO PROMOTION

In addition to the external systemic barriers which limit the career advancement of females, Hoferek (1986) suggested that there are internal psychological barriers which might contribute to the differences in promotional status between female and male teachers. The findings of the present study indicate that these internal barriers are closely linked with the external factors. The psychological constraints women impose on themselves are, in most cases, a product of gender-role stereotyping and external factors such as male dominance in the system and the expectation of male leadership.

Teachers identified a number of internal psychological barriers which they perceived as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at the Head of Department level in physical education. These have been grouped under the headings of family responsibilities; the low promotional orientation of females; lack of skills and experience; lack of encouragement and support; female teachers' own perceptions; age; and health concerns.

Family Responsibilities

An important reason frequently cited in the literature for women not seeking promotion is family commitment. Prior to the implementation of promotional systems based on merit rather than seniority, the structural barriers confronting married females were enormous. Despite the eradication of these discriminatory policies, for many women with dependents, the balancing of the dual roles of career and family

remains a source of pressure, and a move into a promotional position would serve to compound the problem (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Whitcombe, 1980).

Traditionally, the female stereotype has been that of wife and mother, supporting the husband in his career and taking on the major portion of the child-rearing responsibilities. There has been little rethinking in a changing society regarding the automatic allocation of family roles according to sex, regardless of individual interest, talent or qualifications.

Family commitment becomes a barrier to female career advancement due to time constraints and restricted mobility. Interviews highlighted three aspects of family commitment that were perceived to inhibit promotional opportunities. Firstly, the traditional expectation that the female assumes the bulk of responsibility for the family, and consequently has less time than the male to devote to her career. Linked to this is restricted geographic mobility and the tendency to support the husband in his career, perhaps at the expense of her own. Secondly, the additional responsibilities associated with a promotional position place further demands on time, particularly in physical education, due to extracurricular activities which constitute 'work' that cannot be taken home. Thirdly, the loss of confidence resulting from breaks in service for child-bearing make it difficult to resume teaching duties and to compete against teachers with continuous service for promotional positions.

When respondents were asked why they thought there were so few female Heads of Department in physical education, 22 (81%) mentioned family orientation or commitment as an 'obvious' factor. One married 'experienced' teacher gave her reason for not aspiring to promotion as:

I'm really family orientated. I'm not a career woman as such, and really my priorities are my family.
(Experienced)

This particular teacher had resigned on three separate occasions to follow her husband overseas in the pursuit of his career in education, and had taken further breaks in service to have three children. Other respondents, predominantly from the 'experienced' category, expanded on this notion of family responsibility as a priority, and the time commitment it demands:

It's the traditional role for the female to stay at home. Women drop out of teaching and have kids and don't come back, or come back and teach part-time.
(Experienced)

Women have a lot more on their plates than men - they're juggling families, not just having the family, but one might claim that they are still the main parent and the one who carries the most responsibility.
(Experienced)

Once women leave and have their families then that gets priority number one. And it's sort of the traditional role at home where they've got to look after the house and the kids, as well as work. It gets too busy. And if you go Head of Department, you may have to transfer... most husbands have got a job and won't move, and then the kids come into it...so you're not going to go.
(Experienced)

The comparative difficulty of a female pursuing her career was described by a teacher in the 'experienced' category. Her comments were based on her personal experiences:

We're just as good as men! We could do the job just as well, but because we have breaks in our service and various physical factors stopping us from pursuing higher qualifications, it's just not the case. They've got it sort of set up...we put it in the 'too hard' basket. You just think - "I'm not going to make that sacrifice. I don't want the whole family to suffer". Maybe men are more selfish in a family situation, or maybe because they have a wife supporting them they can afford to be more selfish. Women change their life much easier than men do... If a man wants to pursue a career then the woman will just sort of fit in.
(Experienced)

Two respondents commented on the fact that many females perceive teaching physical education as only a short-term career to be curtailed by marriage and raising a family:

They don't see teaching phys ed as a career, rather a stop-gap until they have children. Or when the children are grown up it's something good to go back to part-time.
(Experienced)

A lot of female phys eders are younger and tend to teach for 5 to 10 years and then leave to get married and have their family. So therefore, they never aspire to be Senior Teachers.
(Experienced)

Four of the 'inexperienced' teachers (40%) confirmed these perceptions. The expectation of marriage and family was their "way out" of physical education.

The inability or reluctance to assume additional responsibilities associated with a Head of Department position due to time constraints imposed by family commitments, was perceived by 12 of the respondents (44%) as a factor contributing to the lack of female leaders, particularly in physical education. A current Head of Department

described, with some regret, her inability to remain in the position due to family commitments:

I'm going to start working on an application for promotion to Deputy, mainly because I don't know that I can handle three kids and phys ed. I'm not saying a Deputy's job is going to be any easier, but I think that the time constraints will be different, so that the work I have to do I can do at home in the evenings or I can come home and then go back. Whereas in physical education, I sort of feel like if I'm expecting other staff to be down at swimming training at seven in the morning, then I should take my turn and be down there. And I don't think I can do parenting and physical education adequately.
(Head of Department)

Another Head of Department substantiated this notion by relating her experiences:

When I first applied for the Head of Department position, many women dropped out of teaching because they got married or because they had a family. Many have since re-entered, but because of responsibilities they don't want to apply for promotion... I think it's much harder to hold down a substantive position if you have a lot of other responsibilities. I personally found it difficult being a wife and a mother and have a house and that sort of thing. It is difficult to fulfil promotional positions properly.
(Head of Department)

A teacher from the 'inexperienced' category said that her ambition was to "leave school at 3.30 pm. and go home to the kids one day". She thought that this would preclude a leadership role because:

With the little preparation I have to do now, I'm finding I'm still marking at home. But eventually you'd be able to get yourself organised enough so you didn't have to take anything home. To do this, it would be very hard. I think it would be almost impossible to be in charge of the department.
(Inexperienced)

A number of respondents also pointed out that the women who do return to teaching after breaks in service for family reasons, probably do so in order to supplement the family income and would be unlikely to have any promotional aspirations.

The family would now be their priority and the focus of their time and energy...we're lucky in that teaching is a career that does fit in with having a family at home.
(Experienced)

They don't want the extra responsibility. Why have all the stress and strains?
(Head of Department)

Breaks in service due to family were perceived by 11 teachers (41%) as having detrimental effects on the confidence levels and preparedness of female teachers for promotion. An extended period away from teaching made it very difficult to return and regain the momentum possessed prior to leaving.

Marriage and pregnancies make it difficult for females because women leave and then when they come back it's very difficult to get back in the system and pick up where they left off.
(Inexperienced)

Women see their children as being their priority, and then somewhere along the way they lose their self-confidence. Standing up in front of a group of kids again like you used to seems very daunting. A lot of women who have gone out of teaching to have children, couldn't under any circumstances go back to it. It just seems as though they've lost their confidence. Those who do return, usually have to help support the family. Not many of them would be in a position to even think about going for promotion.
(Experienced)

A lack of qualifications on returning from breaks in service was identified as another factor inhibiting the promotional aspirations of females. Respondents felt that this further eroded the self-confidence of teachers, and together with time constraints on their ability to complete further study due to family commitments, may lead them to the point where they feel a "sense of hopelessness in catching up", and decide to remain in the classroom, or opt out of teaching altogether. The following comments illustrate these perceptions:

A lot of women drop out because they have families and when they come back into it, they come back at a lower level. At the moment, the women that are coming back into teaching aren't as trained. They're not four year trained. Some of them aren't even three year trained. So for them to get to four year status, they have to go back to study to increase their qualifications. That's a lot more difficult when you've got family responsibilities.
(Experienced)

For a female with family commitments it becomes very difficult to find the time to go back and study to upgrade qualifications, and you can't go for merit promotion without them.
(Experienced)

I could easily do the Head of Department job, but everything has changed so much and I'm pretty much backed into a corner. I haven't got a degree and I haven't got the time to go back to study. I don't want my family to suffer, my family comes first. When my youngest goes to school, if I've got the time and energy to put in, I'll go back and do my degree.
(Experienced)

Despite the fact that family commitments were perceived by the majority of respondents (81%) as a significant barrier to the promotion of females, the evidence of the present study contradicted these perceptions. Of the seven past and current Heads of Department, six were married and had dependents at the time of promotion.

Further, of the single teachers interviewed (13), only one had attained Head of Department status, and one other from the 'Inexperienced' group had promotional aspirations.

The findings of this study concur with Davies (1990), who argued that the dual role for women of career and family has become a "convenient peg on which to hang explanations for 'underachievement' and has become almost as much a form of 'victim analysis' as sex role socialization" (p.39). Since all but one of the female Heads of Department in physical education were married with dependents, it would seem that family commitments do not necessarily preclude career, nor act as an insurmountable barrier to the advancement of females. Perhaps it is a convenient and stereotypically acceptable excuse given for and by female teachers to placate enquiries regarding their lack of promotional aspirations, and to conceal other perceived deterrents.

Low Promotional Orientation

The low promotional orientation of females is frequently offered as the explanation for their underrepresentation at senior levels. The literature reviewed provided conflicting opinions with regard to the authenticity of such a notion. Sarros (1983) was one who proposed that the lack of interest in promotion by female teachers is largely a product of gender-role stereotyping and the socialization process which neither encourages nor provides incentives for females to aspire to career advancement to the same extent as males. Family commitments have also been suggested as a reason for the lower promotional orientation of females (McKinnon, 1975). Others, including Acker (1983), Ball (1987), and Whitcombe (1980), believed that to give women's lack of

interest in promotion as the reason for their underrepresentation in leadership positions was a sexist perception, and an oversimplification of a complex situation. The NUT survey conducted in London (1979) concluded that the low promotional orientation of female teachers was a 'myth'. Based on her findings of a survey investigating promotion in government schools, Sampson (1986) agreed that "women are taking their careers seriously and lack of commitment is not the reason why they don't apply for senior positions" (p.141). Whitcombe (1980) suggested that it was more likely attributable to the fact that females lacked awareness of the promotional process and the confidence to more aggressively pursue a promotional path of their own accord.

Teachers' responses in this study indicate that a lack of ambition and low career orientation were perceived as reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education. Sixteen of the respondents (59%) commented on the low promotional orientation of female physical educators.

I think a lot of females just don't see themselves in that role, and are probably quite happy, even though they complain about incompetency or not changing ideas and things like that. They just don't see themselves getting in there and doing it themselves.
(Head of Department)

I don't know of one female phys eder who has ambitions to become Head of Department, and that's out of the people I see in the zone. Of those I went to college with, I'm the only one still working. The others have all had children and not gone back to work.
(Experienced)

Maybe they're (female physical educators) just like me and don't have any aspirations for that sort of thing. The girls that I went through with certainly don't. They're just happy to float along, have a job, enjoy what we do without the extra hassles.
(Inexperienced)

A number of teachers stated their perception from a more personal viewpoint:

I don't think I actively thought about a promotional position at any time...I just never wanted it, never sought it...
(Experienced)

I've never sought promotion. I was three year trained and so 15 years ago I went back to do the conversion from three to four years to get my BEd. But that was more aimed at catching up a bit, to update and to go on to the next salary level. I was aware that having done that I could write in and ask for my Higher Certificate, but I didn't bother because I knew I didn't want to go for promotion.
(Experienced)

I suppose I'm quite happy being one of the mainstream, 'just teachers', although I wouldn't mind getting my degree because I don't like to be paid less than people doing the same job. But I'm humble enough even to put up with that.
(Experienced)

I guess I haven't really thought about my future. I've always just gone from day to day doing whatever I want to do. I guess I'll just sit back and let it happen... I have no real ambitions as you can tell.
(Inexperienced)

The fact that females tend to "sit back and wait" to be approached rather than "promoting" themselves, was perceived by 10 of the respondents (37%) to be a reflection of their lack of aspirations.

Females don't have that aggressive streak that makes them want to go out there and be in that position, or have the power, or want the power. They traditionally tend to sit back and take second best.
(Experienced)

A lot of guys have said to me - "Oh, my wife's more senior than you and she hasn't got a promotion", and I ask them whether she has applied, and the answer is "No". They just tend to sit and wait for someone to come up and tell them to do it, but that doesn't often happen. You have to get in there and apply.
(Head of Department)

This notion was symptomatic of even those who had attained Head of Department status, with five of the seven in this category admitting that their promotions had been circumstantial rather than actively sought or carefully planned. Comments like the following were typical, when these teachers were asked whether they had always aspired to promotion:

No, not really, it just seemed to fall into my lap. Someone just said - "Why don't you apply?" so I applied.
(Head of Department)

No, not at all. I was actually talking to someone at a drug inservice course. She happened to be a female Head of Department - and she said, "We need more women". I went back to school and was talking to my Senior Teacher about it, and he said, "Well why don't you apply?" I'd never ever thought of it, and when I did apply, I still didn't seriously think I'd get it. But I did, and I was really glad that I'd done it.
(Head of Department)

I think it came about through circumstance. I didn't really anticipate being Head of Department in physical education. In my day it was a male role and so I didn't really aspire to it... I'm not a person who aspires to be in a senior role necessarily. I'm not one of the women who is keen on promoting myself. I'm a person who does my job, whatever job I'm asked to do, to the best of my ability.
(Head of Department)

This particular respondent was fulfilling the role of Acting Deputy Principal at the time of the interview, and had been doing so on and off for the past nine years. She had

on a number of occasions applied for a substantive position as Deputy Principal without success, due to the restricted nature of her application. Family responsibilities necessitated a metropolitan appointment. Having taken the initial step on the promotional ladder and met with success, it appears that this teacher's confidence and level of aspiration increased.

The lack of drive and aggression exhibited by female teachers was perceived by some of the respondents as stereotypically acceptable. Their remarks with reference to promotional success were almost derogatory, devaluing the attributes required to achieve career advancement. This is illustrated in the following comments made by two 'experienced' teachers:

I haven't got the energy to push... I'm not one of those 'female libbers' you know! I could do the job, but I'm not one of those forceful sort of ladies who push themselves forward. I'm just not like that.
(Experienced)

I'm probably not a great one for singing my own praises and I think that's what it's coming to. Somebody who is going to push themselves forward will be the one to get the job (Head of Department), not necessarily the most suitable person.
(Experienced)

Perhaps the denigration of the qualities perceived as necessary to gain promotion by the female teachers who do not aspire to career advancement, serves as a mechanism of justification to placate their own feelings of inadequacy in this regard. The stereotype of the submissive female has undoubtedly had a profound impact on such perceptions.

One 'experienced' teacher described her feelings of despondency and rejection when her application for promotion was unsuccessful. Her comment illustrates the fairly typical lack of determination and aggression exhibited by females in pursuing their aspirations:

I felt really rebuffed because I felt I had the things that they'd be looking for in the position, and I didn't get a 'look-in'. I guess in that situation you tend to think - "Oh well, what's the point?" But you really should go ahead. If you feel strongly enough about it, you continue to go ahead and put in the applications anyway...that's what the guys do and I guess that's why they're in the positions. I just felt rejected and resigned myself to staying where I was.
(Experienced)

Two of the current Heads of Department felt that the low promotional orientation of some female teachers may be the result of a lack of awareness of promotional requirements and procedures. When questioned regarding their awareness of promotional avenues, only two 'inexperienced' and five 'experienced' teachers said they had a knowledge of these matters. All of the 'Heads of Department' group currently in schools, expressed a familiarity with the current promotion by merit system. Comments from two Heads of Department conveyed their regrets at not however having been more aware of promotional requirements early in their teaching careers.

I probably could have got promotion a lot earlier if I had been set on the career path, and the way to go about it - to play the game, if you like, a lot earlier... No-one even spoke about promotion. It was one of those things. You didn't even know people applied for promotion. All of a sudden they were promoted, and they didn't talk about it. I tend to think there are a lot of women in phys ed that could be promoted if they promoted themselves more in the job and knew what to do to maximize their chances.
(Head of Department)

They need to be taught about the whole promotion structure. When a first year teacher comes into a school she has no idea of how to go about getting a promotion... I did it relatively late. I was 30 before I applied for a promotion. By then I'd been in the system long enough to hear people talk about it and know what happens. I could have applied for promotion much earlier, but nobody tells you because you're a young female.
(Head of Department)

The latter comment not only illustrates the stereotypic expectation of male leadership in physical education, but also raises the important issue of the part played by mentors and role models in encouraging female physical educators to look towards promotion. These aspects will be discussed further in the section dealing with encouragement and support.

Another aspect of the low promotional orientation of female teachers was raised by four respondents, who indicated that they could not be bothered with all the paperwork required to apply for promotion. They considered that the preparation of their application just was not worth the effort. Their comments included:

I think filling in all those forms and getting a CV that looks fantastic just looks like a lot of extra work, and I do a hell of a lot of work when I'm teaching. I don't want to have to do something extra. If it were a high priority then maybe I would, but it's a lot of work and I can't be bothered.
(Experienced)

I can't be bothered with the hassles attached to applying for promotion, and you have to be able to play the game and sell yourself. It's just not worth it.
(Inexperienced)

Perhaps the lack of zeal in this matter is symptomatic of a more general lack of ambition and desire to be promoted in physical education.

On the evidence of teacher responses, the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level may be due in part to the low promotional orientation of female physical educators. The lack of promotional aspirations expressed by teachers was the result of a combination of factors including low career orientation; a reluctance to 'promote' themselves; a lack of awareness and knowledge of promotional requirements; and the absence of mentors and role models to demonstrate the accessibility of the Head of Department position.

Sampson (1986), upon completing a survey investigating promotion in government schools, concluded that "women's lower career salience is a fallacy" (p.41). The findings of the current study with reference to female physical education teachers suggest that such a conclusion may have limited generalizability.

Lack of Encouragement and Support

According to the literature, male teachers are more likely to receive support and encouragement in the pursuit of their careers than females. Sampson (1986) found significant differences between the sexes in the perception of encouragement to apply for promotional positions. If this is the case, then such a differentiation would serve to reinforce the widespread belief in men's stronger career orientation (Davies, 1990), and the expectation that the leadership roles will be assumed by males. A lack of encouragement and support for female teachers, together with their relatively

poor knowledge and awareness of promotional requirements, could therefore become a significant barrier to their career advancement.

The importance of having mentors was demonstrated in the present study by the fact that six of the seven Heads of Department (86%) admitted that they would not have applied for promotion had it not been for the encouragement of significant others such as administrators, the subject superintendent, other Heads of Department, lecturers from tertiary institutions, and peers.

I had a lot of encouragement and support from the school administration, senior teachers, the Deputies and the Principal. Other teachers who I had worked with on various committees and in curriculum development also encouraged me to go for promotion. So I did.
(Head of Department)

The Deputy said I should apply and I also spoke to the Superintendent about how he thought my chances were of being Head of Department in phys ed, and he said I should go for it.
(Head of Department)

One of the current Heads of Department, who had herself been mentored to apply for promotion, spoke of how important it was to work with the staff to increase their awareness of promotional requirements, and to encourage those with potential to prepare themselves.

I work with the staff a lot on getting them on the right track and telling them to document things and do things and expose themselves to things. And a few of them will say - "Oh, that will look good in my CV". But that's not a bad thing, because they are promoting themselves... More and more, promotion is about how you play the game.
(Head of Department)

None of the 'inexperienced' teachers and only four of the 'experienced' teachers had been spoken to by significant others or received encouragement regarding promotion.

The lack of mentors to support and encourage, and role models to demonstrate the career possibilities for female physical educators, was highlighted by 14 respondents from the 'experienced' and 'Heads of Department' categories (52%), as a factor contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level. One of the current Heads of Department emphasized the importance of role models with this comment:

I don't want to get out of the Head of Department position until there are more women as Heads of Department in phys ed, because if I'm still here (and I'm an atypical phys eder) then it shows other females that it's possible. I like to be able to say to folks that I meet - "Why aren't you applying?". You know, whether I'm old or fat and dumpy, or I'm not the typical phys eder, if I can do it, why can't you? And I know one person that's turned around and applied because of a comment I made to her on a drug education camp.
(Head of Department)

When respondents were asked why they thought it was important to have female Heads of Department, the need for role models was a consistent response. The comments included:

Females just don't see themselves in the Head of Department role because there aren't enough role models... I think the more women that can get in there, the more will apply.
(Head of Department)

Women don't even try for promotion because they think it's out of their reach. There's no-one there to show them it can be done.
(Head of Department)

Women shouldn't always be seen in the subservient role at the secondary level.
(Experienced)

It's always going to be difficult for the female to prove herself in the Head of Department position, but if you get a few people who do it, then it will become easier.
(Inexperienced)

I'm sure it's a continual sort of thing - if females are there (in the Head of Department position), then others think - oh, well, if they can do it, I can probably do just as good a job if not better than them, so I'll apply for it.
(Experienced)

The consensus from these responses seems to be that a greater visibility of females in the Head of Department role would encourage more female teachers to aspire to the position, by demonstrating the achievability of such status, and by assisting in breaking down the stereotypic expectation of male leadership in physical education. More than half the respondents felt that the provision of greater encouragement and support for female physical educators by mentoring them towards promotion would contribute to an increase in the number of female Heads of Department.

Lack of Skills and Experience

A lack of skills and experience was identified by the literature as another factor contributing to the underrepresentation of females in promotional positions.

Hutchinson's research in Western Australian government schools in 1981 revealed that females averaged fewer years of teaching experience, fewer years on permanent staff and lower qualifications than males, a possible legacy of past policies.

Sampson (1986), investigating promotion in Australian government schools, also revealed that lack of experience and qualifications was given by many females as a reason for not seeking promotion.

It could be argued that it is because females in most cases do not match the male model of leadership, they perceive themselves as inadequate, and are perceived by significant others to lack the skills and qualities needed to function effectively as Heads of Department. According to Davies (1990), research has revealed few differences in the currently 'espoused' leadership qualities, with females and males scoring equally on 'initiation', and females scoring slightly higher on 'consideration'. The results of the current study support these findings.

Teachers were asked which skills and qualities they thought were essential for a Head of Department in physical education. The responses, in ranked order by total frequency are presented in Table 19.

The most commonly perceived essential skills and qualities for a Head of Department were: organisational ability (74%); communication skills (63%); the ability to work well with others (59%); fairness and honesty (56%); management skills (44%); a knowledge of finance and budgeting (41%); and administrative skills (37%).

TABLE 19
SKILLS AND QUALITIES PERCEIVED AS ESSENTIAL FOR A HEAD OF
DEPARTMENT

ESSENTIAL SKILLS AND QUALITIES	INEXPER	EXPER	HEADS OF DEPT	TOTAL	%
Organisational ability	6	7	7	20	74
Communication skills	6	4	7	17	63
Work well with others	4	8	4	16	59
Fairness and honesty	2	6	7	15	56
Management skills	2	3	7	12	44
Knowledge of finance and budgeting	2	2	7	11	41
Administrative skills	2	1	7	10	37
Teaching skills	2	3	3	8	30
Mentor	2	2	4	8	30
Conflict resolution skills		1	7	8	30
Flexibility	2	4		6	22
Leadership	2	4		6	22
Knowledge of timetabling			4	4	15
Approachable and caring		3		3	11
Dedicated		3		3	11
Ability to motivate	2		1	3	11
Decision-making skills		3		5	11
Time management skills	2		1	3	11
Ability to delegate	2	1		3	11
Ability to promote physical education in the school		2		2	7
Efficient in paperwork	2			2	7
Disciplinarian	2			2	7
Aloofness			1	1	4
Creativity		1		1	4

When respondents were asked whether they believed that females possessed these skills, nine of the teachers in the 'inexperienced' category, 10 in the 'experienced' category, and all seven of the past and current Heads of Department answered 'yes'. That is, a total of 26 (96%) thought that females exhibited the skills and qualities necessary to function effectively as a Head of Department.

Further, the teachers' comments indicated that they perceived females as "more organised", "more flexible", "better communicators" and "more supportive of the staff" than males.

To be fair and listen, the communication skills, and the conflict resolution skills are things that men are lacking in... I think women in a lot of ways can do a better job than men. They're more prepared to listen and bend.
(Head of Department)

I actually think that women have got a very good chance of being professional and being Heads of Department. I find women overall more organised...women are the workers... They've got a lot of skills that they've never capitalised on. They've not taken up the opportunities.
(Head of Department)

The one respondent (from the 'inexperienced' category) who doubted the capabilities of females to cope in the leadership role, thought that men were "better disciplinarians" and "more able to earn respect".

Teachers were also asked whether, since females seemed to have the essential skills and qualities required for a Head of Department in physical education, a female could be as effective in the position as a male? Again, all respondents bar one in the

'inexperienced' category (96%), believed that a female could function just as effectively as a male in the Head of Department position. When the question was made more personal and each respondent was asked if she could cope in the leadership role, eight 'inexperienced' teachers, nine 'experienced' teachers, and all seven Heads of Department answered 'yes'. That is, 24 of the teachers (89%) believed that they could effectively fulfil the role of Head of Department of physical education.

These promising findings raise the obvious questions of why then are there so few females in Head of Department positions, and what has dampened their promotional aspirations? If these women saw themselves as capable of doing as good a job, if not better, than the males currently occupying the positions, then why did they not apply for promotion? Perhaps some answers lie in the subtleties of the comments made by respondents with regard to the perceived inability of females to match the male model of leadership. Concerns tended to focus on the way in which male staff and administrators, students and parents might perceive the inadequacies of females in decision-making roles; and the pressures this may bring to bear on a female who chooses to assume such a role. The barrier is one of perceptions, both those of the female teachers themselves and those of significant others, rather than inadequacy through lack of essential attributes. The responses and anticipated reactions of significant others contribute to the discouragement of female aspirations. The following comments highlight the potential impact of others' perceptions:

I don't necessarily agree with the way society is and I think women are just as capable and deserve the same respect from the guys and the girls. I think that's important but it doesn't realistically happen. Females have got the organisation and timetabling skills, but when it comes to things where men just have that...they do have some superiority when it comes to discipline. Kids would look to them as being more serious than a woman. A female has to battle a lot harder to get that.
(Inexperienced)

You've got to be aloof. You've got to be a sort of loner, because there's always someone who will try to take advantage of you. You need management skills and I guess I've always found handling males difficult. I think some males out there are pretty useless, but they don't have the courage to admit it. Males believe they're the best and it doesn't matter how bad they are, they've got an ego that tells them they're alright. Just the same as the guys I was with always thought they were better than me.
(Head of Department)

One 'experienced' teacher recounted a 'soul destroying' experience she had with a male staff member during her time as Acting Head of Department:

My methods of doing things were different, and to deal with male staff members who I had been on an equal footing with previously was very difficult. I had occasion to speak to one who was doing something wrong, and the response was shocking! "How dare you tell me what to do. It's none of your business, I'll do what I like", and I tried to do it in the gentlest way I possibly could. I would have preferred to approach the situation head on, but I knew that would be terrible, and even 'going in the back door' I got such a backlash. I felt really sorry for myself and burst into tears, and I'm pretty strong, but the backlash was huge. It wasn't a physical assault, but it certainly was a verbal one...I backed down and lost confidence to a certain extent.
(Experienced)

A lack of assertiveness was identified by a number of the teachers interviewed as a reason for so few females striving for leadership positions. Their comments included:

I think a lot of women see that they don't really want to tell men what to do...they haven't got the assertiveness skills... I basically think it's a lack of assertion and lack of confidence in themselves. Because people see the Head of Department as making decisions, a lot of women still buck at seeing that the observable decision was theirs...the crunch. Women often won't do something unless they know they're going to succeed at it, and this would be going into the unknown. They don't see themselves as good enough or strong enough, and I think they underestimate themselves.
(Head of Department)

You find that when you're trying to be assertive you might be let down by your emotions. You know, your tears start to come and you feel - I'm not so hard, I'm not as able to take all that stuff. You don't want to leave yourself too vulnerable.
(Experienced)

Males tend to sit back and give all the body language of saying - "Well, you're a female, what right do you have?"
(Experienced)

There were three respondents (11%), all from the 'experienced' category, who perceived a lack of qualifications as a barrier to promotion, despite the fact that they felt confident in being able to effectively cope in the Head of Department position. Because they were only three year trained, these teachers were not eligible to apply for promotion. Their comments included:

Not having my BEd has meant that I couldn't apply for an acting or permanent Head of Department position, and that was really frustrating me. I guess that's been my biggest stumbling block and hence why I'm studying now. I haven't needed it up until now, but over the last few years, seeing the friends that have gotten 'acting' jobs - I think I could do as good as if not a better job - that's why I'm studying now.
(Experienced)

I've never had any promotional aspirations because I'm only three year trained. So there was no hope that I could get a promotion at all. I've been in charge of the girls in a big department and I've been a year co-ordinator, but because I was only three year trained, I didn't ever think about promotion.
(Experienced)

The two respondents making the preceding comments were studying for their Bachelor of Education degree. The third 'experienced' respondent, who perceived her lack of qualifications as a barrier to promotion, expressed a sense of despair at the likelihood of upgrading her status:

I know there's lots of people that have got heaps of qualifications, so if qualifications is what you need for promotion, then I'm not going to catch up. It's not that I don't really want to, but as soon as you find out how hopeless it is, you sort of start to feel - well, what's the point. With my family, I just haven't got the time.
(Experienced)

One other of the experienced teachers, although having four year status, expressed a lack of self-confidence and a feeling of inferiority because her qualification was not in physical education:

Even though I've had a lot of experience, because I haven't come through the usual way, I suppose I feel a bit inferior that I've never actually got a phys ed degree. I mean, I've been out there teaching the same things that everyone else is teaching, but I never really felt that...perhaps personally I don't really feel that I'm actually a phys ed.
(Experienced)

This teacher felt that others would perceive her as inadequate and therefore she would not feel confident in a leadership role.

In summary, despite the fact that nearly all the teachers believed that both females generally, and they personally, had the necessary skills and qualities to take up a Head of Department appointment, the perceptions of significant others imposed constraints on the promotional aspirations of female teachers. Comments repeatedly highlighted the expectation of a male Head of Department, and this seemed to underlie the majority of their apprehensions and misgivings regarding the position. Overall, it appears that while a lack of skills and experience is not in itself a constraint for the majority of the female physical education teachers, the doubts of significant others with regard to their competency are perceived as a deterrent to promotion.

Female Teachers' Own Perceptions

This section will address both women's perceptions of themselves and other women as potential leaders; and their perceptions of the Head of Department position in physical education.

The literature reviewed cited the internalized views of women regarding the incompatibility of their 'femininity' with the leadership role, as a possible reason for their lack of promotional aspirations. According to Al-Khalifa (1989), promotion into senior positions is perceived by some female teachers as a move which creates a gap between the teacher's view of her own competence, skills and job satisfaction, and those demanded by the position. The socialization process has considerable impact on such perceptions, and as Kane (1976) pointed out, it is important to remember that women are themselves subject to gender stereotypic attitudes, and therefore may believe that a male is in fact a better leader. While the majority of

teachers in the present study agreed that a female could function as effectively in the Head of Department role as a male, there were three respondents who indicated their preference for a male Head of Department.

Sampson (1981) stated that "the severest obstacle to women leaders may be the lack of acceptability by other women" (p.29). It was suggested by one Head of Department, that this situation was magnified in physical education due to the historical male dominance in the area. Her comment was:

Some of the biggest knockers of females are females. They really don't give themselves credit for being able to do things, particularly in physical education which has always been that sort of a predominantly male area.
(Head of Department)

An example of the reluctance to accept female leadership was recounted by an 'experienced' teacher who had worked with a female Acting Head of Department:

She was the most wonderful and lovely person I had ever worked for. But there were some other domineering ladies on the staff who gave her trouble because they resented her being in-charge. They thought they were...they were good, very good physically, very high profile sports people. But they gave her hassles. They were just awful to the point that they resented her because she was female... They didn't like her as an authority figure and they made her job hard.
(Experienced)

This lack of acceptance was further illustrated by two other respondents from the 'experienced' category, who, when asked how they would react to having a female in charge, gave the following responses:

I would hate it, particularly if it was someone younger than me, or if a female had done something that I haven't got off my bottom to do.
(Experienced)

I think I would find it awkward...I guess I haven't ever really thought about it 'cos I couldn't imagine it happening. I think I would find the situation strange and I would have my doubts as to how well she was really doing the job.
(Experienced)

Other teachers expressed their concerns regarding the lack of acceptance of a female Head of Department by both male staff and students in the school system. Apprehension at the thought of this was perceived by 18 of the respondents (67%) as a deterrent to the promotional aspirations of female physical educators, despite the optimism of some teachers that the traditional attitudes and expectations were being broken down. The reasons underlying the respondents' concerns are described in the following comments:

I think a lot of females see that there would be a negative response from the male physical educators under them, and they don't want to have to fight.
(Experienced)

A lot of it's got to do with their own feelings - you know - "What do they think of me?" "Will the guys do what I say?" And so on... They think - "What if I run into a guy like this one?" or... They sort of put barriers up.
(Head of Department)

It would be very difficult for a female to be Head of Department, especially in a school like this where you've got ethnic boys, and the only thing they look up to is a male. Being a female in charge of discipline and things could be a major problem.
(Inexperienced)

Sampson (1986) pointed out that some female teachers make a conscious choice to remain in the classroom rather than apply for promotion, because they value contact with the students, and they are in a position in which they feel competent and comfortable. When teachers in the current study were asked why they had not applied for promotion, or did not wish to become Head of Department, 14 (52%) commented that they just enjoyed teaching without the added responsibility, time commitment and stress associated with the leadership role. Of these 14 respondents, four were from the 'inexperienced' category; nine from the 'experienced' category; and one had been a Head of Department, but then regressed because she felt she was unsuited to the leadership role, and was no longer enjoying her teaching. Some of their comments were:

There was stress for me doing that Head of Department job while there's no stress in teaching for me. I enjoy it.
(Head of Department - regressed)

I find I've got enough work of my own at the moment, and I find all the administrative sort of thing interferes with my teaching now and I wouldn't want any more of that... The workload, the responsibility...I just like doing what I have to do and being able to do other things. My job doesn't rule my life. I think it would if I was in charge of the Department.
(Inexperienced)

If I'm going to be in physical education, I'd rather be teaching it because I really like the contact with the students. I don't want to be doing the eradicating of weeds from the oval, or deciding where to build a shed, or checking the heating of the swimming pool. That doesn't appeal to me, contact with the kids does.. I don't want all the administrative side. I think if I was teaching somewhere other than where I am, I might have gone for promotion to get out, but having come to a school like this where it's good teaching and you see you're effective, why should I go for promotion?
(Experienced)

The school, its students, the Head of Department and other physical education staff had an impact on shaping the respondents' perceptions. Their preference to remain as teachers was based on their positive teaching experiences in contrast to their negative impressions of the senior role. The Head of Department position was seen by 11 teachers (41%) as a job which in many aspects was unrelated to teaching physical education, and therefore not a worthwhile position considering the minimal rewards. Their comments included:

Although I like the opportunity to have a bit more responsibility and do a few administrative things, I just couldn't see myself in a Head of Department job. Like, I mean, we're given different things to organise which I enjoy doing, but not the whole thing. There's too many other things you have to do. I wonder whether it's all worthwhile.
(Inexperienced)

The amount of work that needs to be done for the amount of pay you receive has really put me off the position. Especially in large schools, you just seem to be under so much pressure. It's very difficult to actually delegate the work that needs to be done. Most of it needs to be done by the Senior Master and can't be passed down to other teachers because they don't get paid to do that type of work.
(Inexperienced)

The unfortunate thing as far as I'm concerned about promotion in schools, is that each time you promote, the job gets worse. I'd rather do what I'm doing. As for Senior Master, there are hassles from there and hassles from here, and sort of seeing our's rushing around so stressed out about everything...the job doesn't really look inviting.
(Experienced)

There's a lot of work, extra work and responsibility involved for not a great deal of extra money...
(Experienced)

He (the Head of Department) suddenly gets all these jobs from the Principal on his desk and they have to be done as quickly as possible. Some days he's got 10 jobs all waiting, and 10 people all waiting for him to do it, and a lot of them aren't to do with teaching phys ed. Who needs it!
(Experienced)

The respondent who had been a Head of Department for eight years and then regressed, spoke of her own experiences and perceptions of the present Head of Department:

It doesn't warrant all the time spent for the little extra money...it's a lot of hard work. There's easier ways to make money. Even like 'M' here...he was my junior when I was in-charge, now he's my Senior Master. He puts in a lot of time...he comes back to school on Sundays and things like that. It's not worth it for the money and you're not thanked for it you know. You just don't realize how much work is involved, and I think that's what it is, it's a thankless job... I don't think it really matters who's there. It's not a very good job and it's not looked on as something that's important. I think everyone just does their own thing - I have more autonomy being an ordinary teacher than I did as a Senior Master because there was always somebody that did something wrong and you were to blame for it and all that sort of thing. There's more on your shoulders. Someone's got to be the 'bunny'!
(Head of Department)

In addition to the rather negative perceptions of the Head of Department position expressed by teachers, 18 of the respondents (67%) intimated that women did not see physical education as a career. The expectation of marriage and a family; the desire to find a more challenging alternative; and the unattractive nature of the job for ageing females, were all perceived as factors contributing to the short-term definition of the career. Teachers from the 'inexperienced' category made comments like:

I don't think of physical education as a long-term career. I think it's good because I could always do relief and that's good money, and it seems easy to get. But that's the only future I see in teaching.
(Inexperienced)

I can't see myself teaching in another five years' time. I expect to be married with kids, and I certainly wouldn't come back to phys ed.
(Inexperienced)

The 'experienced' teachers voiced similar opinions. Their perceptions were either with regard to other female teachers:

Females going into phys ed don't perceive it as a career. They don't enter it with the intention of going for promotion or advancing themselves in the area like the men do.
(Experienced)

Women aren't as inclined to see phys ed as a lifetime job. They tend to be more flexible than men and more likely to look for something else as they get older.
(Experienced)

or looking in retrospect at their own careers:

I wanted to get married and have four kids but it didn't happen. But I've always loved phys ed. I always loved my work and didn't even think of promotion... I had no aspirations to become the person in-charge because I didn't think I would be teaching phys ed that long.
(Experienced)

Females just don't see those sort of structured career paths. What were my expectations when I left school? I'll be a phys ed teacher because I liked phys ed and the people in that department, so I did that. But there was no structured career path in my mind. One of my thoughts was that I would get married and have three kids by the time I was 25. Well, it just didn't pan out that way.
(Experienced)

It would appear that these teachers have remained in physical education, not as a result of their career plans, but rather because their expectations of a short-term career curtailed by marriage and family, had not come to fruition. It was never intended that physical education would become their career. Three of the 'experienced' respondents admitted they were still teaching only because they had been unable to find a viable alternate occupation. One of the Heads of Department spoke of a similar predicament:

I went into teaching because I wanted to, but I expected to get married and have kids 'cos that was the female role... It's just that things haven't happened that way. I've never been a career person. It just so happens that I love the kids I teach, love my job, and I never met anyone to spend the rest of my life with... If I'd got married I would have quit teaching and had 'bubs'. Instead, here I am, a Head of Department.
(Head of Department)

Few of the female physical educators, even the female Heads of Department, had planned a long-term career in physical education when they commenced teaching.

The female teachers' perceptions of their careers, the Head of Department position, and the expectations of both male and female 'significant others' expressed in the present study, have been significant in deterring the respondents from leadership roles. Women's own perceptions of their career situation, and the nature of potential

career experiences may therefore be factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education.

The literature suggested that the problem is compounded by the fact that many females, particularly those who have achieved success in their careers, believe that the cause of the underrepresentation in leadership roles lies in the lack of commitment of female teachers, rather than any discrimination against them. Such a perception was not evident in the present study, in which the Heads of Department in particular demonstrated an understanding of the variety of barriers to promotion encountered by female physical education teachers.

Age

An aspect of career development particularly relevant to physical education is age. For physical education teachers, whose expertise is based on physical ability, the relationship between age and career is highly significant. According to Sikes (1988), it tends to be taken for granted that physical education teachers will stop teaching in the subject area at around 40 years of age, and that many females in particular do not enjoy the image of an 'ageing' physical education teacher.

Twenty-two of the teachers interviewed (81%) indicated that age was an important consideration in determining the length of time spent teaching the subject, and a contributing factor to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level. Physical education was in general perceived as an area for the young with enthusiasm, energy and sporting prowess, and therefore as a short-term career

prospect. The opinions of the 'inexperienced' respondents are summarised in the following comments:

Well it just might be that women don't feel like they can physically carry on a long career of teaching phys ed. They might feel like their bodies aren't capable, or they don't feel motivated to keep teaching for a long period of time in that area. They might see it as more of a shorter career type thing and go back and do more study, which I know several of my older friends have done. They're getting computing degrees and coming out and teaching computing and things like that; channelling off into other areas where they see there is more future for them and a longer working commitment for them.
(Inexperienced)

I honestly don't think it's an attractive career for women once they get older. I mean, it's fine when you're young and you don't mind getting out in the wind and rain, or running around in a short skirt and being all that energetic, but I don't think it's attractive once you get a bit older. There's not many women who really see themselves doing that when they're 40 or 50 years old... It's different for guys just because they are guys and they're more into that sort of thing, especially phys ed guys. That's why they do phys ed.
(Inexperienced)

When the female becomes older, she thinks - "I can't do as much", whereas when a male gets older, he still seems to have that representation. He doesn't have to try as hard as a female does in terms of the way kids look at him.
(Inexperienced)

Teachers made a distinction between the old female and the old male physical educator. The age factor was perceived as far more crucial and relevant for females, probably a reflection of stereotypic attitudes and expectations, rather than any biological differences between the sexes.

The comments of the 'experienced' teachers were more experientially based, as they were in the 35 to 60 years age range. Six of them spoke of their concerns regarding age, and the limitations it imposes on teaching physical education in terms of the ability to demonstrate skills; the cumulative effect of years of exposure to the weather on appearance and health; and the general undesirable image of an "old phys ed".

Their comments included:

I just can't see myself doing physical education for the next 20 years...the ability to demonstrate, the fact that after all these years of hockey my back's packing up and demonstrating a cartwheel becomes an impossibility. Just being out in the elements - the skin cancer issue, the drying effects of the wind. I still enjoy the teaching, but I think you get to the point where you think - well, I've taught the same thing year after year, what am I getting out of it, what are the kids getting out of it, and how much influence is all this really having on their lives? But there are more mature phys eders than me around still... Perhaps they've gone more into the health line or more of a movement orientation.

(Experienced)

I just think your time as a phys ed teacher is limited. Your ability to demonstrate, the wanting to stand out in the elements and raise your voice, and so on...

(Experienced)

Age is probably the most important factor (contributing to the lack of female Heads of Department). As women get older, they no longer want to be in phys ed. They don't want to be perceived as 'wrinkly old prunes' still running around on the oval. Around the age of 40 or so they begin looking for alternatives to get themselves out of the phys ed area. It's different for men. They tend to age better as long as they stay slim and well toned. Age and the weathered look tends to add to the macho image. It's all a matter of image really. Phys ed just is not perceived by women as a life-long career.

(Experienced)

It's really worrying me! Getting old and wrinkly and still being out there on the oval. Yeh, I think it's a very important consideration - what does an old phys ed do? You know, if you're an old English teacher you can still be in the classroom and no-one thinks anything else of it, but if you're an old phys ed teacher there's a bit of an image problem.
(Experienced)

In my opinion, older women shouldn't be teaching phys ed. Women in particular are...they may be excellent teachers, but certainly don't look as good and don't demonstrate the skills as well as a younger person. I can't imagine myself teaching phys ed much longer. I don't want to be anyway. I think the age factor is a very important one, and I'd say that most people approaching my age (38) would agree that it's time to get out and try something else.
(Experienced)

For the majority of the teachers in the 'experienced' category, there was a sense of urgency about finding a viable alternative to teaching physical education. Their comments indicated the importance of image, and were rather negative in reference to the 'ageing phys ed'. If the age of 40 has become the unofficial demarcation of image acceptability for female physical education teachers, then this would impact heavily on the number of females wanting to continue working in the area and, therefore, on the number with promotional aspirations.

The responses of the 'Heads of Department' group were somewhat more varied. Two respondents were of the opinion that age was a limiting factor for female physical educators, and admitted that concerns in this regard had been the catalyst for their promotional aspirations, saying:

You get sick of being out in the sun, and you get sick at the age of about 40 of running around in a little skirt. That is what put me off, and that's why I looked towards a Deputy position. Yeh, the age factor is very important.
(Head of Department)

The reason I went for promotion was probably the fact that I couldn't see myself being a 65 year old phys ed teacher, and the only way you can get out of teaching is to go through the promotional system. I am aiming for Principal, so that was the only way to get there. You've really got no way of continuing in teaching until retirement as a phys ed teacher, and I didn't really want to teach in another area.
(Head of Department)

These Heads of Department obviously perceived the leadership role in physical education as a step towards further promotion out of the area rather than as the position to which they aspired. One other of the females interviewed in this category (aged 41) did not consider age to be a problem. She commented:

I used to think that age was a consideration, but I don't feel any different from when I was 20. Perhaps at 50 I might. Well that's why I did a maths degree because I didn't think of phys ed as a long-term prospect... Like 'R', who moved into ESL. When she went through a marriage breakdown she was thinking about going back to phys ed teaching. I don't think she was that happy teaching ESL, but it was because of the role model bit. And she's a bit older - that was the effect of it. I always thought that at 30 I'd be breaking down and doing something else. I never thought I'd be here at 40, but I don't feel any different. I enjoy sailing and outdoor education and skindiving, and those sorts of things.
(Head of Department)

Two Heads of Department, both aged 43, felt that the situation was changing, and that the number of so called 'older phys eders' was increasing. In the current economic climate, the security of a teaching position and the lack of appropriate

alternatives were encouraging more females to continue teaching physical education.

They stated:

The phys ed's life-time was once seen as 35 to 40. I think now people are actually recognising that a phys ed's life-time is probably 55 to 60. Because there's no room for ministry-type jobs or re-direction as there used to be, I think phys eds are actually going to have to look at where they're going to go. And I think a lot of women never even thought of being in a position where they could get Head of Department.

(Head of Department)

It would be interesting to see how many females have changed course. In other words, they've dropped out of phys ed and gone into say, science or some other department as they've got a bit older. Some women may not think that at the age of 40 they can imagine themselves running around an oval... It's different for men, they probably maintain their interest in physical fitness, that type of thing, to an older age than perhaps women. I don't know whether that's a time factor or not. But then again these days with aerobics and things like that, more and more women are developing an interest in being fit, so it's a bit hard to say... I think the age of the female phys ed teacher is getting older and older, and I think more and more women are showing they're capable of holding that position. So therefore, there must be more and more women coming through with experience and interest in fulfilling the senior role.

(Head of Department)

Both of these physical educators were optimistic that the increasing number of females remaining in physical education for longer, would result in a larger pool of experienced teachers with the potential for promotion to Head of Department.

Despite the optimism expressed by two Heads of Department, the overall perceptions of the respondents indicate that age is a significant factor contributing to the under-representation of females at Head of Department level in physical education. Age is of particular relevance to females due to the physical nature of the subject; its

distinctive image based on the traditional male dominance of the area; and the associated stereotypic expectations of female teachers and their significant others. The fact that many females perceive age as a limitation, and therefore view physical education teaching as a short-term career, prompts them to look for alternatives either in other teaching areas or outside the education system. This deters their aspirations to Head of Department status.

Health Concerns

Concern for health was raised by only two respondents from the 'experienced' category as a factor causing females to move out of the subject. Their comments were as follows:

They (female physical educators) move into other areas - some of them go into ESL or English or things like that - because they don't want to be outside anymore because of skin cancer, or it gets too hectic for them, or they've hurt their back or shoulder or something and think phys ed is no longer a possibility.
(Experienced)

I'm very aware at the moment of the damage that's occurring to my skin... Maybe it's vanity or maybe it's just a concern for skin damage, cancer-wise, but I don't really want to be out there doing that.
(Experienced)

When the teacher who made the latter comment was asked whether she felt this might also be the case for males, she replied:

I think women have had cosmetic appearance bred into them a lot more. It's part of society.
(Experienced)

The concerns regarding health are closely linked with the age factor discussed in the preceding section.

In summary, the low promotional orientation of female teachers; their own perceptions regarding promotion, the Head of Department role, and the expectation of others; the lack of encouragement and support they received; and age, were all factors identified as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education. Despite the emphasis placed on family commitment as a reason for women not seeking promotion by the literature, and the frequency with which the respondents gave "marriage and kids" as the 'obvious' reason for the lack of female leadership in physical education, family commitment is not a major contributing factor. The fact that six of the past and current Heads of Department (86%) were married with dependents challenges the credibility of family commitment as an insurmountable barrier to promotion, and relegates its significance to that of a 'convenient excuse'.

The evidence of the present study supports the contention of Hoferek (1986) that there are internal barriers which contribute to the differences in promotional status between female and male teachers. These internal, psychological barriers appear to be the product of the external structural constraints imposed on the career advancement of females. Experiences within the school system; and expectations generated by the male model of leadership and augmented by the image of physical education, reinforce the stereotyped gender-role of females, and shape their perceptions regarding barriers to promotion.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS REGARDING PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO PROMOTION

Teachers' responses indicated that many of the factors identified as impacting on the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education do not stand alone, but rather are affected by, or have an impact on, other perceived barriers. Due to the complexity of the relationships between the contributing factors, a 'perceived correlation' matrix (Table 20) has been prepared to illustrate the intercorrelations. The degree of interrelationship between factors is based on the researcher's interpretation of the opinions and experiences expressed by respondents, and is denoted as a 'slight', 'moderate' or 'high' correlation. The matrix incorporates the Ministry of Education policies discussed in Chapter 5, the external systemic barriers considered in Chapter 6, and the internal psychological barriers discussed in Chapter 7.

Ministry of Education policies and regulations were perceived to have a 'high' correlation with the patriarchal nature of the education system; the stereotyped male model of leadership; and family responsibilities. That is, the policies and regulations mandated by the former Education Department, now the Ministry of Education have been responsible for the patriarchal nature of the education system, and the development of a male model of leadership through restrictions imposed on the permanency, seniority, and promotional opportunities of female teachers. Further, past policies have grossly discriminated against married females with dependents, rendering these teachers ineligible for promotion until as late as 1972, when the

regulation allowing married female teachers to receive permanent status was officially gazetted.

The patriarchal nature of the education system was perceived to have a 'high' correlation with Ministry of Education policies and regulations; the male model of leadership; and the low promotional orientation of female teachers. In other words, the male dominance of administrative positions in secondary schools, together with the predominance of male 'gatekeepers', has had a marked impact on the expectation that leadership roles will be assumed by males, and in the perpetuation of male attributes as the criteria for effective decision-making. As a result, there have been minimal incentives or perceived opportunities for the career advancement of females, and this has contributed to the low promotional orientation of female teachers. When patriarchy within the education system was correlated with encouragement and support; and female teachers' own perceptions of the situation, the interrelationships were 'moderate'. Institutional and structural factors contribute to the expectation of a male Head of Department, thereby demeaning the appropriateness of mentoring female teachers for promotion, and reinforcing the stereotypically based acceptability of male leadership. Respondents indicated that the provision of more role models would encourage female teachers to aspire to the Head of Department position by demonstrating the accessibility of such status.

A male model of leadership, the product of the patriarchal nature of the education system which has been perpetuated by past Ministry of Education policies, was perceived to have a 'high' correlation with the image of physical education; the low promotional orientation of female teachers; lack of support and encouragement; and

the female teachers' own perceptions of promotion to Head of Department in physical education. The tendency to present the male as the 'norm' in leadership roles is accentuated in physical education by the historical dominance of males in sport and in the leadership of this closely linked subject area. Consequently, female physical educators are inclined to compare themselves to, and be measured by others, against the male criteria and found lacking. Apprehensions regarding the acceptance by significant others of a female Head of Department were perceived to contribute to the low promotional orientation of female teachers, and their own perceptions regarding the inappropriateness of the position. The lack of encouragement and support towards promotion for females was identified as a by-product of the expectations regarding male leadership, and presented a further barrier to the career aspirations of the teachers.

The image of physical education has developed largely from its close links with sport, and is characterised by its patriarchal nature and male dominance. When correlated with the low promotional orientation of females; with the teachers' own perceptions; and with the factor of age, the interrelationships were 'high'. The 'jock' image of physical education, together with the lower status accorded the subject in many schools, were perceived as factors discouraging female aspirations to promotion. Age was seen as a further constraint, and particularly significant for female physical educators due to the physical nature of their subject and the associated image of sporting prowess. Physical education teaching was considered a short-term career, thereby minimizing the likelihood of promotion for females. The image of physical education was perceived to have a 'moderate' correlation with the lack of skills and experience of female teachers due to male dominance in the area and the

consequent expectation and acceptance of male leadership. The respondents felt uncertain regarding the way in which administrators, other staff, the students and their parents would view the adequacy of the leadership skills and qualities of female teachers, despite their own beliefs about possessing the necessary attributes to effectively function as Head of Department.

In addition to the strong interrelationship between family responsibilities and Ministry of Education past policies and regulations which were severely discriminatory against married females with dependents, family responsibilities were perceived to have a 'moderate' correlation with the low promotional orientation of female teachers; and their perceptions of promotion. Time constraints due to family commitments limit the career orientation of female teachers, and therefore their promotional opportunities and aspirations. Although family rather than career orientation was suggested as a reason for the lack of female Heads of Department in physical education, all but one of the females in the leadership role were married with dependents at the time of promotion.

Patriarchy within the education system; the male model of leadership; and the image of physical education were all perceived to have a 'high' correlation with females' low promotional orientation, as already discussed. The other factors which had a 'high' correlation were encouragement and support; female teachers' own perceptions; and a lack of skills and experience. Respondents indicated that in many cases, the lack of promotional aspirations expressed by teachers was due to the absence of mentors and role models to demonstrate that the Head of Department position was within the reach of female teachers. The 'high' inverse relationship perceived between low

promotional orientation and lack of skills and experience indicates that although the respondents believed that females generally, and they personally, had the necessary skills and qualities to function effectively as Heads of Department, they did not apply for promotion to the position. Comments repeatedly highlighted the expectation of a male Head of Department, which seemed to underlie their apprehensions regarding the leadership role. In other words, the doubts of others with regard to the competency of female leaders were perceived as a deterrent to promotion.

Age, closely linked with concern for health, was a factor perceived to correlate 'highly' with the image of physical education; and the low promotional orientation of female teachers in the subject. Physical education teaching was perceived as a short-term career for females, due to the physical demands of the subject and the undesirable image of the aging physical educator. Health was perceived to have a 'high' correlation with age. The teachers in their late 30s and early 40s expressed concern regarding the risk of skin cancer due to prolonged exposure to the elements, and the increased chance of injury through demonstrating skills.

TABLE 20

PERCEIVED CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE FACTORS IDENTIFIED AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF FEMALES AT HEAD OF DEPARTMENT LEVEL IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

	POLICIES & REGS	PATRIARCHY	MALE MODEL OF LEADERSHIP	IMAGE OF PE	FAMILY	LOW PROMOTION ORIENTATION	LACK OF SUPPORT	LACK OF SKILLS	FEMALES' OWN PERCEPT'N	AGE	HEALTH
Ministry of Education policies and regulations		♦♦♦	♦♦♦		♦♦♦	♦	♦	♦	♦		
Patriarchy within the education system	♦♦♦		♦♦♦	♦	♦	♦♦♦	♦♦		♦♦		
The male model of leadership	♦♦♦	♦♦♦		♦♦♦	♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦	♦♦♦		
The image of Physical Education		♦	♦♦♦		♦	♦♦♦	♦	♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦
Family responsibilities	♦♦♦	♦	♦	♦		♦♦	♦	♦	♦♦		
Low promotional orientation	♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦		♦♦♦	-♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	
Lack of support and encouragement	♦	♦♦	♦♦♦	♦	♦	♦♦♦			♦		
Lack of skills and experience	♦		♦	♦♦	♦	-♦♦♦			♦♦		
Female teachers' own perceptions	♦	♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦♦	♦♦	♦♦♦	♦	♦♦		♦♦	♦♦
Age				♦♦♦		♦♦♦			♦♦		♦♦♦
Health concerns				♦					♦♦	♦♦♦	

- ♦ Denotes a 'slight' perceived correlation between the two factors
- ♦♦ Denotes a 'moderate' perceived correlation
- ♦♦♦ Denotes a 'high' perceived correlation
- ♦ Denotes an inverse relationship between the two factors

CHAPTER 9

COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS WITHIN THE THREE CATEGORIES

The sample selected for the study was based on the criteria of three nominated categories of female physical education teachers in metropolitan government secondary schools in Western Australia: firstly, female physical education teachers with four or five years' teaching experience ('inexperienced'); secondly, female physical education teachers with 15 or more years teaching experience ('experienced'); and finally, female physical education teachers who currently hold or have in the past held Head of Department positions ('Heads of Department'). Sample selection was conducted on the basis of the above criteria in order to discover a broad spectrum of female teachers' perceptions and experiences within the education system in the light of both changing Ministry of Education policies and regulations, and a changing society. Table 21 provides a summary of the perceptions of the three categories interviewed regarding reasons for the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education.

TABLE 21

**A SUMMARY OF THE COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF THE THREE CATEGORIES
OF TEACHERS REGARDING REASONS FOR THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF
FEMALES AT HEAD OF DEPARTMENT LEVEL IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION**

PERCEIVED BARRIERS	'INEXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'EXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'HEADS OF DEPARTMENT'
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION POLICIES AND REGULATIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ In the past - policy restrictions ◆ Restricted mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Past policy - breaks in service and seniority ◆ Lack of opportunity due to limited positions available, therefore move out of teaching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Past regulations - lack of seniority ◆ Talented females moving into related fields due to lack of opportunity in schools
PATRIARCHY WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of acceptance by older male staff and the administration ◆ Dislike of power struggles and politics involved ◆ All things being equal, the male will get the job over a female ◆ Battles with the administration ◆ Selection process biased towards males 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Perceptions of a potential lack of acceptance ◆ Feel threatened by the need to politic ◆ Apply for Advanced Skill Teacher status instead ◆ Obstacles from the administration - lack of acceptance ◆ Pressure from 'gatekeepers' - discouragement
THE MALE MODEL OF LEADERSHIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ More difficult for a female to deal with discipline ◆ Women have to work a lot harder to earn the same respect ◆ Lack of acceptance by other staff ◆ Overall, it's a more difficult position for a female 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Discipline problems more difficult for a female ◆ Females have to prove themselves to earn respect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Stereotyping - male dominance in leadership, male model of leadership ◆ Females' concern about the need to prove themselves

PERCEIVED BARRIERS	'INEXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'EXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'HEADS OF DEPARTMENT'
THE IMAGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Male dominance in P.E. - more difference between the sexes in P.E. than in other subjects ◆ Looking for something more challenging ◆ Older teachers used to men running the department 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Male dominance in P.E. in the past ◆ The job is unattractive, particularly for females ◆ P.E. is not a career for females ◆ Female Heads of Department seen as 'butch' - stigma attached to the position ◆ Males have a higher profile in sport which is reflected in P.E. - females not given the same kudos due to their orientation towards the 'lesser' sports ◆ 'Jock' image of physical education ◆ Competitive nature of P.E. - females likely to step aside for a male ◆ Image of physical education is 'macho' and male 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Male dominance in the area ◆ Stigma attached to being a female Head of Department in physical education ◆ Image of physical education is male ◆ 'Jock' image of physical education in the past ◆ Head of Department in physical education perceived as a disadvantage to further promotion
FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Intention to marry and have children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Family - traditional roles of the woman at home ◆ Restricted mobility due to family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Marry and have children - stop teaching ◆ Self-doubt and lack of confidence after returning from a break in service due to family ◆ Reluctance to do country service
LOW PROMOTIONAL ORIENTATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of ambition ◆ Can't be bothered with the 'hassles' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Not career orientated ◆ "I'm not the pushy type" ◆ More interested in community sport - take on responsibilities there instead 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of awareness and knowledge of promotional pathways and regulations ◆ Females don't promote themselves - they sit back and wait to be approached
LACK OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of role models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lack of female role models in the position ◆ Importance of mentors
LACK OF SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Don't have the 'people' skills required ◆ Lack of qualifications - only 3 year trained ◆ More difficult for female to deal with discipline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Females may not have the necessary skills and abilities ◆ Only 3 year trained - lack of qualifications 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Females lack assertiveness skills ◆ Females think they lack the skills and qualities needed

PERCEIVED BARRIERS	'INEXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'EXPERIENCED' TEACHERS	'HEADS OF DEPARTMENT'
FEMALE TEACHERS' OWN PERCEPTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Just teaching is enough without extra administration duties ♦ Don't want the job to rule their lives through the extra responsibility and workload ♦ Enjoy teaching ♦ Too much work for too little reward 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Too many hassles and stress in the Head of Department job ♦ Apprehension at the thought of the job ♦ Enjoy contact with the students ♦ Tried the acting position and didn't like it ♦ No real love of the subject ♦ Some of the biggest knockers of females are females ♦ Not suited to the job 'personality wise' ♦ The job is not worth the minimal rewards ♦ Can't be bothered with all the red tape, C.V.'s required to apply for promotion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Don't see it as a worthwhile position considering the minimal rewards ♦ Females are the biggest knockers of females ♦ Just enjoy teaching without the added stress ♦ Not suited to the job - 'personality wise' ♦ Didn't like the acting position
AGE AND HEALTH CONCERNS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ It's a short-term career for females ♦ Poor image of an old physical education teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Looking for other alternatives as they get older ♦ Poor image of the aging physical educator ♦ Inability to demonstrate skills ♦ Lack of enthusiasm and motivation ♦ Health reasons - skin cancer, injury ♦ No desire to stand in the weather and shout, or run around in a short skirt ♦ Concern for cosmetic appearance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Physical education is for a young person ♦ Physical education - not a career for females (short-term) ♦ No desire to continue being weather beaten ♦ Look for alternatives when older and move into other subject areas

The 'Inexperienced' Category

It was anticipated that the 'inexperienced' teachers may have promotional aspirations, since they entered the education system with a heightened awareness of equal opportunity and gender equity issues; and that the extent of these aspirations could be attributed to factors outside the dictates of Ministry of Education regulations due to the absence of policy restrictions on their career opportunities. Only two of the 10 'inexperienced' teachers interviewed had any promotional aspirations, and one of these did not necessarily envisage her career path leading to a Head of Department position in physical education, but towards the area of curriculum development. The remainder perceived physical education as a short-term prospect; were dissatisfied with their career choice; and were in the process of investigating possible alternatives. For 50% of the 'inexperienced' teachers, physical education had not been their first choice of career, but they had made the selection believing it to be an easy alternative. Four admitted that the only value of teaching for them in the future was "the easy money to be made doing relief teaching".

The barriers perceived by the 'inexperienced' teachers as contributing most significantly to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education were:

- ◆ the low promotional orientation of female teachers
- ◆ the image of physical education
- ◆ the male model of leadership
- ◆ female teachers' own perceptions

Despite the supposed deterioration of gender-role stereotyping and the exposure of these teachers to gender equity issues, the traditional barriers to promotion based on male dominance remained a deterrent.

The perceptions of the 'inexperienced' teachers were based primarily on their own thoughts, feelings and personal experiences and tended to be rather limited in scope and understanding. It was evident during the interviews that the majority of these teachers had difficulty in envisaging the possible factors deterring female physical education teachers, generally, from gaining promotion.

The 'Experienced' Category

Despite the fact that promotion could be considered as an immediate opportunity for the 'experienced' teachers, they remained in the 'classroom'. It was anticipated that because these women began teaching at a time when policy restrictions inhibiting promotion were just beginning to be addressed, their perceptions and aspirations would be limited accordingly. Prior to the policy changes, there had been little incentive for women to strive for higher qualifications or to think in terms of a promotional career. Interviews with 10 'experienced' teachers revealed that six had no promotional aspirations, and were investigating possible career changes; two had no desire to become Heads of Department in physical education, but were instead working towards Deputy Principal positions; and two thought they might consider the Head of Department position in the near future, having upgraded their qualifications to four year status. Not one of the 10 teachers embarked on a career in physical education expecting to remain in it for such an extended period (15 years or more). Marriage and children were purported as the major anticipated reason for career

cessation. Only one of the 'experienced' respondents (aged 60) felt she could not effectively cope with the requirements of the Head of Department position.

The barriers perceived by this category of teachers as contributing most to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education were:

- ◆ the image of physical education
- ◆ female teachers' own perceptions
- ◆ the patriarchal nature of the education system
- ◆ age and concern for health
- ◆ the low promotional orientation of female teachers

Having taught in a variety of schools with a number of different administrators, Heads of Department in physical education, staff, and types of students, the 'experienced' teachers' responses reflected both their personal experiences in the various environments, and their perceptions of the experiences of their peers. They attributed the lack of female leadership in physical education primarily to the image of the subject, and to female teachers' own perceptions regarding promotion to Head of Department. The patriarchal nature of the education system was considered a barrier, but the anticipated influence of the constraints imposed by Ministry of Education past policies was deemed negligible.

The 'Heads of Department' Category

The 'Heads of Department' category comprised those female physical educators who had seemingly overcome the perceived barriers to promotion. Although their ages ranged between 34 and 70, the Heads of Department were predominantly aged in their late 30s and early 40s, as were the 'experienced' teachers. It could therefore be assumed that their experiences within the education system were comparable to those of the 'experienced' teachers, having been exposed to the same attitudes and expectations, and suffered similar constraints on their career advancement. A comparison between the perceptions of the two categories of teachers regarding promotion may assist in determining reasons for the lack of female leadership in physical education.

The barriers perceived by the 'Heads of Department' category as most contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level were:

- ◆ the patriarchal nature of the education system
- ◆ the image of physical education
- ◆ the male model of leadership
- ◆ female teachers' own perceptions
- ◆ age
- ◆ the low promotional orientation of female teachers
- ◆ lack of encouragement and support

The responses of these physical educators tended to demonstrate a greater awareness of all the facets involved in being a female leader, and an understanding of the deterrents experienced by other female teachers.

On comparing the perceptions of the 'Heads of Department' with those of the 'experienced' teachers (see Table 21), the barriers identified by the two groups were similar, with two exceptions. Firstly, the Heads of Department suggested the male model of leadership as a major contributing factor to the lack of female leadership in physical education, perhaps due to their greater awareness of the expectations of significant others through their experiences in a leadership position, while the 'experienced' teachers did not see this as a significant deterrent. Secondly, the lack of encouragement and support towards promotion received by female teachers was perceived by the 'Heads of Department' as a barrier, but not by the teachers in the 'experienced' category. This may, in part, be due to the fact that the majority of the Heads of Department were themselves encouraged to apply for promotion, and having assumed a leadership role in which they could function as mentors offering support to other teachers, possessed a heightened awareness of its importance.

When the reasons for the lack of female Heads of Department given by the three categories of teachers are compared, all respondents perceived the image of physical education; female teachers' own perceptions regarding promotion and the Head of Department position; and the low promotional orientation of female physical educators to be among the most significant barriers. The patriarchal nature of the education system; and age and health concerns were identified by both the 'experienced' teachers and the 'Heads of Department' as being strong deterrents to female promotion. The male model of leadership was perceived as a factor contributing to

the lack of female leadership in physical education by respondents from the 'inexperienced' and 'Heads of Department' categories. In addition, the 'Heads of Department' believed that the lack of support and encouragement provided for female teachers in the form of mentors and role models, was also a significant reason for their lack of promotional aspirations. These comparative perceptions are presented in Table 22. Only those barriers perceived as significant by each of the three categories of teachers have been included.

TABLE 22
COMPARATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF THE MAJOR BARRIERS TO PROMOTION

PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO PROMOTION	'INEXP'	'EXP'	'HEADS OF DEPT'
Ministry of Education policies and regulations			
Patriarchy within the education system		*	*
The male model of leadership	*		*
The image of physical education	*	*	*
Family responsibilities			
Low promotional orientation	*	*	*
Lack of encouragement and support			*
Lack of skills and experience			
Female teachers' own perceptions	*	*	*
Age and health concerns		*	*

While the respondents found it relatively easy to relate their own experiences during the interviews, they had difficulty in discussing the experiences of other female teachers. This was particularly true of the 'inexperienced' teachers who found it rather arduous to envisage the experiences of their elder peers. In general, the 'Heads of Department' excepted, respondents demonstrated a distinct lack of awareness of the lives of other female physical education teachers.

CHAPTER 10

THE RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON FUTURE TRENDS

Discriminatory Ministry of Education policies have not been a constraint on the career advancement of females since 1972; equal opportunity and affirmative action policies have been implemented to redress the imbalances of women in educational leadership; societal expectations regarding the subordinate female role are being broken down; and a system of promotion by merit has been introduced which supposedly diminishes the link between promotion and seniority. In the light of these many changes in both the education system and in the wider society, teachers in the present study were questioned regarding their perceptions of future trends with respect to the possibility of an increased number of female Heads of Department in physical education.

Eight respondents (30%) believed that more female teachers will apply for promotion to Head of Department in the future; 14 (52%) thought there might be a possibility of such a trend, but were reserved in their responses, indicating that an increase in female leadership would be dependent upon a number of contingent factors; and five (18%) perceived no future changes in the number of female Heads of Department.

Table 23 presents the future trends in female leadership as perceived by the teachers within the three categories.

TABLE 23**CATEGORY OF TEACHER BY PERCEIVED FUTURE INCREASE IN FEMALE REPRESENTATION AT HEAD OF DEPARTMENT LEVEL**

CATEGORY OF TEACHER	'YES'	'MAYBE'	'NO'
'INEXPERIENCED'		8	2
'EXPERIENCED'	3	5	2
'HEADS OF DEPARTMENT'	5	1	1
TOTAL	8	14	5
% OF TOTAL SAMPLE	30	52	18

Table 23 indicates that the Heads of Department (5) comprised the majority of respondents who perceived a future increase in the number of female leaders. There were also three 'experienced' teachers who were optimistic regarding this trend. These teachers based their responses on the fact that "things in society are changing"; that people are becoming more gender aware; that with the age of female physical educators increasing there will be a greater number of females with the experience and capabilities to take on the position; and that merit promotion will enable females to "get in there and have a go while they're still young" rather than having to wait for the accumulation of seniority. Three of the respondents tempered their responses by adding that despite the increase in female Heads of Department, there will still always be more males in the position because women will continue to be constrained by family commitments.

Of the teachers expressing uncertainty regarding future trends, the majority (8) were from the 'inexperienced' category. An additional five were from the 'experienced' category, and there was also one Head of Department who believed that an increase

in the female leadership of physical education might be possible depending upon a number of other factors. These determining variables included the continued promotion of female sport and a rise in its profile; the continued breakdown of stereotypic notions regarding the female role and its association with the family and home; and the possible effects of merit promotion in terms of devaluing seniority and giving recognition for personal capabilities. One respondent who was unsure of what the future held, suggested that more females will apply for promotion, but that it will be to no avail because of the limited number of positions available. Two other respondents felt that promotion by merit may be more of a hinderance than an advantage to females, due to its requirement to "sell yourself" and the fact that females in general demonstrate a lack of ability or desire to do this.

Five teachers predicted no change in the number of female Heads of Department in physical education in the future. The reason they gave for such a negative view was that females are not aggressive enough to strive for promotion, and that "deep down they still believe they are dominated by males...a very hard thing to change". They felt that the effects of merit promotion would therefore be minimal.

From an analysis of the contribution made by each of the identified factors to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education, and a prediction regarding their future influence based on the responses of the teachers interviewed, it would appear that the number of females in leadership positions should increase. Ministry of Education policies and regulations no longer restrict female promotion; the patriarchal nature of the education system is slowly being modified to provide greater acceptance of female leadership; the image of physical education is becoming more positive with the influx of new graduates

possessing less stereotyped attitudes and greater enthusiasm; the profile of women's sport is increasing; and gender-roles linking the female to family at the exclusion of career are altering. These changes will lead to modifications in female teachers' own perceptions regarding promotion and the appropriateness and worthwhile nature of the Head of Department position; the realization that female teachers require mentors to provide encouragement and support for their promotion aspirations; and the increased provision of such support as it is deemed to be acceptable and appropriate for females to be Heads of Department in physical education.

The male model of leadership was perceived by the respondents to be prominent, and the perpetuation of such a model is inevitable considering the gross underrepresentation of females in leadership positions. As more females enter decision-making roles however, and are accepted for the unique qualities and attributes they bring to the positions, the male model of leadership may begin to decline in its influence as a deterrent to female promotion.

The low promotional orientation of female teachers was perceived by many of the respondents as an enigma and, future trends regarding this characteristic are difficult to predict.

Concerns regarding age and health remain a continuing influence prompting 'aging' female physical educators to seek career alternatives in preference to remaining in the subject area in a promotional position.

Table 24 illustrates the researcher's perceptions of the directions of change in the influence of factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education.

TABLE 24

PERCEIVED DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE IN THE INFLUENCE OF THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF FEMALES AT HEAD OF DEPARTMENT LEVEL IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS	INFLUENCE
Ministry of Education policies and regulations	↓
Patriarchy within the education system	↘
The male model of leadership	↘
The image of physical education	↘
Family responsibilities	↘
Low promotional orientation	→
Lack of encouragement and support	↘
Lack of skills and experience	↓
Female teachers' own perceptions	↘
Age and health concerns	→

↓ indicates a decline in influence to 'negligible'

↘ indicates 'some' decline in influence

→ indicates 'no' decline, remains an influence

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

This chapter will present the major findings of the study; make recommendations concerning measures to bring about a change in the underrepresentation of females in leadership roles in physical education; offer suggestions for further research in the area; and provide final comments.

MAJOR FINDINGS

A number of interrelated factors emerged from the present study as contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education, namely:

- ◆ Ministry of Education policies and regulations
- ◆ the patriarchal nature of the education system
- ◆ the male model of leadership
- ◆ the image of physical education
- ◆ the family rather than career orientation of female teachers
- ◆ the low promotional orientation of female teachers
- ◆ the lack of encouragement and support received by female teachers to apply for the Head of Department position
- ◆ the lack of skills and experience to fulfil the Head of Department role
- ◆ female teachers' own perceptions of promotion and the Head of Department position
- ◆ the age and health concerns of female physical educators

The extent of the present influence of these factors on the promotional possibilities for female physical education teachers, based on the study's findings, is illustrated in Figure 1.

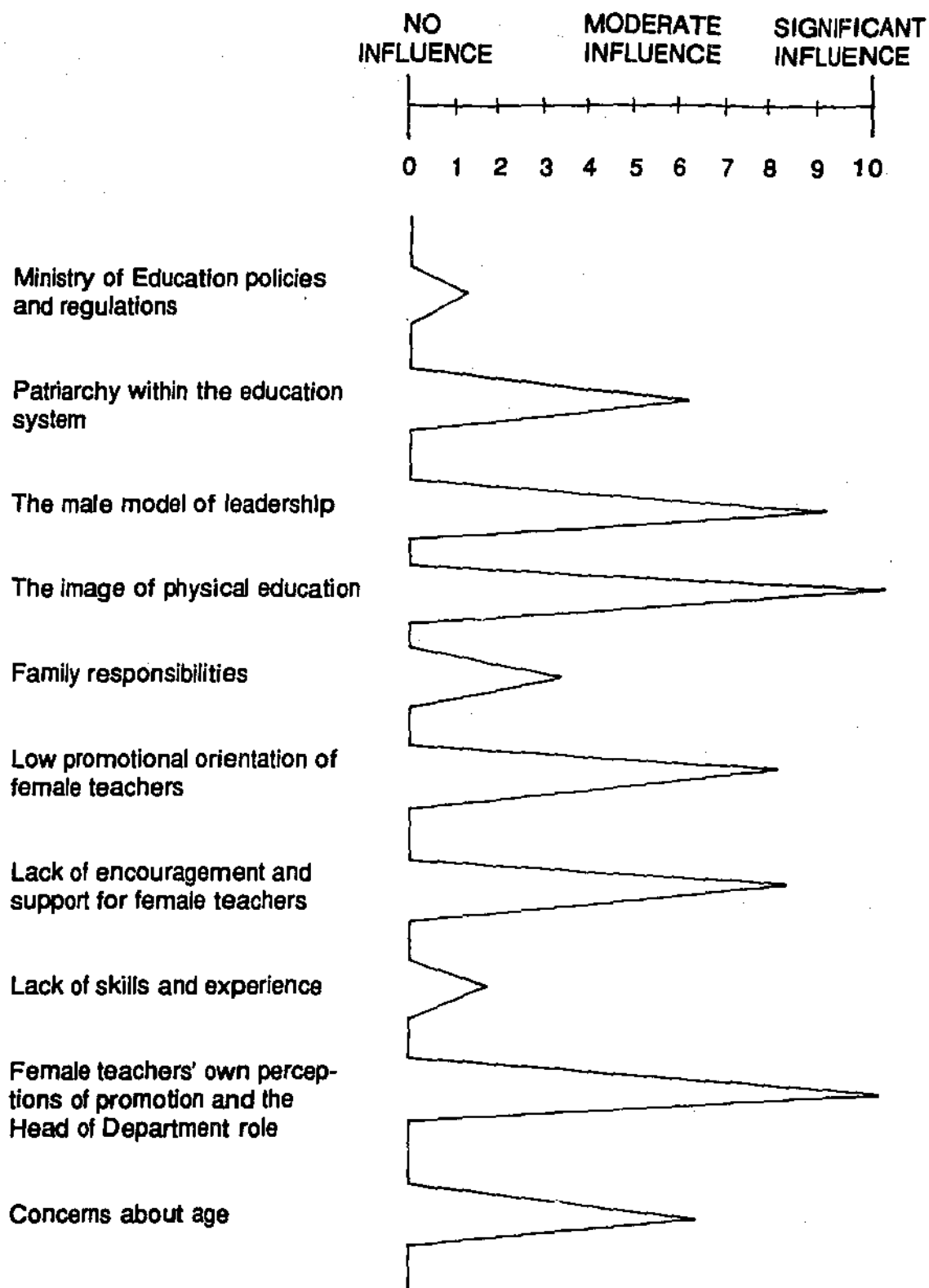


Figure 1 : A profile of the perceived extent of influence of factors contributing to the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education

The image of physical education as historically male dominated, highly competitive and of lower status; female physical educators' own perceptions of career, promotion and the Head of Department position; and the male model of leadership which pre-empts perceptions of female inadequacy in decision-making, comprise major barriers to the promotion of females. The low promotional orientation of female physical education teachers; and the lack of support and encouragement they receive to apply for promotion through mentoring and role modelling, are also important contributing factors to the underrepresentation of females as leaders in the subject. Further significant deterrents to promotion are the patriarchal nature of the education system, which perpetuates the male perspective and expectations of male leadership; and the concerns that female physical education teachers have regarding age and the undesirable image of an "aging physical educator".

Had the present study been conducted 10 years ago, there is little doubt that all of the factors identified by the literature review, and those indicated in Figure 1, would have been perceived as major constraints on the promotion of females to Head of Department in physical education. With societal changes; the gradual impact of less discriminatory Ministry of Education policies and regulations; the establishment of Equal Opportunity legislation; and the implementation of Affirmative Action policies, a number of problems have been, and are currently being addressed. Many legacies of past policy, male dominance in leadership, and stereotypic expectations regarding female roles however, still remain firmly entrenched. Today, the extent of influence of these factors appears to be a function of the personal experiences of female teachers. While in some schools stereotypic notions regarding appropriate female roles and associated sanctions are no longer an issue, other schools remain patriarchal, and physical education departments continue to be chauvinistic.

The present study maintains therefore, that the career decision-making of female physical education teachers is based on their personal career experiences, and that their positive or negative perceptions regarding promotion created from these experiences, either reinforce their career aspirations, or lead to self-limiting beliefs and values which deter their advancement. Schempp and Graber (1992), investigating the induction of physical education teachers, confirmed the importance of the teaching environment:

The most significant agents of teacher socialization will continue to be administrators, parents, colleagues and especially students. As teachers live their lives in schools, they both shape and become shaped by the experience. (p.344)

As teachers' careers are located within school structures, it is the relationship between teachers' selves and the circumstances in which they are located that is of concern. According to Evans and Davies (1988), more research is needed to investigate how the perspectives and actions of others can structure the opportunities of teachers, and how they experience conditions of control over their lifestyles and careers within the institutional workplace; and the extent to which these processes determine and reinforce gender inequalities and opportunities.

Although not cited in the literature as contributing to the imbalance of females in physical education leadership positions, the 'reasons underlying career choice' emerged from the present study as an additional variable which may have a bearing on the promotional aspirations of females. For a number of the respondents, physical education had not been a definite, predetermined career choice, but rather an alternative into which they 'drifted'. Others had chosen teaching in this subject area

as a result of their own positive school experiences in physical education and the teachers they encountered; their sporting prowess; and their perceptions of the appropriateness of such a career in the light of these factors. Those females 'drifting' into physical education may be less likely to perceive it as a career; may demonstrate a lesser commitment to teaching; and consequently have little aspiration towards promotion to Head of Department. Lawson (1983) used Lortie's (1975) concept of 'subjective warrant' to theorize explanations for recruitment into teaching. Subjective warrant, defined as "perceptions of the requirements for teacher education and of actual teaching in schools" (Lortie, 1975, p.6) is formed by the individuals' interpretations of their life experiences relevant to teaching physical education, in terms of what they believe it involves, and what they are convinced makes them appropriate for the role (Lawson, 1983).

Overall, it is the intricate interrelationship between all the identified factors and the cumulative impact of their varying degrees of influence, that is responsible for the gross underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education. Career choice, influenced by teacher role models; positive perceptions of the career; physical education experiences as a student; sporting prowess; and the fact that physical education teaching may represent an easy job alternative, determines career-related events. These events are encountered and interpreted by the female in terms of her interacting teaching experiences, life experiences and personal characteristics. Teaching experiences are impacted upon by the patriarchal nature of the education system; the male model of leadership; the image of physical education; and the degree of encouragement and support received, and can impose significant constraints on the promotional aspirations of the female physical educator. Life experiences in terms of family responsibilities and sporting commitments may,

together with teaching experiences, also be perceived as deterrents to promotion. Personal characteristics including skills and experience; perceptions regarding promotion and the leadership role in physical education; age and health concerns; and low promotional orientation, attribute critical meanings to the teaching and life experiences of the female.

As a consequence of the interaction of these contributing variables, the female physical education teacher makes a judgement regarding the appropriateness of her career choice. If dissatisfied, she may seek alternative occupations, or elect to remain in the subject area. If remaining in physical education, further decision is then involved in order to determine a future pathway, whether it be to continue as a teacher or to apply for promotion to a Head of Department position. Application for promotion may be successful or unsuccessful, dependent on the selection panel, adequacy in terms of the selection criteria, the availability of positions, and the number of applicants. If unsuccessful, the applicant may reapply at a later date, choose to remain as a teacher, or opt out of physical education. The successful applicant assuming the role of Head of Department, is confronted by further choice in terms of continued promotion to a Deputy Principal position, or continuation in leadership within physical education. All of these decisions confronting the female teacher take place within the framework of, and are ultimately determined by Ministry of Education policies and regulations. Figure 2 illustrates the past, present and future determinants of the promotional orientations of female physical education teachers.

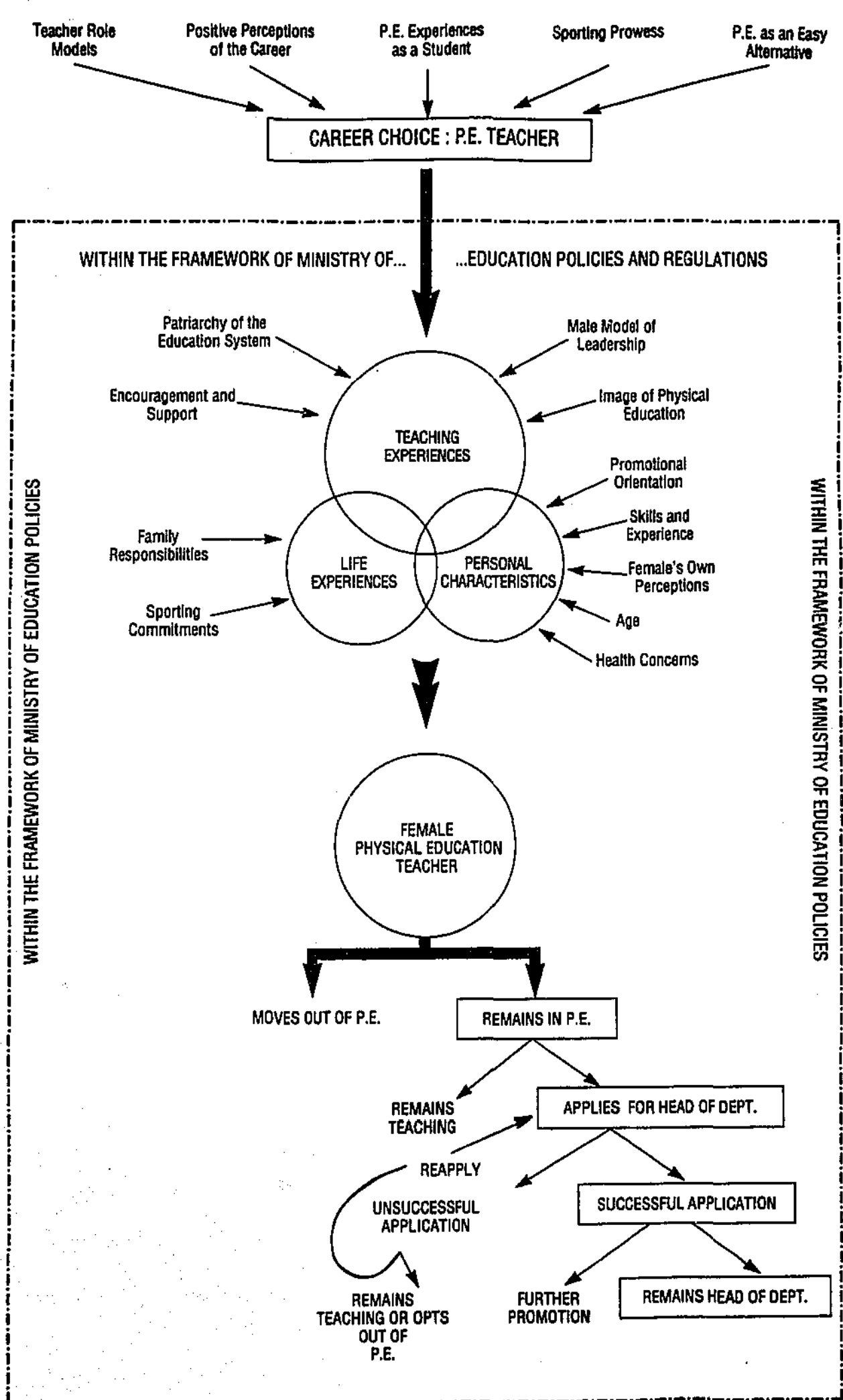


Figure 2 : The past, present and future determinants of female physical education teachers' promotional orientations

Numerical evidence indicates that only seven females have interpreted their teaching and life experiences in the light of their personal characteristics in such a way as to desire promotion, apply for it, and successfully assume the Head of Department position, despite the many barriers and deterrents constraining female career advancement.

Underlying the factors contributing to female underrepresentation at Head of Department level, is gender-role stereotyping. This social process which attributes particular behaviours, attitudes, values and beliefs to one sex rather than the other, is largely responsible for the sex imbalance in leadership. Males, through their parents, significant others, schooling and general life experiences, are socialized towards leadership roles. Direct, independent and dominant behaviour is reinforced. Females on the other hand, receive reinforcement for more passive, indirect, dependent and subservient behaviour. Consequently, expectations about individuals are not based solely on their capabilities and personal qualities. Over and above such considerations is an overlay of expectations based on their sex, and these are backed by sanctions expressing acceptance or disapproval of particular behaviours and attitudes.

The highly discriminatory Ministry of Education policies and regulations of the past were based on the stereotypic premise of the male as breadwinner, and the female as homemaker. The patriarchal nature of the education system developed as a result of these stereotyped roles, and served to support the intent of the policies. Since career orientation was considered inappropriate for females, the male inevitably emerged as leader, and male attributes were exemplified as the 'norm'. The establishment of a male model of leadership had grave implications for any aspiring

female, as she was automatically compared to the 'norm' and perceived as inadequate. Sport represents another arena in which male dominance was, and still is, reinforced and perpetuated. The close links between sport and physical education have led to similar perceptions regarding this subject area, which has a history of male dominance; a male perspective, and consequently, a masculine image. Females teaching physical education have therefore been grossly disadvantaged by the perceptions of others regarding the appropriateness of their promotion to Head of Department level, and have been deterred by the threat of sanctions imposed to discourage such aspirations. The lack of encouragement and support received by female physical educators further epitomizes the stereotypically-based expectations regarding male leadership. The consequent low promotional orientation of female teachers, and their rather negative perceptions of promotion and the worthwhile nature of the Head of Department position, become major barriers to their career advancement.

The contingent nature of the interrelationships between constraining factors is demonstrated by the fact that removing a single perceived barrier to female promotion has little effect on the underrepresentation of females in leadership. For example, the deletion of discriminatory Ministry of Education policies, and the institution of formal equal opportunity procedures to redress imbalances, has had a minimal impact. Possible explanation for this was offered by Gross (1986), who proposed that merely attempting to include females in a patriarchal system from which they had been previously excluded was an ineffective solution to the problem, since in most cases the system could not accommodate them. "Many patriarchal discourses are incapable of being broadened or extended to include women without major upheavals and transformations." (Gross, 1986, p.191). The findings of the

present study support recent pessimistic literature on the limited effects of equal opportunity based policies. This suggests that unless equal opportunity is enforced, and is accompanied on the one hand by programmes to bring about attitude change in men, and on the other by a willingness to modify the system so that the female perspective is valued equally with that of the male, then any real change in the circumstances of females will be extremely slow, if it occurs at all.

The underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education is a gender-based phenomenon. Each factor identified by the present study as contributing to this underrepresentation, was perceived as a barrier to promotion because the teacher was female. Prospective teachers begin internalizing societal expectations and role definitions from the moment they enter the school system as students. Membership of social institutions and experiences outside the school also communicate societal expectations for teachers (Schempp & Graber, 1992). Because these individuals and institutions are socializing agents, and therefore shape the beliefs and perspectives of teachers, they can play an important part in socializing females out of leadership roles. The lack of female role models serves to reinforce such expectations. Physical education has been historically male dominated, and is still perceived by many administrators, parents, students and staff as a subject with male leadership. There is little doubt that being a female Head of Department in physical education is more difficult. Such a role presents a female with a double disadvantage, in that not only is she perceived by significant others as 'second rate' in terms of her leadership abilities, but in many cases, the subject is also perceived by the rest of the school as 'second rate'. Being a female in charge of physical education therefore, makes it virtually impossible to effectively play the 'power game' in a patriarchal school system.

Female teachers, by their own admission, are capable of effectively fulfilling the Head of Department role. Respondents believed that in many physical education departments, it is the female teachers who do the more difficult jobs 'behind the scenes', while the men complete the high profile, more visible tasks and receive the credit and recognition. Many respondents in the study were willing to be 'in-charge' of girls' physical education, but had no aspirations to the Head of Department position. They were not prepared to battle the gender-based expectations of significant others regarding leadership in physical education.

Despite societal changes regarding traditional female stereotypes, and attempts to redress the imbalances of females in promotional positions through policy changes and affirmative action, the framework of attitudes and ideas which causes most people to judge females according to male criteria still lingers, continuing to impose restrictions on female perceptions regarding promotion. Although there is evidence of change in some schools, where gender-roles are no longer perceived as a problem or constraint, the continued impact of stereotypic notions was demonstrated in a number of subtle ways. Many of the female teachers interviewed became very defensive at the mention of 'gender issues' and promptly denied their existence and significance. The dangers associated with such a denial are a lack of awareness of the implications of these issues; and a consequent resigned acceptance of the 'status quo' without question or challenge, hence perpetuating male dominance. A number of female teachers were adamant that gender was not the issue underlying the leadership imbalance, but then repeatedly contradicted their claim through the experiences they related and comments they made. The rejection of such terminology may be related to a perceived role conflict, and reflect disapproval of the 'feminist' image. The fact that many respondents in the study continued to refer to

the leadership position in physical education as that of 'Senior Master', even when discussing a female in the position, is further evidence of the lingering impact of stereotypic expectations and perceptions regarding the Head of Department role, and how language may limit and socially construct our view of reality.

Although the study identified 12 factors of varying influence contributing to the underrepresentation of females in leadership, it would appear that many of these perceived deterrents are in fact psychological barriers, created within the minds of females to mask their lack of self-confidence and/or lack of ambition. If this is the case, then the social settings from studentship, through teacher education, to the teaching environment, can play a crucial role in shaping and nurturing the career decisions and aspirations of female teachers. Despite difficulties in characterizing, much less generalizing, the impact of institutional factors on the behaviours, beliefs and interpretations of teachers due to the variability between teachers that is attributable to history, context and personality (Schempp & Graber, 1992), occupational communities are important influences on teachers' work. They may facilitate or constrain this work, and in both cases, they affect a teacher's enthusiasm, morale and commitment (Lawson, 1989). Focusing on the teaching context, a female physical educator working at a school ruled by a patriarchal administration; where physical education has a poor image and status; in a department led by an experienced, but uncommitted and chauvinistic male; and teaching low achieving students, for example, is far less likely to aspire to promotion than that same female placed in a school with a supportive administration and staff; where the Head of Department is an efficient, approachable female and physical education has a high profile; teaching achievement-orientated students who present no discipline problems.

Linked to the vital contribution that experiences within schools can make to the promotional aspirations of females, is the importance of providing role models. Within the school environment, role models are important for both the student population and the teaching staff, influencing their perceptions of career opportunities and their professional aspirations. Students who have never seen women in leadership positions are not likely to develop ambitions or values that move beyond traditional stereotypes. If female teachers are treated as less than professional equals, then the impact has extremely powerful repercussions.

The study identified a number of reasons why role models are perceived as important by female physical education teachers, namely:

- ◆ to increase the respect given by male staff and students to both female teachers and girls, and to increase awareness and acceptance of their capabilities;
- ◆ to demonstrate to girls the prominence that can be achieved by female physical educators and thereby devalue the 'maleness' of sport. This has implications for the increased participation of girls in physical activity;
- ◆ to encourage girls to strive for achievement, and other female staff to aspire to promotion by demonstrating that leadership is within the bounds of female career opportunities, and that it can be attained; and

- ♦ as a general mechanism of socialization to indicate that females are not necessarily confined to subservient roles.

Female teachers need mentors to assist their career advancement. Research has revealed that female administrators who had mentors believed that they played a substantial role in their promotional success (Dogson, 1986); a notion supported by the present study. Due to stereotypic perceptions and a lack of role models, female teachers often do not see themselves in a Head of Department role, and therefore require a great deal of encouragement to prompt them to take the initial step, and considerable follow-up support to facilitate positive leadership experiences. Unfortunately, female teachers seldom receive such support and encouragement because there are so few females in a position to serve as mentors.

The question of numbers has its impact in a variety of ways on the personal experiences and likely successes of the few. Until the number of female Heads of Department in physical education increases to establish a more equitable balance between the sexes, there is little hope that female teachers will aspire to the leadership position. The unfortunate reality of this cyclical problem which perpetuates male dominance in the subject, is that even if more females were to apply for promotion, their chances of success would be minimal due to the limited number of positions available. It would not be possible for any significant changes to occur in the current state of education, and the prevailing economic climate in which the incumbent Heads of Department are clinging to the security of their positions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The consequences of the underrepresentation of females in Head of Department positions in physical education are serious and far reaching, impinging on three major aspects of educational significance. Firstly, the resultant lack of opportunity to gain a female perspective on the structure of physical education, or to influence its policy and curriculum development. Secondly, the image of the subject, as affected by the sex of its teachers and departmental heads, which in the case of physical education is a masculine image. Thirdly, the nature of role models provided for students and teachers, demonstrating a distinct lack of females in leadership roles in physical education.

The findings of the present study give rise to a number of recommendations which attempt to address the problem. The recommendations, incorporating solutions offered by the respondents and other research findings where relevant, are directed at three key groups namely, the Ministry of Education; teacher education institutions; and female physical education teachers.

Recommendations for the Ministry of Education

- ◆ **Base promotion by merit exclusively on merit**

Evidence suggests that the availability of an applicant to take up a promotion in a country location enhances promotional success:

I think the Ministry needs to accept the fact that some people are just not able to do country service. Going to the country should be rewarded in some way, but not used as a stepping stone for promotion as it still obviously is with merit promotion.
(Experienced)

- ◆ **Ensure that the membership of promotional selection panels comprises at least 50% females**

In this way the patriarchal nature of the education system will not be perpetuated through the discriminatory perceptions of male 'gatekeepers', and female teachers will be assessed on their merits rather than on gender-stereotyped misconceptions.

- ◆ **Introduce a five year contract system for Heads of Department**

The limited number of promotional positions available results in a restricted opportunity for females to gain promotion even if they do apply. Instituting a contract system will facilitate a more rapid turnover of Heads of Department by increasing demands for their accountability, thereby ensuring they demonstrate competence in their teaching and leadership, and that equity policies are enforced.

- ◆ **Identify and sponsor potential female candidates for promotion**

Female physical education teachers currently lack mentors, and display a tendency to "sit back and wait to be pushed" (Head of Department).

By directly seeking out capable females, informing them of promotional opportunities, increasing their awareness of career pathways, and encouraging them to apply for promotion, the promotional orientation of female

teachers will be maximized. School administrators could assist by identifying the potential candidates:

The school admin need to recognise ability and experience, and where it is evident, encourage those people to go for the Head of Department position.
(Head of Department)

- ◆ **Use 'Advanced Skills Teachers' as mentors for other female teachers**

The importance of encouragement and support for females to apply for promotion can not be overstated. Such mentoring has the potential to break down traditional expectations regarding male leadership in physical education, and demonstrate the appropriateness of the Head of Department role.

Including a mentoring role in the duty statement of the 'Advanced Skills Teacher' would provide support for the sponsoring of potential candidates for promotion by the Ministry of Education, and provide further encouragement through personal contact with female teachers.

- ◆ **Increase the Incentives for teachers in the Head of Department position**

Female physical education teachers do not perceive the extra stress, responsibility and time commitment associated with the Head of Department position as worthwhile, considering the minimal rewards offered.

Nobody wants to do it, there's too much work for not enough pay. The bit of extra income doesn't warrant all the extra responsibility and the stresses and strains. It's a thankless job.
(Experienced)

The incentives could be increased either by raising the monetary rewards offered, or by reducing the teaching loads for Heads of Department, thereby providing more time to attend to administrative duties. The provision of general assistants in physical education would be an alternative means by which the Heads of Department could be relieved of many essential but rather menial duties such as co-ordination and maintenance of resources, facilities and equipment. Such support staff have already been provided to other subject areas, including science and home economics. A number of respondents highlighted the trivial tasks performed by Heads of Department as contributing to the unattractiveness of the position.

♦ **Limit the size of the department under the charge of a Head of Department**

Physical education departments vary markedly with regard to staff numbers. Currently, a Head of Department in charge of a staff of five, has the same status and income as the Head of a Department of 10, which demands considerably more co-ordination. In addition to incentive considerations, a smaller department would be perceived by females as less daunting than the prospect of taking charge of 10 staff on the first promotional appointment. A scale of incentives and promotional status according to department size would be appropriate.

Recommendations for Physical Education Teachers

◆ Improve women's networking and support groups

It is important to provide support and encouragement for other females both in teaching and Head of Department positions:

I think you've got to have someone to encourage you and a good support system. I think the thing we're missing out on is that we've not had a support system for those who are already in the Head of Department job.
(Head of Department)

Networking groups would provide an opportunity for female Heads of Department to share 'power game' strategies and to offer support for those struggling within a male dominated system.

◆ Mentoring of female physical educators by the Heads of Department

According to Ball (1987), many female teachers who have achieved success in their careers perceive no evidence of barriers to promotion for themselves or their colleagues. They intimate that the problem lies in the lack of commitment and ambition among their female contemporaries, quoting their own experience as proof of the career possibilities, if only females persevere. It is therefore essential that both the females in Head of Department positions and male Heads of Department provide as much encouragement and support as possible to capable female teachers, in order to stimulate and nurture their promotional aspirations.

I think the situation can change in the future, but it's going to take more getting out and talking to female teachers. I suppose it's really up to people like me to go and encourage other females, as I was by a female Head of Department.
(Head of Department)

It is realized that the implementation of many of the preceding recommendations could not occur for physical education in isolation, but would require corresponding modifications and adjustments in most other subject areas. This is deemed entirely appropriate since the need for the encouragement and support of female teachers in shaping their promotional aspirations is applicable throughout.

Recommendations to Educational Institutions

- ◆ **Provide promotion education in undergraduate programmes**

Randell (1989, p.1) stressed that "early intervention is required for women in career planning", before they make a commitment to family and child-rearing responsibilities.

There should be a course in undergraduate studies on the promotion system, creating a greater awareness of when and how to apply, and so on. They need to be taught about the whole promotional structure. When a first year out comes into the school, she has no idea of how to go about working towards a promotion.
(Head of Department)

By presenting promotion as an 'expectation' for those females who meet the criteria, and by educating them as to how best to prepare themselves, a greater proportion of female teachers would be likely to apply for Head of Department positions, particularly under the conditions of promotion by merit.

FINAL COMMENTS

This thesis has outlined my research into aspects of the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education in government secondary schools in Western Australia. It has focused on the perceptions of female physical education teachers, ascertained through in-depth interviews which were structured on the basis of relevant literature.

The factors that emerged as constraints on the promotion of females were based primarily on stereotypic attitudes and expectations regarding gender-roles, and comprised both external systemic, and internalized psychological barriers. The thesis concluded with recommendations for the Ministry of Education, teacher education institutions, and female teachers themselves, suggesting measures that might be implemented in order to gain a more equitable balance of female and male leadership in physical education.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study, through its investigation of the neglected area of females in decision-making roles in physical education, will achieve three outcomes. Firstly, to raise the awareness of the Ministry of Education, teacher education institutions, and teachers regarding possible reasons for the continued lack of female leadership in physical education, despite policy changes and affirmative action procedures. Secondly, to inform the relevant institutions and individuals of the implications of perpetuating this underrepresentation. Thirdly, to suggest a range of positive actions which might be implemented to redress the sex imbalances at Head of Department level in physical education, and encourage more females to aspire to and apply for the position.

Because any moves towards female leadership challenge the foundations of our traditional male-dominated society, it is inevitable that it will meet with resistance, and since females are an integral part of that society, the resistance comes from within themselves as well as from others. For these reasons, it is likely that change will be slow, and progress uneven.

Changing conceptions of gender is an evolution of consciousness, not merely a change in attitude. The conceptual change requires a major shift in our view of ourselves and other people.
(Griffin, 1989, p.229)

There is however no reason why, with time and the continuation of trends in social and educational change, that the imbalance of female Heads of Department will not be redressed in the future. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations of the present study will act as facilitators and catalysts for change. A more equitable balance of female leadership in physical education holds prospects of breaking down the subject's masculine image; providing a female perspective on departmental policy, the syllabus and learning experiences provided for students; and perhaps an increase in the participation rate of girls in physical activity as they perceive physical education as less 'masculine', and more appropriate to their needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The disenchantment and lack of career satisfaction expressed by female teachers who had been teaching for only four or five years is cause for concern. Why did these relatively inexperienced teachers perceive physical education as an unattractive and short-term career? The implications of such negative perceptions for the

subject's future are quite daunting, with serious repercussions for all involved institutions and individuals. If physical education in Western Australia follows the British model described by Evans and Williams (1989), of marginal status in schools (a problem already facing departments in many of our schools); and reduced promotional opportunities through teaching in a subject area with such low status, then physical education is facing a forbidding future. Further research regarding the image and status of physical education in government schools is essential. A comparative study of the status accorded physical education in nongovernment schools would also be informative.

A valuable extension to the present study would be the investigation of male physical educators' aspirations to promotion, and their perceptions of constraints on both their own career advancement, and that of females. Do they perceive similar barriers to those identified by females, or are their experiences as males in a male dominated system, teaching a subject with a masculine image, very different? Exploration of the male perspective might also serve to confirm or repudiate female apprehensions regarding their acceptance as leaders. How would males react to a female Head of Department? Do they feel that a female is capable of the leadership role? Why do males think there are so few female Heads of Department? Does it matter that there is such an imbalance? Is it important that there are female decision-makers? What might the future trends be with regard to female leadership in physical education? This added dimension would provide further evidence on which to base recommendations to redress the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in physical education.

Since lack of female leadership in physical education is not an issue in the all-girl schools of the Western Australian private school system, research incorporating female and male physical educators in single-sex, nongovernment schools could provide another enlightening comparison with respect to their perceptions of, and opportunities and motivations for promotion.

From a broader educational viewpoint, it would be worthwhile to examine other subject areas using the 'barriers to promotion' model proposed for physical education, (see Figure 2). Females in English, mathematics and social studies are even less represented at Head of Department level. Do the teachers of these subjects perceive similar promotional barriers to those identified by the physical educators? What is the gender image of each of these subjects? Do females in these other subjects also have low promotional orientations? A comparative investigation of the male perspective in the other subject areas would also be valuable.

It is vital that the underrepresentation of females at Head of Department level in all subject areas be addressed, in order to maximize the achievement motivation of girls; and to encourage the promotional aspirations, and facilitate the career advancement of female teachers.

APPENDIX A

POSITION DESCRIPTION FOR HEAD OF DEPARTMENT - SECONDARY

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

POSITION DESCRIPTION

1. Position title and classification

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT — SECONDARY
Level 3

2. Context and scope of this position

The aim of the Ministry of Education is to ensure that all students within its schools develop the understandings, skills and attitudes relevant to individual needs, thereby enabling them to fulfil their potential and contribute to the development of our society. High and Senior High Schools exist in urban and large country centres in Western Australia. High Schools cater for students from Years 8 to 10 while Senior High Schools cater for students from Years 8 to 12.

Secondary education provides continuity in the broad components begun in primary education. For the lower secondary Years (8 to 10), students undertake Unit Curriculum studies towards a Certificate of Lower Secondary Studies. In Years 11 and 12, students undertake studies leading to employment, TAFE or other further studies. Many sit for the Tertiary Entrance Examinations at the end of Year 12. The majority of upper school students receive the Certificate of Secondary Education, while some are also awarded Secondary Graduation.

The Head of Department is responsible for the management of a distinct responsibility area (usually a specific subject or group of subjects within the school), and provides educational leadership within that area, while at the same time contributing as a member of the school management team. As a curriculum leader, the Head of Department provides professional leadership to specialist subject teachers or others in the school who teach within the area of responsibility.

There is considerable liaison with students and parents of students studying in the area of responsibility. While the range of interactions may vary according to local school circumstances, a considerable focus is placed on providing advice for students and parents about course options and selections. In addition, extensive liaison occurs with the Principal and Deputy Principals of the school, other Heads of Department and relevant specialist staff.

In High and Senior High Schools, the number of Head of Department positions is determined by the average school enrolment. The number of Head of Department positions assigned to a school is adjusted according to the average school enrolment. The designation of the positions to be added or terminated is determined by the school in consultation with relevant Central Office personnel.

Further, there may be some positions to which two persons are appointed so that either their roles are complementary (e.g. Geography and History/Economics) or their duties are determined in consultation with the Principal (e.g. English).

The Head of Department has a significant classroom teaching role, in addition to administrative duties related to the particular area of responsibility.

3. Responsibilities of this position

SUMMARY

The Head of Department provides educational leadership within the school and is accountable to the Principal for the efficient and effective management of a designated area of responsibility within the school.

Responsibilities are carried out in accordance with:

- the approved school plan;
- agreed school policies and procedures;
- current Ministry of Education policies and guidelines;
- negotiated industrial awards and agreements; and
- relevant legislation.

The key responsibilities are as follows:

1. Undertake classroom teaching and associated activities.
2. Exercise responsibility for and manage processes designed to improve the educational outcomes of students within the designated area of responsibility.
3. Exercise responsibility for and manage human, financial and physical resources within the designated area of responsibility in order to meet the educational and organisational objectives of the school.
4. Contribute to the development and implementation of whole-school policies, programs and procedures.

Classroom teaching

Undertake classroom teaching and associated activities within the parameters of the school's staffing allocation, and promote and demonstrate sound teaching practice.

School development

Promote the ethos of the school. Manage the development, implementation and review of policies and procedures in designated areas of responsibility and assist the Principal in the management of the school plan and associated policies, in accordance with student needs and Ministry ethos, policy and guidelines.

Curriculum management

Manage the development and implementation of the curriculum in designated areas of responsibility, in accordance with the educational needs of students, the school plan, Secondary Education Authority requirements and current Ministry policies and guidelines, including:

- monitoring and review of educational programs;
- evaluation and selection of curriculum resources;
- dissemination and integration of curriculum information;
- monitoring, evaluation, assessment and reporting of student performance;
- moderation and comparability processes;
- contribution to the development of the timetable; and
- selection of courses by students.

Student management

Contribute to the development of policies, programs and procedures related to the educational and social development of students for the whole-school, and manage the development and implementation of these for designated areas of responsibility, in order to enhance student well-being and promote positive behaviour in the school environment, including provision of advice and support for students and parents concerning designated areas of responsibility.

Staff management

Manage and supervise staff in designated areas of responsibility, in order to enhance their well-being and effectiveness in the school environment, in accordance with Ministry policy, Equal Employment Opportunity and social justice provisions and industrial awards, including, as required:

- liaison with the school administration team concerning staffing matters;
- deployment of approved relief staff;
- support and professional development of staff; and
- induction and appraisal of staff, in conjunction with the Principal.

Administration and financial management

Manage administrative procedures, physical resources, finances, safety and security for designated areas of responsibility and contribute to these for the whole-school, in ways which support an effective learning program and which are in accordance with Ministry policies that in turn incorporate the requirements of the Financial Administration and Audit Act and the Occupational, Health, Safety and Welfare Act, including liaison with external organisations and service providers.

School and community liaison

Promote the designated area of responsibility in the school and community, and facilitate relevant interaction between staff, students, parents and others.

Participate in relevant District activities.

1. Position entry criteria

Note:

In order to gain appointment to a position within this classification, applicants must:

- satisfy current eligibility requirements (appended), as specified in relevant Education Act Regulations and industrial agreements; and
- successfully compete on the selection criteria listed below.

Selection criteria

QUALIFICATIONS

Essential

Four year teaching qualification or equivalent as approved by the Chief Executive Officer, with substantial studies in a relevant discipline.

EXPERIENCE

Essential

Classroom teaching experience in a relevant curriculum area, across an appropriate range of secondary school year levels.

Experience in the implementation or development of **at least** one of the following:

- subject-related programs;
- whole-school programs or designated areas within whole-school programs; or
- professional development activities.

Desirable

Experience in the implementation or development of any of the following:

- school development planning;
- participative decision making;
- parent or community liaison; or
- timetabling.

Management or administrative experience in a team environment.

KNOWLEDGE

Essential

- Understanding of, with a commitment to, Equal Opportunity and social justice principles.
- Broad understanding of:
 - the content and structure of the curriculum for the relevant curriculum area;
 - Ministry of Education and Secondary Education Authority policies, requirements and procedures, including those for assessment and moderation, for the relevant curriculum area;
 - procedures and practices related to school administration; and
- Basic knowledge of Ministry of Education priorities and procedures.

SKILLS AND ABILITIES

Essential

- High level of competence in classroom teaching skills, in:
 - quality of relationships with students;
 - planning and preparation;
 - instructional techniques;
 - monitoring student outcomes; and
 - classroom management.
- Proficiency in communication for a range of specific purposes and audiences, in:
 - written forms; and
 - oral forms.
- Proficient level of interpersonal skills, in:
 - negotiation; and
 - provision of advice and support to others.
- Ability to:
 - organise;
 - plan and coordinate; and
 - liaisein relevant situations.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PROMOTION

LEVEL 3 PROMOTIONAL POSITIONS

POSITION TITLE AND CLASSIFICATION

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT – SECONDARY

Level 3

In order to gain appointment to a position within this classification, applicants must:

- satisfy the current eligibility requirements (listed below), as specified in relevant Education Act Regulations and industrial agreements; and
- successfully compete on the selection criteria listed for the position.

Eligible applicants will be teachers on the permanent staff who:

- (1) *hold the award of the Teachers' Higher Certificate AND*
- (2) *hold a degree-level qualification, with substantial studies in a relevant discipline.*

Under the provisions of the Memorandum of Agreement (July 1990), the Education Act Regulations from which these requirements have been formulated are to be reviewed. Therefore it is possible that these eligibility requirements will cease to apply in toto after 1992, subject to industrial negotiations between the Ministry of Education and SSTUWA.

APPENDIX B

BREAKDOWN BY SUBJECT AREAS OF FEMALE AND MALE TEACHERS AND HEADS OF DEPARTMENT

	Permanent		Temporary		Head of Dept.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	23	3	1	2	4	-
Alternative Upper School	10	8	3	7	1	1
Art - Craft	70	133	11	54	10	2
Business Education	19	183	7	107	3	7
Computing	78	16	16	15	1	-
English	293	484	59	156	80	24
ESL	5	60	4	32	-	-
Low Achievers	24	17	4	9	-	-
Library	26	186	3	48	-	1
Manual Arts	547	3	47	1	78	-
Mathematics	398	231	93	155	87	3
LOTE	30	77	15	83	3	2
Physical Education	330	267	44	83	65	5
Science	557	182	66	90	124	3
Social Studies	454	171	49	78	100	1
Reading Resource	5	46	3	37	-	-
Home Economics	1	373	-	93	-	46

(Information provided by Ministry of Education, 15 October, 1991)

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE 2 TEACHERS WITH 15 OR MORE YEARS' EXPERIENCE

1. School attended
 - physical education experience there
2. Reasons for becoming a physical education teacher
3. Mobility
 - schools taught at
 - reasons for leaving
4. Career plans
 - any promotional aspirations
 - why not Head of Department now?
 - any acting positions
 - positive influences
 - deterrents
5. Perceived constraints on career development
6. Awareness of avenues for promotion
 - knowledge of policies, regulations, steps
7. Skills and qualities necessary for Head of Department
 - what do you consider them to be?
 - do you have them?
8. Perceptions of Head of Department
 - female/male
 - preferences
 - is it more difficult for a female to be Head of Department?
9. Image and status of physical education and physical education teachers
10. Perceptions of gender-roles within the school
 - within physical education
11. Opinions on why so few females apply for Head of Department positions in physical education
 - accuracy of commonly held beliefs
12. Importance of having female Heads of Department in physical education
13. Future trends

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE 3 CURRENT OR PAST HEADS OF DEPARTMENT

1. School attended as a student
 - physical education experience there
2. Reasons for becoming a physical education teacher
3. Mobility
 - schools taught at
 - reasons for leaving
4. Gaining promotion
 - reasons for aspirations
 - number of years in promotional position
 - critical points in career development
 - positive influences
 - deterrents
5. Perceived constraints on career development
6. Experiences as Head of Department
 - positive aspects of the position
 - negative aspects of the position
 - recommendations about the position
7. Perceived image and status of physical education and physical education teachers
 - by the rest of the school
 - by students
8. Perceptions of gender-roles
 - within the school
 - in physical education
9. Opinions on why so few females apply for Head of Department positions in physical education
 - is physical education different?
 - accuracy of commonly held beliefs
10. Importance of having females as Heads of Department in physical education
11. Future trends

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

AGE _____

MARITAL STATUS _____ DEPENDENTS _____
QUALIFICATIONS _____

TEACHING EXPERIENCE IN YEARS _____

SUBJECTS TAUGHT _____

BREAKS IN SERVICE _____

LENGTH OF SERVICE AT PRESENT SCHOOL _____

LENGTH OF SERVICE AT PREVIOUS SCHOOLS (LIST) _____

MEMBERSHIP OF TEACHER ORGANISATIONS, PROFESSIONAL
ASSOCIATIONS, OTHER _____

INSERVICE COURSES ATTENDED _____

SPECIFIC ROLES WITHIN THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ADDED
RESPONSIBILITIES) _____

ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE SCHOOL _____

REFERENCES

Acker, S. (1983). Women and teaching : A semi-detached sociology of a semi-profession. In S. Walker & L. Barton (Eds.), Gender, class and education (pp.123-140). London: Falmer.

Archer, J. & Lloyd, B. (1985). Sex and gender. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Al-Khalifa, E. (1989). Management by halves : Woman teachers and school management. In H. De Lyon & F.W. Mignuolo (Eds.), Women teachers : Issues and experiences. London: Oxford University Press.

Apple, M.W. (1986). Teachers and texts. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Arnot, M. (1984). A feminist perspective on the relationship between family life and school life. Journal of Education, 166(1), 5-24.

Ball, S. (1987). The micro-politics of the school. London: Methuen.

Bem, S.L. (1975). Beyond androgyny : Some prescriptions for a liberated sexual identity. In J. Sherman & F. Denmark (Eds.), Psychology of women: Future directions of research. Wisconsin: Psychological Dimensions in Press.

Boutillier, M.A. & San Giovanni, L. (1983). The sporting woman. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.

Bray, C. (1988). Sport and social change : Socialist feminist theory. Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, 59, 50-53.

Browne, J. (1991). The gendering of physical education : Factors leading to the masculinization of Physical Education Studies in government secondary schools in Western Australia. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Murdoch University, Western Australia.

Bryson, L. (1987). Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony. Women's Studies International Forum, 10(4), 349-360.

Burgess, R. (1986). Points and posts : A case study of teacher careers in a comprehensive school. Paper presented to the BERA conference, Comprehensive Education in the 1980's, Kings College, University of London.

Burgess, R. (1988). Promotion and the physical education teacher. In J. Evans (Ed.), Teachers, teaching and control in physical education. Lewes: Falmer.

Burton, C. (1988). Gender bias in job evaluation : Monograph No.3. Sydney : Affirmative Action Agency.

Campbell, D & Stanley, J. (1963). Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: McNally.

Collins, C. (1990, September). The masculine as normative in the upper school curriculum. Paper presented at the National Women's Conference, Canberra.

Connell, R. (1985). Gender and power. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R., Kessler, S., Ashenden, D. & Dowsett, G. (1982). Making the difference : Schools, families and social divisions. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Cook, T. & Campbell, D. (1979). Quasi-experimentation : Design and analysis issues for field settings. Chicago: McNally.

Dahlgren, W. (1988). Young females and physical activity. A report of the National Task Force commissioned by Fitness Canada and Amateur Sport Canada Women's Programme. Manitoba, Canada: University of Manitoba Press.

Davies, L. (1990). Equity and efficiency. New York : Falmer.

Deem, R. (1978). Women and schooling. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Delano, L.C. (1990). A time to plant : Strategies to increase the number of women in athletic leadership positions. Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance. 61(3), 53-55.

De Lyon, H & Mignuolo, F.W. (Eds.). (1989). Women teachers : Issues and experiences. London: Oxford University Press.

Denzin, N. (1978). The research act : A theoretical introduction to sociological methods (2nd ed.). New York : McGraw-Hill.

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1984). Affirmative action for women.
Vol.1. Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service.

Dewar, A. (1985). Curriculum development and teachers' work : The case for Basic
Stuff Series in Physical Education. In M. Camers (Ed.), Proceedings of the Fourth
Conference on Curriculum Theory in Physical Education (pp.158-168). University of
Georgia.

Diller, A. & Houston, B. (1983). Women's physical education : A gender-sensitive
perspective. In B. Postow (Ed.), Women, philosophy and sport : A collection of new
essays (pp.246-277). Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow.

Dogson, J. (1986). Do women in education need mentors? Education Canada, 26(1),
28-33.

Dunkin, M. & Biddle, B. (1974). The study of teaching. USA: University Press of
America.

Duquin, M.E. (1979). Institutional variables affecting women in leadership positions.
In M.G. Scott & M.J. Hoferek (Eds.), Women as leaders in physical education and
sport (pp.31-36). Iowa: University of Iowa Publications Office.

Dyer, K. (1986). Girls, physical education and self esteem : A review of research,
resources and strategies. Canberra : Commonwealth Schools Commission.

Education Department of Western Australia. (1976). Males and females in the state education system of Western Australia. A report to the Minister for Education, Western Australia: Government Printer.

Ellis, G. (1987). A national study of senior women administrators : A preliminary report. Unicorn, 13(3), 179-181.

Equal Opportunity Act of 1984, 18(2a), 35(1), 35(2), Western Australia. (1985).

Evans, J. (Ed.). (1988). Teachers, teaching and control in physical education. New York: Falmer.

Evans, J. & Davies, B. (1988). Sociology, schooling and physical education. In J. Evans (Ed.), Physical education, sport and schooling, (pp.11-41). Lewes: Falmer.

Evans, J. & Williams, T. (1989). Moving up and getting out : The classed and gendered career opportunities of P E teachers. In T. Templin & P. Schempp (Eds.), Socialization into physical education : Learning to teach, (pp.235-249). Indianapolis: Benchmark.

Fennema, E. (1984). Girls, women and mathematics. In E. Fennema & M. Ayer (Eds.), Women and education : Equity or equality? (pp.137-164). Berkeley, California: McCutchen.

Ferguson, K.E. (1984). The feminist case against bureaucracy. Philadelphia: Templin University Press.

Filstead, W.J. (Ed.) (1970). Qualitative methodology. Chicago: Markham.

Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Aldine.

Goetz, J. & Le Compte, M. (1984). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research. San Diego, California: Academic Press.

Gorden, R. (1975). Interviewing : Strategy, techniques and tactics. Illinois: Dorsey.

Goslin, D. A. (1965). The school in contemporary society. Glenview: Scott Foresman.

Griffin, P. (1989). Gender as a socializing agent in physical education. In T. J. Templin & P.G. Schempp (Eds.), Socialization into physical education : Learning to teach (pp.219-233). Indianapolis: Benchmark.

Gross, E. (1986). What is feminist theory? In C. Pateman & E. Gross (Eds.), Feminist challenges : Social and political theory (pp.190-204). Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Hansen, L.S. & Rapoza, R.S. (1978). Career development and counselling of women. Springfield, Illinois: Thomas.

Hoferek, M.J. (1986). Going forth. New Jersey: Princeton.

Hutchinson, P. (1981). Promotion of women in the W.A. Education Department. Report presented at the Women in Education Conference, Perth, March, 1981.

Isaac, S. & Michael, W. (1981). Handbook in research and evaluation (2nd ed.). San Diego, California: Edits.

Jones, S. (1985). The analysis of depth interviews. In R. Walker (Ed.), Applied qualitative research (pp.56-70). Aldershot, England: Gower.

Kahle, J. (1987). Images of science : The physicist and the cowboy. In B. Fraser & G. Giddings (Eds.), Gender issues in science education (pp.1-11). Perth, Western Australia: Curtin University of Technology.

Kane, R.D. (1976). Sex discrimination in schools : Evaluating employment practices. (ED 188311.)

Kelly, A. (1987). Why girls don't do science. In A. Kelly (ed.), Science for girls (pp.12-17). Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Kelsall, K.R. (1980). Teaching. In R. Silverstone & A. Ward (Eds.), Careers of professional women, (pp.171-185). London: Croom Helm.

Knoppers, A. (1989). Coaching : An equal opportunity occupation? Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, 60(3), 38-43.

Langrish, S.V. (1981). Why don't women progress in management jobs? Business Graduate, 11(1), 7.

Lather, P. (1987). Feminist perspectives on empowering research methodologies. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington.

Lawson, H.A. (1983). Toward a model of teacher socialization in physical education : The subjective warrant, recruitment and teacher education. Journal of Teaching Physical Education, 2(3), 3-16.

Lawson, H.A. (1989). From rookie to veteran : Workplace conditions in physical education and induction into the profession. In T. Templin & P. Schempp (Eds.), Socialization into physical education : Learning to teach (pp.145-164). Indianapolis: Benchmark.

Leaman, O. (1984). Sit on the sidelines and watch the boys play: Sex differentiation in physical education. Harlow, U.K.: Longman.

Lipman-Blumen, J. & Leavitt, H.J. (1978). Vicarious and direct achievement patterns in adulthood. In L.S. Hansen & R.S. Rapoza (Eds.), Career development and counselling of women, (pp.132-148). Springfield, Illinois: Thomas.

Lofland, J. (1971). Analysing social settings. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Lorber, J. (1984). Womer. physicians. New York: Tavistock.

Lortie, D.C. (1975). School teacher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MacKinnon, A. (1984). One foot on the ladder : Origins and outcomes of girls' secondary schooling in South Australia. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

McKinnon, K. (Chairman) (1975). Girls, school and society : A report to the Schools Commission. Canberra: Schools Commission.

Miland, M. (Chairwoman) (1984). Girls and tomorrow : The challenge for schools. Canberra: Commonwealth Schools Commission.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1988). Qualitative data analysis. London: Sage.

Ministry of Education, Western Australia. (1989). Policy statement : Promotion by merit. Western Australia: Author.

Ministry of Education, Western Australia. (1990, May). Education Circular, p.261.

Ministry of Education, Western Australia. (1991, August). Education Circular, pp.386-389.

Moore, C.A. (1981). Personal commitments : A prerequisite for women aspiring to educational administration. University of Akron.

Morgan, A. (1988). Equal opportunities, promotional prospects and special education: Trends for women in one Welsh county. In H. De Lyon & F.W. Mignulo (Eds.), Women teachers : Issues and experiences (pp.58-66). London: Oxford University Press.

Mostyn, B. (1985). The content analysis of qualitative research data : A dynamic approach. In M. Brenner, J. Brown & D. Cantor (Eds.), The research interview : Uses and approaches (pp.115-145). London: Academic Press.

Nadebaum, M. (1990). Policy statement : Equal employment opportunity. Education Circular. May, 216.

National Union of Teachers and Equal Opportunity Commission (1979). Promotion and the woman teacher. London: Author.

New South Wales Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs (1988). National data base on the education of girls in Australian Schools. Sydney: Author.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women : A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), Doing feminist research (pp.30-61). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Olsen, N.J. & Willemssen, E.W. (1978). Fear of success : Fact or artifact? The Journal of Psychology, 98. 65-70.

O'Rourke, M. (1991). A sociological perspective on women and sport in Australia. Women and work, 13(2), 7-9.

Patton, M. (1980). Qualitative evaluation methods. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

Pratt, J., Bloomfield, J. & Searle, C. (1984). Option choice : A question of equal opportunities. Windsor: NFER - Nelson.

Randell, S. (1989, April). Australian women penalised in managing education. Paper issued in Perth by The Australian College of Education, Canberra.

Richardson, E. (1973). The teacher, the school and the task of management. London: Heinemann.

Sadker, M., Sadker, D. & Klein, S. (1991). The issue of gender in elementary and secondary education. In G. Grant (Ed.), Review of research in education, 17, 269-334.

Sampson, S. (1981). Women in educational leadership and decision-making. Paper presented at the Women in Education Conference, Perth, March, 1981.

Sampson, S. (1986). Promotion in government schools. Education News, 19(7), 38-47.

Sarros, A.M. (1983). Aspects of the underrepresentation of women in administrative positions in secondary schools in Victoria as related to a comparison of male and female career aspirations. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Melbourne, Victoria.

Schempp, P. & Graber, K. (1992). Teacher socialization from a dialectic perspective : Pretraining through induction. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 11, 329-348.

Schibeci, R. (1986). Images of science and scientists and science education. Science Education, 70(2), 139-149.

Scruton, S. (1990). Gender and physical education. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press.

Shakeshaft, C. (1987). Organisational theory and women : Where are we? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research.

Shakeshaft, C. & Nowell, I. (1984). Research on theories, concepts and models of organisational behaviour : The influence of gender. Issues in Education, 2(3), 186-203.

Sikes, P. (1988). Growing old gracefully? Age, identity and physical education. In J. Evans (Ed.). Teachers, teaching and control in physical education (pp.21-39). New York: Falmer.

Sikes, P., Measor, L. & Woods, P. (1985). Teacher careers, crises and continuities. Lewes: Falmer.

Smith, Y. (1988). Taking time : A woman's historical data kit. Melbourne: Union of Australian Women.

Spender, D. (1982). Invisible women : The schooling scandal. London: The Women's Press.

Spradley, J.P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Rinehart & Winston.

Stewart, A.N. (Chairman). (1976). Males and females in the state education system of Western Australia. A report to the Minister for Education, Education Department of Western Australia. Perth: Government Printer.

Strauss, A. (1987). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Templin, T. (1988). Settling down : An examination of two women physical education teachers. In J. Evans (Ed.), Teachers, teaching and control in physical education. New York: Falmer.

Templin, T.J., & Schempp, P.G. (Eds.). (1989). Socialization into physical education : Learning to teach. Indianapolis: Benchmark.

Theberge, N. (1985). Toward a feminist alternative to sport as a male preserve. Quest, 37(2), 193-202.

Tripp, D. (1981). The interview : Structure, validity and record. Unpublished manuscript, Murdoch University, Perth.

Tynack, D.B. & Strober, M.H. (1981). Women and men in schools : A history of the sexual structuring of educational employment. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education.

Vertinsky, P. (1983). The evolving policy of equal curricular opportunity in England : A case study of the implementation of sex equality in physical education. British Journal of Educational Studies, 31(3), 229-251.

Vockell, E. & Lobonc, S. (1981). Sex-role stereotyping by high school females in science. Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 18(3), 209-219.

Wallis, J. (1991). Women teachers perceptions of career : A study of women deputy principals in state primary schools in Western Australia. Unpublished masters thesis, Murdoch University, Western Australia.

Wentworth, R.D. (1980). The career aspirations of men and women trainee teachers. Unicorn, 6(1), 86-89.

Whitcombe, J.E. (1980). A comparison of career patterns of men and women teachers : Teacher career and promotion study. Paper presented at the National Conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education. (ED 211 540).

Woods, P. (1986). Inside schools : Ethnography in educational research. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ziller, A. (1980). Affirmative action handbook. Sydney: New South Wales Government.