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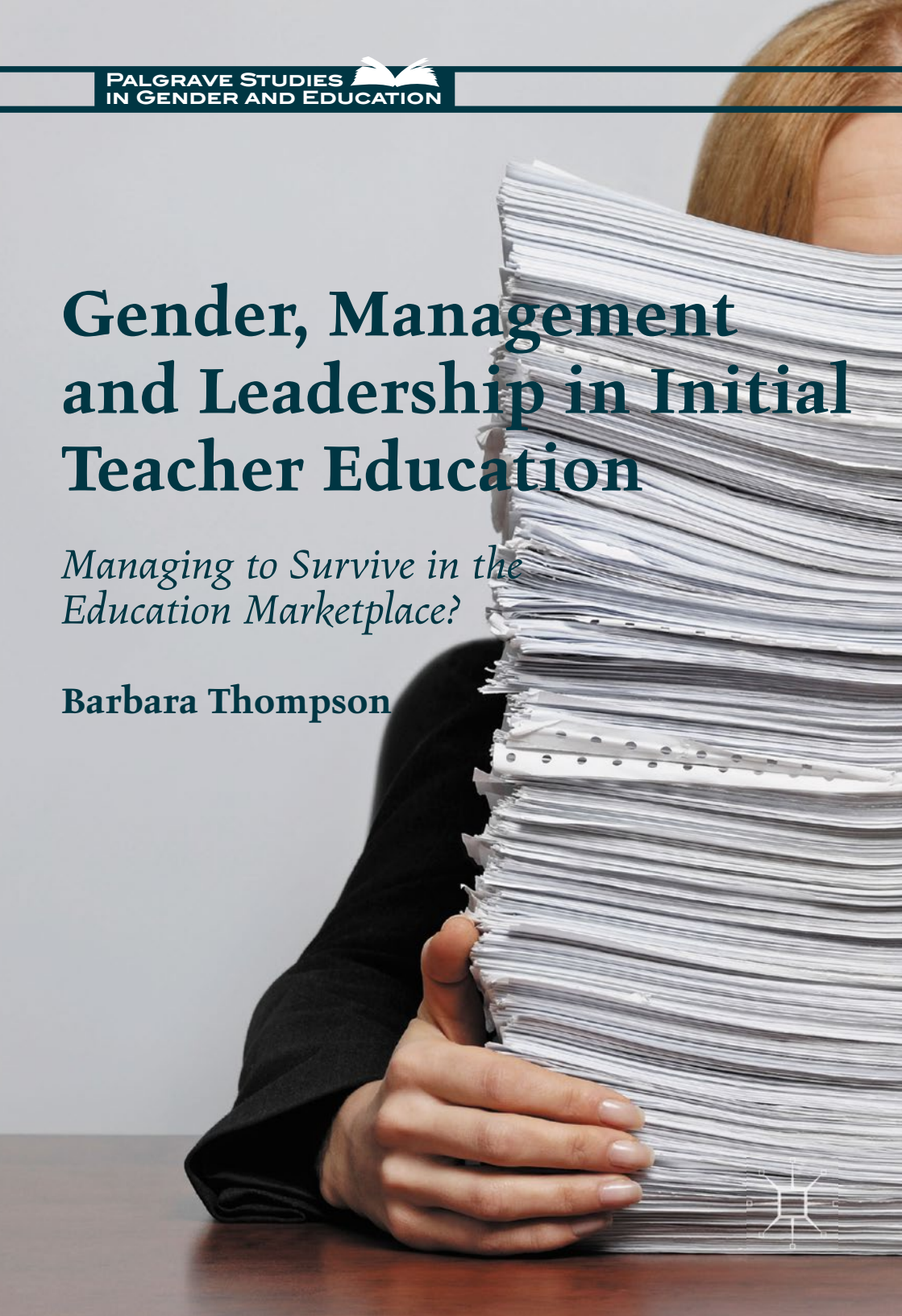

Gender, Management and Leadership in Initial Teacher Education

Managing to Survive in the Education Marketplace?

Barbara Thompson

Palgrave Studies in Gender and Education

Series Editor

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This book is dedicated to my mother, Marcia Thompson, who trained as a teacher in the period when the 'lay abbesses' ruled in single-sex, monotechnic teacher education colleges. I began my own training at the very end of this period, in the final year of the reign of one of these illustrious women, who, in my second year, was succeeded by a male principal, who presided over what was by then a mixed-sex higher education institution, albeit where men were not officially allowed in women's rooms!

In many ways, my journey from training college to primary teacher to teacher educator mirrors the major shifts that have affected teacher education over the years. This has culminated in the ongoing struggle for the soul of teacher education in the face of the relentless drive to move teacher education out of higher education and into schools and to (re)construct it as a craft. My mother was with me for most of this journey, offering wisdom and encouragement, and it is my profound regret that she died shortly before I achieved my PhD.

Introduction and Chapter Outlines

Over recent years, there has been a growing interest in gender issues in higher education (Acker 2005; Leathwood and Read 2009; Morley 2011). This interest encompasses the diversity of women's increased participation in higher education as students, academics and, more latterly, as managers and leaders, particularly at middle management level (Acker 2005; Thompson 2009). The fact that women are now entering the academy in increasing numbers is in marked contrast to the situation in the 1960s and 1970s described by Hearn, (2001: 76) who said:

> It could be argued that the 1960s and 1970s saw some movement from what were often *de facto* men only, almost 'feudal' regimes to modified forms of collegiality in which…men remained in charge.

In terms of the management and leadership of higher education, Hearn (*ibid.*) and Maguire (1993) point out that women were largely excluded from authority positions as there were relatively few female members of staff in the institutions in the first place. Those who did aspire to management positions had to contend with management practices, which tended to be male, white and middle class.

It should therefore be seen as a cause for celebration that many more women are now engaging successfully with the academy at all levels. However, this influx of women is seen by some as a sign that higher education is in danger of becoming a 'feminised' space which excludes men. As noted by Leathwood and Read (2009: 1), newspaper headlines globally

signpost a fear that girls and women are taking over campuses at all levels and men are being sidelined (HEPI 2009). As *The Times* reported in 2007:

> 'Growing gender gap risks turning universities into male-free zones' (*The Times, UK*, 15 February 2007).

Across the board, the notion that women are entering what are thought of as traditionally male preserves in greater numbers than formerly is frequently presented as a cause for concern rather than a cause for celebration. The fear is that 'an increasingly feminized culture alienates and discourages boys and men and indeed risks "feminizing" them' (Leathwood and Read 2009: 13). Leathwood and Read (*ibid.*) argue that the term 'feminization', particularly when related to education, is used in three ways. These are:

> an increase in the number of women (as both teachers and students), an assumed cultural feminization of pedagogy and the curriculum, and potential/feared transformation of boys/men and masculine subjectivity.

The claim that women are 'taking over' higher education is of course contestable and in any case, as Morley (2011: 223) points out:

> Higher education is gendered in terms of its values, norms, processes and employment regimes, even when women are in the majority as undergraduate students.

Latterly, there has been an explosion of research into gender issues in higher education, and Morley (*ibid.*) points out the variety of areas that have been the focus of feminist scholarly interest. However, one group of women in higher education has largely escaped this burgeoning interest. These are the women who lead and manage initial teacher education.

A Notably Under-researched Group

The reason why teacher educators are under-researched may be something to do with the fact that teacher education faces, simultaneously, in two directions, namely the academy and the chalk face. As Day (1995: 359) noted some time ago:

> [Teacher educators] are neither fish nor fowl, neither 'academics' nor 'practitioners'. They are caught between the rock of government policy which has raised the value of 'practical experience' above all else…and the hard place of scholarship in which they are judged by their colleagues elsewhere in the world of academia.

Teacher educators may have fallen between two research interest groups, as, with some notable exceptions (Ducharme and Ducharme 1996; Maguire 1993; Murray 2002; Korthagen and Vasalos 2005; Thompson 2009; Murray and Kosnik 2011), there has been limited interest in their professional lives.

This book is designed to shed further light on a marginalised group in the current political and educational context, where, in terms of the government focus on education, they may have been assumed to play an important role. It tells the story of a group of women middle and senior managers and leaders who are attempting to overcome the challenges posed by carrying out their roles in the ongoing climate of educational reform. These women hold authority positions in initial teacher education, a group described by Heward (1993) as 'intriguing' because of the changing roles that men and women have played, and continue to play, in the management of teacher education from its earliest beginnings to the current day. As Heward (*ibid*.: 11) puts it:

> more intriguing, because it is so unusual, is the domination of the profession by men and women at different periods.

A second reason for writing about women managers and leaders in initial teacher education is that the sector is undergoing a period of profound change as increasingly government initiatives seek to change the whole basis of training from one based in the academy to an apprenticeship model based in schools (Beauchamp et al. 2013). Those who lead and manage teacher education are therefore at the centre of a plethora of educational reforms that have descended upon initial teacher education over the last four decades.

This book seeks to bring the analysis of gender, management and leadership in initial teacher education up to date as women leaders and managers attempt to carry out their roles in 'risky times'.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene

This chapter provides a political and personal context to the rest of the book. It provides a brief critical overview of key literature related to themes that will be addressed in subsequent chapters. These include historical and current thinking on leadership and management, especially in terms of educational management and gender issues. The context to the study will be introduced, namely the insertion of neoliberal policies and practices to the public sector in general and to education in particular, where it has been fundamental in shaping the remaking of the British state (Ball 2013).

Chapter 2: Women, Management and Leadership

Before it is possible to explore how middle and senior women carry out their management and leadership roles in educational settings in neoliberal times, it is necessary to have an understanding of key generic theories related to management and leadership. The chapter will begin by examining some of the broad theories surrounding and sculpting what is meant by management and leadership in order to provide a framework for discussion throughout the book.

Although sometimes used interchangeably, the terms management and leadership need clarification as, although they have aspects in common, management and leadership are different and this discussion will be the focus of the second part of the chapter. The chapter will then interrogate some of the contradictory and multilayered discourses which relate to the issue of women as managers and leaders.

Chapter 3: Women, Educational Management and Leadership

This chapter turns its attention to women who hold managerial responsibility in the field of education. The chapter will argue that, just as with management in general, there remain stereotypes related to who can be managers and leaders in education. Although there is evidence to suggest that women are moving into educational management, particularly at lower levels (Acker 2005; Thompson 2009), Shakeshaft (2006: 508) points out:

women are less likely to be represented in formal positions of leadership in schools than men across all countries.

As Shakeshaft (*ibid.*: 501) notes, 'while equity gains have been made, different expectations of and attitudes to women and men still exist'. Statistics (McNamara et al. 2008; Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014) demonstrate that women's under-representation in educational management remains an important issue. However, the field of 'education' is extremely broad, ranging as it does from primary schooling through to further and higher education. The chapter starts by examining the dilemmas and challenges faced by women who hold authority positions in schools. It then turns its attention to the world of higher education. The purpose of this chapter is to explore some of the underlying reasons as to why women managers and leaders in education are more of a marginal group in an occupational setting where they might be expected to be the rule rather than the exception.

Chapter 4: The Particular Story of the Management of Teacher Education

This chapter focuses specifically on a group of education managers and leaders who are marginal in the literature despite the increased interest in management and leadership in higher education in general. These are the teacher educators.

The chapter begins by exploring the journey of teacher education from the single-sex monotechnics into the wider world of the academy. It considers the changing nature of its gendered management and leadership at different times.

The chapter concludes by bringing the political context in which teacher education operates up to date, with a brief introduction to some of the recent policies and practices which reflect a relentless drive to move teacher education out of the academy and into the classroom.

Chapter 5: Neoliberalism, New Managerialism, Policies and Practices

This chapter argues that since the insertion of neoliberal discourses into education, the working practices, including the management and leadership practices, of those in schools, higher education and, crucially, teacher

education have altered radically. It will explore the ways in which the practices of neoliberalism, particularly new managerialism, a fundamental tool of neoliberalism, manifest themselves within public organisations, before going on to interrogate their particular effects upon the academy. The focus will then turn to the manifestation and impact of new managerialism upon teacher education and teacher educators. Finally, the question of whether the advent of new managerialism has any effect on gender relations in the workplace will be explored.

Chapter 6: Researching Women Managers and Leaders

Managing to Survive? is about what it is like to be a woman manager or leader in teacher education at a time when market forces and new managerialist discourses have been inserted into the public sector. The book draws on an empirical study and data set that is analysed through a set of critical lenses. These reflect the interplay of three major influences, namely, shifts in theoretical perspectives related to feminisms, critical analysis of policy changes in education management and leadership, and issues related to qualitative work. The first part of this chapter explores shifts in feminist theory over time and goes on to describe how the data was collected. It explores such questions as how access to the institutions where the research took place was gained and, related to that, how the problems of being both an insider and outsider researcher were tackled. Next, the chapter explores the rationale for the choice of research tools and explains how the practical problems of carrying out the research were addressed. The ethical problems associated with being an insider researcher are considered, and the chapter details the participants and their leadership roles and experiences.

Chapter 7: Women, Returning to Manage Initial Teacher Education

This chapter draws on an analysis of the major teacher education postholders in the institutions in the sample and then focuses on significant issues arising from the data related to the middle women managers in the sample. It will argue that there has once again been a sea change in the gender composition of those who manage and lead teacher education. As will be seen from the gender composition of middle and senior managers in the sample and from evidence gathered from analysis of in-depth

interviews with women who held key management positions in teacher education in these institutions, it is clear that women are being appointed to management positions across the board. Analysis of the data revealed that women have re-emerged to become dominant in positions of authority in many schools and departments of education. At first sight, it looks as though the glass ceiling may be broken by (some) women at all levels. However, the category of 'women managers' in teacher education is complex and internally differentiated, and managing teacher education in new managerialist times may not be equally rewarding for all women.

The first part of the chapter explores possible reasons why women have returned to authority positions in initial teacher education. The second part interrogates the lived reality of what it is like to be a woman middle manager in the contemporary ITE institution. Middle managers are defined as those women who have management responsibility such as heads of particular programmes or routes into teacher education, but who operate below the rank of head of school or department. Analysis of the data suggests that, whereas some women are moving into positions of authority, other women managers, particularly those who position themselves primarily within discourses of caring and collegiality, are being marginalised within new institutional structures. Other middle managers, although still in post, are troubled by having to operate within the discourses of the marketplace. They are struggling with excessive workloads, increased surveillance and limited autonomy, and the feeling that, in many ways, although they carry management titles and are, in some way, remunerated for their responsibilities, their work as middle managers in new managerial times is more akin to 'doing the housework' for others (Acker and Feuerverger 1996).

Chapter 8: Extraordinary Women, Senior Women Managers and Leaders

The voices that have been heard so far in *Managing to Survive?* belong to middle managers who operate as route or programme leaders in their institutions. These 'middle' women perceive that, in general, the new senior women who are taking up positions of authority in teacher education, namely heads of school/department or dean of faculty, operate within discourses more related to those of the marketplace than did their predecessors. There seems to have been a value shift in the management of initial teacher education away from a 'hands-on' practice-informed version of

leadership towards an economist/business-driven approach that concentrates on systems and structures rather than on people and processes. This, in many ways, is not surprising in a climate where academic cultures are 'increasingly competitive, individualistic and managerial' (Mauthner and Edwards 2010: 483). How the senior women themselves make sense of their working lives is as yet unexplored, and it is to them that this chapter turns. A surprising finding is that, whereas senior women may have been expected to be just as, or more, beleaguered than their middle-ranking colleagues, in general, those who hold high-ranking positions are thriving in their roles. An important factor seems to be related to whether there is an agentic element to their job.

Chapter 9: Managing to Survive in Risky Times?

Whether they are 'middle' or 'top' managers/leaders, the women are engaged, to a greater or lesser extent, in a struggle to make sense of their working lives within the context of neoliberal policies and practices.

Primarily, the struggle is one for professional survival, as managers and leaders in initial teacher education. The chapter extends the notion of struggle and explores the particular 'sites of struggle' (Reed-Danahay 2005) in which the women managers/leaders are engaged.

A dominant theme to emerge from analysis of the data is that, in order to survive, or in some cases thrive, individual women managers employ a range of different strategies in order to negotiate their path through the changed and changing terrain of what it means to be a manager or leader in initial teacher education in complex and risky times. Although there are some similarities between what some of the women do, there are also differences that are sometimes, but not always, related to their position within the management hierarchy of their institutions. What is critical to professional and personal survival is the extent to which these women are able to accommodate the discourses of neoliberalism and to what extent they are able to act on their circumstances as active agents (Gordon 2006).

Chapter 10: Looking to the Future: the Struggle for Teacher Education

This chapter continues the story of the ongoing reforms directed at teacher education beyond the life of the original study to the present day. It considers the implications of the findings, both of the original work

and of more recent developments, for those who lead and manage teacher education as they continue to '[navigate] their way through a succession of increasingly radical reforms' (McNamara and Mentor 2011: 9). The chapter and the book conclude by considering ways forward for initial teacher education in light of the Carter Review into Teacher Education. The chapter argues that there is a further erosion of professional autonomy and asks what can be done to reclaim the development of critical voices so vital for a vibrant thinking profession.

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CHAPTER 1

Setting the Scene

The Educational Context

This book is written at a time when education, along with the rest of the public sector, remains 'under the cosh' after four decades of reform agendas imposed upon it by successive governments (Beauchamp 2013).

Although these reformist measures had their roots in New Right thinking, it would be wrong to see them solely as part of a New Right agenda.

Ideologies related to public sector reform did not decline with the demise of the Conservative Government in 1997. As Furlong (1992: 181) had predicted:

> in the foreseeable future, it seems unlikely that governments of any political persuasion will retreat from the attempt to take a tighter control of initial teacher education.

This proved to be the case, and under New Labour, the Coalition Government and the new Conservative Government, the discourses of the market place gained an ever firmer hold and led to a demand that education reform produce:

> a world class education service; one with standards which match the best anywhere in the world…enabling the nation to prepare for the emergence of the new economy and its increased demand for skills and human capital. (DfEE 2001)

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As Tomlinson (2005: 90) reminds us:

> New Labour settled into office in May 1997 and continued the avalanche… of policies, legislation and advice which had characterized 18 years of Conservative rule…indeed a pursuit of some of these policies passed the point that Tory ministers had been willing to go.

Education became a main focus of the reform movement, the underpinning reason for which was the perceived need to respond to the demands of a competitive global economy by improving the skills and knowledge of young people. Critically, this knowledge would be inextricably linked to the economy and the curriculum of schools would henceforth be tailored to those needs. Over time there was, as Tomlinson (2005: 90) points out:

> a continued emphasis on state regulation and control of the curriculum, its assessment, teachers and their training and local authority activity.

The 2001 White Paper called for the 'modernisation' of the teaching profession based on a marketplace ideology referred to by Gewirtz (2001: 5) as an 'economising narrow skills agenda'. In terms of initial teacher education, this meant a change in its ethos and content from a mixture of theory and practice to a stress on practical classroom-based competence (Ball 1992, 2007). The fundamental changes that were shaking the world of education would have to be managed, and as part of this crusade, management systems would be reformed and better management would be seen as 'the way forward' (Clarke and Newman 1997).

The Personal Context

I first became directly involved in the reform of teacher education when, after 17 years of teaching in primary schools, I was appointed to the position of Teaching Studies tutor in a School of Education. Although I did not realise it at the time, my change of career in 1989 from primary teacher to senior lecturer in education exemplified the government directive that higher education institutions (HEIs) should ensure that tutors who taught on initial teacher education courses had 'recent and relevant' experience in school (Circular 3/84 [DES 1984]; Furlong et al. 2000; Murray 2002). I was appointed to a higher education institution primarily for my experience in primary schools, where I had taught since 1972. In 1993, I was promoted to a management role and became head of a teacher education programme.

At the time I was unaware of the political agenda that underpinned the changes that were encroaching on teacher education and equally unaware that managers such as me were expected to play a leading role in implementing the process of reform (Clarke and Newman 1997). However, I was only too aware of the constant restructuring process that impacted on my work. For example, senior managers in my institution were making demands that teacher education programmes such as mine should be revalidated in line with dominant government ideologies that reflected a shift away from the ethos of the 'reflective practitioner' (Schon 1983) to that of the 'competent practitioner', who must meet a series of government-imposed 'competences', later 'Standards', in order to 'be compliant' with centrally imposed directives (Furlong et al. 2000; Maguire 2002). With the demise of the 'reflective practitioner' model came a change in nomenclature in official documentation from 'teacher education' to the more technicist 'teacher training'. I was aware of the drive to validate new 'school-based' teacher 'training' programmes such as the Articled Teacher Scheme, which diverted funds into schools and away from higher education institutions (Furlong et al. 1996). At the same time as school-based initial teacher training (ITT) programmes were being developed, all teacher training routes remaining in higher education institutions (HEIs) had to be delivered in partnership with schools. In response to circulars such as DfE (1992) and (1993), as Furlong (2000: 76) points out:

> most courses were now having to re-establish themselves in terms of 'partnerships' between those in higher education and local schools. (Ofsted 1995)

Increasingly, school-based teachers were involved in the planning and delivery of training courses and, in addition, were recruited from schools to work as initial teacher training tutors.

I therefore took up my role as a teacher education manager at a time of fundamental and far-reaching change. I should say at this stage that this book, and the study upon which it is based, is written from a feminist perspective. I have a long-term interest and involvement in gender issues and had already published in the field. Unlike some primary ITT tutors (Acker 1990; Maguire 1993), I was not politically neutral in relation to issues of diversity, so it was perhaps unsurprising that I should be alert to gender issues in my new role in initial teacher education.

When I became a teacher educator in 1989, it was at a time when, predominantly, men were in positions of authority. Now that initial teacher

education had become part of the work of higher education institutions, managerial authority, seen as overwhelmingly masculine, was legitimised (Heward 1993; Leathwood and Read 2009). This was borne out in my own institution, where the major teacher education programmes were run largely by men and, as an incoming female manager, I was conscious of feeling, in many cases, on the margins of decision-making processes. Although I was accountable for my Programme's success, for example, in Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) inspections, it seemed to me that the important decisions were often taken by male managers behind closed doors (see Thompson 2001). However, I also noticed that, over time, male managers were moving away from management in teacher education and were being replaced by women and this I found puzzling. I began consciously to reflect critically upon my own experiences and the experiences of other women managers in the School of Education and then began to investigate the available research on teacher educators, managers and leaders. My thesis for my master's degree (1985) had focused on the gendered experiences of students on an initial teacher education programme and had provided me with knowledge of some of the key literature related to gender and education. I now revisited that field and extended my search to the literature related to teacher educators, educational reform, and management and leadership, a field which was completely new to me.

Over time I became increasingly intrigued by the changes that seemed to be occurring in the management of teacher education as gradually many men in positions of authority were replaced by women. However, it is significant that it was not until 2000 that I began the research for the PhD which forms the basis of this book. As Mahony (1997: 88) points out, 'feminist teacher educators are too busy trying to survive the changes to write about them'; this was true in my case!

My study focused on gender issues in the management and leadership of initial teacher education and was designed to answer the question, 'how do women managers and leaders in initial teacher education make sense of their working lives within the current political context of public sector reform' (Clarke and Newman 1997). From my general research question, I extrapolated three specific questions that I wanted to investigate. These were:

- how different categories of women managers and leaders in initial teacher education made sense of their work experiences within a changing political climate;

- to explore how women managers and leaders survived in new hard times;
- to investigate the work experiences of feminist managers and leaders in ITE.

As a woman manager in a School of Education, with a long-term interest in gender issues, I wanted to investigate the lived reality of women who held positions of responsibility in initial teacher education at a time of unprecedented change and educational reform (Davies 2003).

This is where my study and indeed this book had its beginnings.

The Field

Research on generic issues concerned with management and leadership is wide ranging (Peters and Waterman 1982; Peters 1987; Kotter 1990; Fullan 1992; DuBrin 1995; Middlehurst 1997; Taylor 1999; Weyer 2007; Vinnicombe et al. 2010; Tharenou 2005; Coleman 2011). These texts address such issues as management styles and the differences between management and leadership. There is also a significant literature related to gender, management and leadership which focuses on lingering stereotypes about who 'is allowed' to manage and lead (Marshall 1984; Green 1988; Cockburn 1991; Morrison et al. 1994; Blackmore 1999; Fiske and Lee 2008; Leathwood and Read 2009; Bagilhole and White 2011). In addition, there is an important body of research concerned with gender, management and education which translates generic issues related to women and management into the particular arenas of school and higher education. Much of this research, over time, points to the fact that historically, there has always been an under-representation of women in educational management at all levels, despite the fact that women are predominant at the grass roots (Al-Khalifa 1989; De Lyon and Migniuolo 1989; Ozga 1993; Acker 1994; Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014). Although there is more recent evidence that women are making inroads into management positions, particularly at middle management level (Acker 2005; Thompson 2009; Leathwood and Read 2009), there remains a persistent and widely held stereotype that management remains a male preserve, particularly at senior management level (Fiske and Lee 2008). Coleman (2011: 15) argues that despite the fact there have been changes over time in relation to women's representation in management and leadership, 'men outnumber women in leadership in virtually every walk of life'.

It is also important to point out that whereas there is a growing body of literature on women managers and leaders in higher education, women managers are not the same as feminist managers. As Mauthner (2010: 482) reminds us:

> The specific literature on feminist management in higher and further education draws an important distinction between 'women in academic management' and 'feminists in academic management'. (Adler et al. 1993)

Research into the field of leadership and management led me inevitably to the growing field of work related to educational reform and the introduction of neoliberal discourses and new managerialist policies and practices into the field of education. As noted earlier in this chapter, within these discourses, new managerialism is seen as central in driving forward educational reforms (Clarke and Newman 1997). Furthermore, what became apparent over time was that the field of teacher education was a key target for the implementation of government reform, as was indicated by the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE), DES (1984) and the subsequent setting up of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA). I discovered that there was also a literature that arose as a response to the barrage of government reforms cascading down upon teacher education. For example, the first of the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) projects were set up in order to monitor the changes in initial teacher education. The first project ran from 1991 to 1992, closely followed by a second, which ran from 1993 to 1996 (Furlong et al. 2000: 2). Furlong et al. (ibid: 3) argue that

> the vast majority of…policy initiatives on initial teacher education…were framed with the explicit aspiration of changing the nature of teacher professionalism, [which] was not an entirely domestic affair in that…in other parts of the English speaking world, similar issues were coming onto the agenda.

As Furlong (2000: 2) points out:

> initial teacher education in the 1980s, increasingly became a major site for ideological struggle between the government and others, especially those in higher education, with an interest in the professional formation of teachers.

Teacher Trainers: Marginal in the Literature

If teacher education was at the centre of public sector reform, I assumed that there would be a literature related to teacher educators and how they made sense of their working lives within a rapidly changing political climate. However, I found very little empirical research which focused on teacher educators at all; a situation which, as Murray (2002) tells us, is paralleled throughout the English-speaking world. I found it puzzling that there should be such a silence in the research about a group of people who were charged with designing and implementing the courses at the centre of new government initiatives and who were also positioned in a unique place between the school room and the academy.

For whatever reason, at the time when I began my study, research on the lives of this group was limited. Murray (2002: 45) informs us that some studies had been carried out in the UK, Australia, Canada and India, but as she noted:

> [t]he large scale studies [such as Ducharme 1986 and Reynolds 1995] tend to give generalized views of teacher educators; the smaller scale studies, some with very small sample groups, give greater details of individual teacher educators' work [Hatton 1997; Ducharme 1993 and Acker 1996].

If the field of work about teacher educators was slim, studies that focussed on teacher educators from a gendered perspective was particularly under-researched. A notable exception to this was Maguire's illuminating (1993) study of women teacher educators at Sacred Heart College (a pseudonym), which explored the unequal work patterns and management roles of male and female teacher educators. In the USA, Ducharme and Ducharme (1996) noted that there were few women in positions of responsibility in teacher education departments, and Maguire and Weiner (1994) argued that women in teacher education departments were frequently constructed within maternal discourses in relation to their students. Acker (1996) also noted that caring discourses were associated with women tutors, and in a later Canadian study, Acker and Feuerverger (1996) pointed out that a gendered division of labour exists, where women tutors serve both the students and the institution, and that much of their caring work is unseen and unrewarded in terms of promotion. However, I was unable to locate sustained qualitative work that interrogated specifically the lived reality of women managers and leaders in initial teacher education in market-led times.

Since I began my study, research into the field of teacher education has developed (Mentor et al. 2006; Evans 2011; Murray 2013). None the less, the field remains under-researched particularly in terms of studies that focus on how women managers and leaders make sense of their professional lives in risky times. This book therefore has a unique focus in that it addresses a significant and contemporary gap in the literature, which is particularly important at a time when, as will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, women have returned to authority in initial teacher education and are shaping the profession when the field is the focus of continuing government imperatives. In the UK, these initiatives seek to reconstruct teaching as a craft rather than a research-based profession (Beauchamp et al. 2013: 1).

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CHAPTER 2

Women: Management and Leadership

The central focus of this book is upon women who hold management and leadership positions in teacher education. However, before it is possible to explore how middle- and senior-level women carry out their authority roles within this particular context, it is necessary to have an understanding of key generic theories related to management and leadership over time. This chapter will begin by examining some of the broader theories surrounding management and leadership in order to provide a framework for discussion.

Sometimes used interchangeably, the terms 'management' and 'leadership' need clarification as, although they have aspects in common, management and leadership are different, and this discussion will be the focus of the second part of the chapter. I will then interrogate some of the contradictory and multilayered discourses which relate to the issue of women as managers and leaders. The chapter considers arguments such as those advanced by Collard (2005:35), who points out that essentialist typologies are too simplistic, [and that] phenomena such as leadership and organisational culture are multifaceted and that situational factors impact upon the ways that women, and men, lead and manage.

Fundamental to this discussion is the standpoint that, over time, authority has, in the main, been associated with hegemonic masculinity and women who manage are insiders with "institutional power and authority but who stand outside the male insiders culture" [and] 'are frequently

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positioned in highly contradictory ways' (Blackmore 1999:107; Coleman 2011).

Theories About Management and Leadership

The field of management and leadership is one of considerable complexity. As Dubrin (1995:17) points out:

> Several attempts have been made to integrate the large number of leadership theories into one comprehensive framework… such integrations become so complex and too multifaceted to validate.

Middlehurst (1997:3) endorses this view, noting:

> The study of leadership has been undertaken within a number of disciplines each of which has contributed its own distinctive flavour to the subject… Leadership is thus as difficult to define in theory as it is elusive to capture in practice, and in both cases the influence of culture and values is strong.

Consideration of culture and values in management and leadership is likely to be important because the study upon which this book is based began at a time when the culture of institutions, in particular educational institutions (Furlong 2000), was undergoing radical change as a result of the introduction of market-led policies and practices (Clarke and Newman 1997). An explanation of the discourses of neoliberalism and their impact on the public sector in general and education in particular is explored in far more depth in Chap. 5. The point being made here is that an understanding of the culture and values of organisations and their potential influence on styles of managers and leaders could be important, particularly in relation to gender. For this reason, the synthesis of the main theories of management and leadership provided by Middlehurst (1997:3) is useful as it provides

> an overview of twentieth century thinking about leadership, perspectives on women and leadership, and an examination of both leadership and women in the context of higher education.

Middlehurst has suggested that the field of leadership and management studies can be loosely clustered into six schools of thought. These are trait theories, behavioural studies, contingency theories, power and influence theories, cultural and symbolic theories, and cognitive perspectives

on leadership. These theories are discussed below in order to inform our understanding of how such debates have changed over time and to ascertain their relevance to contemporary thinking.

Trait Theories

Dubrin (1995:18) informs us that early approaches to understanding leadership emphasised the 'trait', or 'great person' theory, and Middlehurst (*op. cit.*) also notes that the leadership studies of the early twentieth century were initially based upon the traits of leaders. Researchers such as Stodgill (1948) studied the physical features of managers such as height, weight and energy level and also considered individual capabilities such as intelligence, knowledge and expertise. In an attempt to investigate whether or not there were definitive leadership traits, personality characteristics such as confidence, resilience and self-control were also studied. However, as Middlehurst (1997:4) says:

> The outcomes of several generations of research proved inconclusive. Possession of certain traits e.g. assertiveness, confidence… did not guarantee success, nor did the absence of these traits preclude it.

Nonetheless, for both female and male managers and leaders, judgements about their leadership abilities may be affected by opinion about their physical appearance and personality, which are in turn framed by discourses about what is normal and desirable. For example, Blackmore's (1999:173) research on women leaders found that women who did not fit the stereotype about what was considered 'desirable' in terms of physical appearance were not considered suitable for promotion.

Behavioural Studies

In the middle part of the twentieth century, theory moved away from a search for particular leadership qualities, focusing instead upon the actions and styles of leaders (Bryman 1986). A central feature of research in the behavioural tradition is the focus on relationships and interactions between leaders and others. Eagly and Johnson (1990) and Eagly et al. (1992) argue that the area of leadership style and behaviour provides a useful focus when considering gendered issues related to leadership and management. For example, Eagly et al. (1992) investigated leadership style and evaluations of leadership effectiveness in both laboratory and

organisational settings. In both experimental and assessment studies, women were shown to employ a more interpersonal style of leadership whereas men were found to be more task orientated. However, there were no differences in female and male leadership styles when it came to analysing what happened in the real world of the organisation. Despite this, when it came to other leadership styles such as democratic decision-making, differences between men and women emerged in all these areas. For example, women were typically more democratic than men, who were seen to be more autocratic and directive. Interestingly, Eagly et al.'s (1992) research also showed that when female leaders chose more typically masculine styles, such as being autocratic and non-participative, they were evaluated less favourably than men by their teams. Similarly, men were rated less well when they exhibited a 'softer' management style. It seems that male and female leaders and managers gain more approval when they exhibit gender-congruent behaviour. However, it does have to be pointed out that this research is old and is based on essentialising constructions of gender.

Power and Influence Theories

Power and influence theories point out that the notion of leadership has always been associated with the use of power, whether that is the power to command in military terms or the power to motivate followers and to manage change. French and Raven (1968), cited in Middlehurst (1997:8), provide a useful classification of power sources as follows:

1. Leaders can influence followers through their positions because of the legitimacy accorded to them within social or legal systems (legitimate power).
2. Leaders can exert influence through their ability to provide rewards (rewards power).
3. Leaders can exert influence through their ability to threaten punishments (coercive power).
4. Leaders can influence others through their knowledge and expertise (expert power).
5. Leaders can influence others by means of their personalities and the extent to which others like them or identify with them (referent power).

Other studies (Mintzberg 1973; Kanter 1983) have added other dimensions such as the leader's ability to mobilise resources and control the flow of information.

Whether a leader maintains power and authority depends, at least in part, on his or her ability to fulfil the expectations that others have of them. Commentators such as Kanter (1983), Peters and Austin (1985) and Kouzes and Posner (1987) argue that some leaders increase their power by appearing to concede it, in that they empower others by facilitating their personal growth and achievements and thus gain the loyalty of those whom they empower. Discourses related to empowerment of others and teamwork have been associated particularly with women leaders (Ozga 1993; Hall 1996). Middlehurst (1997:9) comments:

> Feminine qualities are often described in terms of nurturing, sensitivity, listening to and supporting others. These qualities are important for empowerment and for current emphases in organisations on teamwork and participation… these strategies are also important in higher education, as they are congruent with some of the dominant values of the academic culture.

However, the question of whether women leaders do uniformly endorse nurturant people-centred discourses is open to question (Blackmore 1999; Reay and Ball 2000; Chesler 2001; Fiske and Lee 2008). For example, Blackmore (1999:156) points out:

> One cannot talk about 'women's ways of leading…' without being aware of the structural constraints and discourses shaped elsewhere that undermine leadership committed to such notions of feminist practice.

Cultural and Symbolic Theories

An understanding of the ways in which the values and culture of organisations are developed is important for the work of leaders and managers. Hofstede (1980:26) argues that '*values* are the building blocks of a *culture*' and links the influence of the national culture to the subculture of organisations. Cultural and symbolic theories equate the role of leadership with developing common understandings about the values and subculture necessary to the organisation's 'action plan' for development or survival. Leaders play an important role in developing shared meanings within an

organisation that eventually become the 'prevailing values, norms, philosophy, rules and climate of the organisation, that is, its culture' (Middlehurst 1997:10). It is clear why these theories will be important as the public sector and education, in particular, are undergoing a process of continual organisational change (Tomlinson 2005; Murray 2011; Menter 2013). In addition, cultural and symbolic theories are also useful for constructing stereotypical views of the role of women in organisations. Middlehurst (*op. cit.* 10) argues:

> [Stereotypical] cultural values have several consequences. First, they subordinate women to duties that are regarded as less worthy or significant and which limit women's opportunities to participate in public life.
>
> Second, men are regarded as appropriate rulers, and third, women who rule must pass as men in order to rule effectively. This ensures that women will only be represented in small numbers at the top of organisations and in this way, traditions of social order are maintained.

Connell (1990) refers to the concept of a 'gender order', the gendered divisions of power and labour, which helps to ensure that most men have more public power than most women. Limerick and Lingard (1995:5) note:

> the horizontal and vertical gender segmentation in terms of both individuals and bureaucratic units… are male dominated at the upper echelons with women in greater numbers at the lower levels.

The arguments put forward here are that if women take on leadership roles, they may be supposed to do so under constraints that do not threaten the existing order of gender relations. For example, they may undertake more subservient leadership roles within the organisation and when they do lead, they often do so within a traditionally female context, for example, pastoral work. Furthermore, many studies (Morrison et al. 1987; Peitchinis 1989; Sandler and Hall 1986; McCaulley 1990) note that women are frequently regarded as lacking the characteristics to lead and manage and are thus not considered as suitable candidates for promotion. As Coleman (2011:37) points out, stereotypes about suitable roles for women are deeply embedded:

> Perceptions about women's 'fit' in the workplace can be extremely damaging to potential women leaders. One woman working in the financial world, having met all the criteria for promotion and having been passed over persistently while her male peers were promoted said… 'I was not a member of the boys' club… I was black-balled by people who had never met me. The promotion procedures allowed subjectivity.'

Cognitive Perspectives on Leadership

There are strong links between cultural, symbolic and cognitive theories of leadership. In the former, the emphasis is upon leaders constructing a version of reality for followers. In the latter, the emphasis is upon the ways in which 'followers' can influence how leaders and managers are perceived. As far as women are concerned, preconceptions about whether a woman 'should' be in a leadership role may affect judgements about her effectiveness regardless of her actual performance. Research undertaken by Nieva and Gutek (1981) and Heilman et al. (1989) has shown how male attitudes to female managers can alter in women's favour as men get experience of working with women. However, as Middlehurst (1997:12) points out:

> despite 'objective' external assessments of the effectiveness of leadership behaviours on the part of women principals… subjective assessments by teachers on their principal's effectiveness vary depending on the gender of the teacher… male teachers evaluating the leadership of women principals less favourably than did their female colleagues.

Contingency Theories

All the theories discussed so far in this chapter have played a part in developing my understanding of how organisations work and some of the dynamics which may affect how leaders and managers carry out their roles. The final theory discussed in this section of the chapter is of particular note as it analyses the effect of context on leadership style. Cole (2004:59) informs us:

> The first theorist to use the label 'contingency' was F.E. Fiedler … who named his leadership model the 'leadership contingency model'. In his view, group performance is contingent on the leader adopting an appropriate style in light of the relative favourableness of the situation.

Similarly, Adair (1973) advanced a theory of leadership which argued that a leader's behaviour is relative to the overall situation and therefore has to be adaptive. The importance of situational factors such as the nature of the task or the type of external environment is seen to have a marked effect on leadership style. As Middlehurst (1997:7) explains:

> factors such as the position of a leader in a hierarchy, the functions performed by an organisational unit, the characteristics of a task and the technology used, subordinates' competence and motivation to perform, and the presence or absence of a crisis, all have an effect on styles of leadership and perceptions of a leader's effectiveness… Gender is a contingent factor, which has only recently been taken into account in studies of leadership.

The fact that gender is marginal in many theories of management and leadership is not surprising as early studies, such as those based on trait theories, focused on the person of the leader in order to look for signs of leadership. As the leaders in question were at that time almost exclusively male, the question of gender was not raised as an issue. However, as Middlehurst (*ibid.*) points out, contingency theory does take gender into account as part of its consideration of the importance of the context in which management and leadership roles are performed. As gender, management and educational reform are the focus of my research, contingency is likely to be important.

The purpose of the first section of this chapter has been to provide a brief overview of the dominant themes which have characterised thinking about leadership and management over time.

It is interesting, if not a little concerning, that many of the stereotypes related to women as leaders and managers remain remarkably persistent in more recent literature (Leathwood and Read 2009; Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014).

What is now needed is an exploration of the similarities and differences between what managers and leaders do.

Visionary Leadership and Strategic Management?

The literature related to leadership and management demonstrates the complexity of what is entailed in these two concepts and illustrates a diversity of opinion as to how closely they are interrelated. Dubrin (1995:3) argues that in order to understand leadership, it is also important to understand how management and leadership differ. He argues:

> Broadly speaking, leadership deals with the interpersonal aspects of a manager's job whereas planning, organising and controlling deal with the administrative aspects… leadership deals with change, inspiration, motivation and influence. In contrast, management deals more with maintaining equilibrium and the status quo.

Covey (1992:246) however argues that leadership can be *contrasted* with management, but is not mutually exclusive. He provides a useful synthesis of what he sees as the similarities and differences between these concepts, noting:

> Leadership deals with direction—with making sure that the ladder is leaning against the right wall. Management deals with speed… leadership deals with vision… with keeping the mission in sight—and with effectiveness and results. Management deals with establishing structure and systems to get those results… Leadership focuses on the top line. Management focuses on the bottom line… Management organises resources to serve selected objectives to produce the bottom line… leadership and management are not mutually exclusive; in fact… leadership is the highest component of management.

However, as was noted in the discussion related to contingency theory earlier in this chapter, Cole (2004:5) reminds us that the task of management is carried out within the context of an organisation. He argues that modern approaches to the analysis of the management task must be considered in the light of what he describes as

> the organisation's over-riding need for flexibility in responding to change in its external and internal environment in order to meet the competing demands of all its stake-holders, customers, suppliers, employers and shareholders etc.

What Cole is referring to is the introduction of marketplace discourses into the public sector and their impact on organisations, including educational institutions (Clarke and Newman 1997; Davies 2003). This impact will be analysed in depth in Chapter 5; for the moment, it is sufficient to note that, as Kotter (1990) argues, in such complex and challenging times, both leadership and management are needed in order to survive organisational change.

In terms of overlaps, tensions and distinctions that shape the concepts of management and leadership, Kotter (*ibid.*) has provided

Table 2.1 Leadership and Management: Similarities and Differences.

	Management	*Leadership*
Creating an agenda	**Planning and budgeting:** establishing detailed steps and timetables for achieving needed results, and then allocating the resources necessary for making that happen	**Establishing direction:** developing a vision of the future, often the distant future, and strategies for producing the changes needed to achieve that vision
Developing a human network for achieving the agenda	**Organising and staffing:** establishing some structure for accomplishing plan requirements, staffing that structure with individuals, delegating responsibility and authority for carrying out the plan, providing policies and procedures to help guide people, and creating methods or systems to monitor implementation	**Aligning people:** communicating the direction by words and deeds to all those whose cooperation maybe needed so as to influence the creation of teams and coalitions that understand the vision and strategies, and accept their validity
Execution	**Controlling and problem-solving:** monitoring results versus plan in some detail, identifying deviations, and then planning and organising to solve these problems	**Motivating and inspiring:** energising people to overcome major political, bureaucratic and resource barriers to change by satisfying very basic, but often unfulfilled, human needs
Outcomes	Produces a degree of predictability and order, and has the potential of consistently producing key results expected by various stakeholders	Produces change, often to a dramatic degree, and has the potential of producing extremely useful change

Source: Kotter (1990:6)

a useful analysis through which these attributes can be discerned (see Table 2.1).

It is worth noting the words of Fidler (1997:26), who argues:

> Organisations that are over managed but under led eventually lost any sense of spirit of purpose. Poorly managed organisations with strong charismatic leaders soar temporarily only to crash shortly thereafter.

However, more recent theories focus less on the difference between management and leadership but concentrate on what are termed 'participatory models', such as distributed and transformational leadership (Harris 2008). These models, arguably, are gender neutral and collaborative, and 'open up more spaces for participatory modes of leadership', where leadership roles are held by a number of team members (Blackmore and Sachs 2007:259).

Distributed and Transformational Leadership

Distributed leadership challenges the notion that leadership should be housed in one person, and contemporary studies into school leadership (Fullan 2001; Harris and Lambert 2003) argue that leadership roles should be distributed throughout the organisation rather than being invested in an individual. As Fullan (2001:1) argues:

> It is not about superleaders. Charismatic leaders inadvertently often do more harm than good… they are role models who can never be emulated by large numbers. Sustained reform depends on many of us, not just on the few who are destined to be extraordinary.

Theories related to distributed leadership argue that it is not enough that those in senior leadership positions merely delegate authority; rather, what is needed is the creation of an environment into which people can grow into leadership. Spillane (2001:20) provides a vision of organisations where:

> Leadership stretches over the work of a number of individuals and tasks are accomplished through the interaction of multiple leaders.

However, the concept of distributed leadership is problematic for a number of reasons and this is linked to what the concept of leadership

actually entails. As has been noted in this chapter, there is an 'ongoing lack of clarification as to what leadership means' (Blackmore and Sachs 2007:128). Blackmore and Sachs (*ibid.*) note:

> Epistemologically and theoretically approaches range from interpretive to culturalist, cognitive, poststructural and feminist. Each of these approaches brings into account and emphasizes different dimensions of the nature, scope and practice of leadership.

Researchers such as Gunter (2001), Deem (2003) and Blackmore (2005) argue that these models of leadership are based on traditional masculine assumptions and values about 'what leadership is' and what is marginal in more recent analyses such as those of Leithwood et al. (2006) and DFES/PricewaterhouseCoopers (2007) reference to gender research. As a result, there is a 'lack of critical analysis of models of leadership and the gendered assumptions about what is effective leadership' (McNamara et al. 2008:39).

Another problem with distributed leadership is that, as Cole (2004:53) argues, although leaders may empower others and share the 'leadership burden', in the final analysis, a leader cannot abdicate responsibility for the group's results. In a situation where multiple leaders are operating simultaneously, the end result may become diffused or lost sight of. A common theme running through theories of leadership is that one of the key tasks of leaders is to produce change (Kotter 1990), and following on from that, it is important that leaders have the vision to set the direction of that change. In a situation where distributed leadership operates, the question must be asked whether all those in distributed leadership positions would endorse entrepreneurial and visionary discourses. This is a task that 'goes beyond planning, which is a management process designed to produce orderly results rather than change' (Cole, *op. cit.*:85). It is also important, in neoliberal times, to question how much autonomous space any leader has to operate within. Crozier and Reay (2005) point out that, as far as discourses related to effectiveness within the education market place are concerned:

> distributed leadership framed by neo liberal or utilitarian views… emphasizes technical professionalism within a straitjacket of professional standards, competencies and quality assurance where managerial tasks and responsibili-

> ties are redistributed but not power and agency. (Cited in Blackmore and Sachs 2007:128)

Similarly, as Blackmore and Sachs (2007:259) put it:

> the conflation of power (managerial relationships) and empowerment (leadership relationships)… and the refusal to recognize social inequalities, means that notions of transformational leadership are politically neutralized. Change is constrained within parameters set by organizational strategic plans. Distributed leadership becomes delegation of tasks.

Theories of leadership and management are far ranging and highly complex whether they are considered separately in their own right or whether the focus is upon how they operate in tandem. My purpose so far in this chapter has been to explore some of the similarities and differences in management and leadership roles and to consider some key theories related to how managers and leaders might operate within given contexts. The chapter now provides a more in-depth analysis of the complex and contested issues surrounding women, management and leadership.

Women in Organisations: Surviving in a Male World?

It is clear from a brief review of leadership theories and related research that the issues surrounding leadership, management and gender are contradictory. Green (1988:106) summed up the dilemmas faced by women leaders in the words of Judith Sturnick, then President of the University of Maine at Farmlington in 1986. As she said:

> [Leadership] is a phantasm of cultural stereotypes and multiple confusions about what is 'appropriate' and what is 'inappropriate' for a female in terms of the use of power, decision-making authority and permissible manifestations of our spiritual/physical/ mental strengths. Our culture is a long way from having worked out these ambiguities; consequently, our lives are awash in these waves of confusion, identity crises and overt hostility from both men and women—forces which are intensified for the woman in a public, visible role.

Reay and Ball (2000:145) argue that although the term 'management' covers a wide spectrum of leadership roles, which all carry varying degrees of influence and power, the very term incorporates notions of hierarchy, power and control—in short, qualities which, they suggest, are commonly seen as 'masculine'. Their case is that the world of leadership and management may well be a world fraught with dilemmas for some, if not all, women (Blackmore 1999).

Over time, many researchers, for example, Marshall (1984), Walby (1986), Cockburn (1991), Kanter (1993), Marshall (1995), Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995), Coleman (2011), and Fitzgerald (2014), have explored women's roles within organisations. As Marshall (1984:4) found, the notion of women and management has to take into consideration a much wider context. Referring to her own research, she elaborates on this point:

> This wider context took several forms. One was the general issue of society's values about work, or the nature of life within large institutions. Secondly I had needed to explore other aspects of women's lives to understand the qualities, motivations and priorities they bring to employment… A third context –women's place in society—is never far away… Women bring their femaleness, with its connotations and status in society, with them when they enter organisations.

The broader context described by Marshall (*ibid.*) contributes to the tensions and dilemmas faced by many women managers. For example, a review of some of the literature reveals that the world of the corporate organisation is not necessarily one which many women managers find hospitable (Catalyst 1990; Morrison et al. 1994; Hakim 1996). Cockburn (1991:17) comments:

> Often men are observed to generate a masculine culture in and around their work, whether this is technical or managerial, that can make a woman feel, without being told in so many words, 'you are out of place here'.

As Cockburn (*ibid.*:17) argues, attempts by organisations to implement equality initiatives always involve a struggle. She says:

> Organisations, whether we are talking about banks and businesses, armies, universities, hospitals or city councils, are significant concentrations of power. Indeed organisation is precisely and uniquely the means by which

> power is affected. Men are not about to let down the drawbridge on their castles.

One way of retaining power is to ensure that those you perceive as a threat to the 'status quo' do not 'thrive'. Early studies by Hennig and Jardin (1978), Marshall (1984), Hammond (1988) and Coyle (1989) found that 'men actively created an environment in which women were less able to flourish' (Cockburn 1991:65). Kanter (1993), in her study of managers in a large US corporation, found that men liked working with those they were comfortable with—other men. Other studies also referred to internal cultural mechanisms that 'freeze women out'. Walters (1987:14), in her study of women in the UK civil service, described a culture which 'opens itself to women and yet freezes them out; which integrates them, yet marginalizes them'. Strategies for marginalising women are numerous, ranging from ignoring inputs in meetings to attributing a woman's contribution to another (male) colleague to excluding them in social conversation. It should of course be noted that marginalising someone is not entirely a male preserve. As will be seen later in the chapter, in largely female organisations such as infant schools, some women use similar tactics on male colleagues (Hakim 1996; Hakim 2004).

Another way to ensure that a masculinist status quo is maintained is to make certain that women do not get into management positions in the first place. Studies by Morrison et al. (1987), Peitchinis (1989), Sandler and Hall (1986) and McCaulley (1990) found that women were frequently stereotyped as not having characteristics such as forcefulness, competitiveness, analytical ability and aggression to enable them to be able to make decisions. They were therefore not seen as promotable into decision-making positions. As has been mentioned earlier, more recent literature (Coleman 2008; Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014) argues that despite the passing of time and the gradual movement of some women into management positions, some of these barriers to women's advancement remain remarkably persistent. Coleman (2011:18) identifies these as

> [f]inding their place within a masculine work culture that tends to reinforce the glass ceiling; encountering gender stereotypes which cast men as leaders and women as supporters and nurturers and therefore 'outsiders' in terms of leadership and the impact of family responsibilities on women's ability to work.

There is no intention here to make essentialist claims about the experiences of all women in leadership positions. The point of this section of the chapter has been to interrogate some of the established literature, which describes the experiences of many, but not all, women managers and leaders.

It is important to note the findings of researchers such as Hall (1996), Hakim (1996), Hakim (2000), Sanders (2002) and Hakim (2004), who provide alternative insights into the roles of men and women within management. Whilst the corporate organisation may be a hostile place for some women, Hakim (1996) points out that hostility is not necessarily reserved for women and perpetrated by men. She refers to organisations, such as primary schools, where the culture is predominantly female and where men may be treated as 'outsiders'. Hostility is therefore not reserved for one particular gender but may be a response to people of the opposite sex who invade predominantly single-sex organisations, the problem seeming to relate to being positioned as 'other' to the dominant discourses of those organisations.

Sanders (2002:60) points to aspects of management, such as the ability to be 'tough', which she does not believe to be gender specific. She refers to one of the women in her (2002) research who commented:

> I just do not think it is a male-female issue… In terms of personal characteristics it is not a situation of out manning the man, it is about having a very tough and resilient character.

Sanders (*ibid.*:62) makes the following observation:

> To be powerful one also needs to be extremely single-minded. For both males and females… a career represents constant pressure to reach targets and achieve objectives… Do women themselves want to cope? The answer from my study is, 'No, not always'.

The point that Sanders (2002) is making here is that some women 'choose' not to engage with the stresses of management. However, such 'choices' are rarely made in a simplistic way and are influenced by a myriad of contradictory and interrelated factors. However, Hakim (1996) and Sanders (2002) make it clear that whereas it is important to recognise the issue of 'difference' when interrogating the roles of men and women within management, it is also important to recognise some of the commonalities

which women, and some men, face when trying to climb the promotional ladder.

Glass Ceilings, Perspex Ceilings, Glass Walls and Firewalls

This section of the chapter considers some of the more covert obstacles to women's (and arguably men's) progress up the organisational hierarchy. The above terms are just some of the metaphors which refer to a range of invisible barriers which obstruct promotional prospects.

For example, the glass ceiling is a term which appeared in the mid-eighties and permeated the literature surrounding women and management. Commentators such as David and Woodward (1998:14) have explored the notion of the glass ceiling. They refer to the work of Morrison, White, Velsor and the Center for Creative Leadership (1987, 1994), where Morrison explains the glass ceiling in the following terms:

> The glass ceiling is not just a barrier for an individual, based on the person's inability to handle a higher level job. Rather, the glass ceiling applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing higher *because they are women* (Morrison et al. 1994:13).

Sanders (2002:63) describes the glass ceiling as a set of

> invisible hurdles, mainly created by men and male culture, that prevent women from achieving in particular environment where there seem to be no other barriers.

She describes the most usual manifestations of the glass ceiling effect (Sanders, *ibid.*:63) as follows:

- failing to get one's efforts recognised and rewarded, or having them used by male colleagues to their advantage;
- not being taken seriously—either by men or by organisations (whose preferences are said to lie with male graduates from 'good' universities and a 'sound' background);
- seeing others (men) getting promoted ahead;
- general feelings of unfair treatment in comparison with male colleagues;

- feelings of isolation and a lack of role models within large companies and organisations;
- developing a strong dislike for internal politics and other 'games' one needs to play in order to advance.

The glass wall, on the other hand, refers to horizontal barriers which prevent both men and women from moving from what Still (1995:107) describes as 'functional areas into line management'. Guy (1994) refers to glass walls as another term for occupational segregation where some workers, predominantly women, are prevented from getting experiences such as in policy-making or budget handling, which in turn prevents them from gaining promotion.

Another metaphor commonly used to refer to career progression is that of the slippery or greasy pole. Carmody (1992) describes the uncertainty of women's career progression as a 'greasy pole'. No matter how hard women try to climb the pole, they will, from time to time, receive setbacks and slide back, at least some of the way.

The idea that discriminatory barriers have impeded their progress is not an idea subscribed to by all women. For example, some of the women in Sanders' (2002:64) research felt that

> a glass ceiling must exist because so many people talk about it, but personally 'they have never felt any prejudice'.

Writers such as Hall (1996:1) also contest the idea that the glass ceiling affects all women. Hall is concerned to deconstruct some of the potentially damaging and limiting impacts of these negative metaphors of female career progression. She says:

> I noted the danger of perpetuating an image of women as victims, forever banging their heads against glass ceilings, as they fail to negotiate successfully organisational barriers to their career advancement. In contrast there are other women who, although they still encounter some of the pressures described by other women in senior positions, have broken through the glass ceiling.

Hall recognises that glass ceilings exist, but argues that some women are able to, literally and metaphorically, rise above them, and Altman et al. (2005) argues that the glass ceiling still exists but has moved to a higher

level. Interestingly, Still (1995:107) notes a metaphor which reflects the fact that if women do manage to make progress through organisations, more difficult obstacles will be put in their way. Still (*ibid.*) refers to the 'perspex ceiling', a term noted by Smark (1994:27), who reported that companies had switched from glass to perspex ceilings because there was always the chance of an ultra-determined woman breaking through even reinforced glass but perspex was tougher!

Other metaphors have entered management and leadership vocabulary more recently. Ryan and Haslam (2006) prefer the notion of a glass cliff to a glass ceiling. This is where women are given difficult management and leadership positions which bring with them a high possibility of failure, which will then be put down to the fact that the leader is a woman. Bendle and Schmidt (2010) talk about a 'firewall', which, as Coleman (2011:27) informs us, is 'seen as more permeable than the glass ceiling, but more complex'.

The idea of glass ceilings, walls and cliffs may be contested. However, what is undeniable is that, as Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995:3) found, women have always been under-represented in the world of management. As they state:

> Women occupy only about 10 percent of management positions in Europe. Furthermore, women managers remain concentrated in junior and middle management positions: very few have managed to break through the 'glass ceiling' to occupy the top jobs.

However, as the Chartered Management Institute pointed out in November 2005:

> The number of female managers continues to grow. At 33.1% the level of women in management roles has trebled in 10 years.

Nonetheless, in 'top jobs', the percentage of women remained low at 14.4.

As has been noted earlier, Coleman (2011:3) reminds us that inequalities, particularly at senior level, are 'remarkably persistent'. As she says:

> There is a very slow rate of change with regard to women accessing the top positions. In the 2009 edition of the 'Sex and Power' index published by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), in the

> six categories there were fewer women than there had been five years previously.

Burkinshaw (2014:30) points out that it is important to increase the number of women in senior positions because, without a substantial number of women at this level, there is the danger that those who are in post will seem aberrant and strange (Mc'Gregor 2011). Commentators such as Vinnicombe (2008) and Bickley (2010) argue that achieving critical mass is fundamental to achieving change and improving the representation of women in leadership positions. If critical mass, 30 % or more, is achieved, then change is more likely to happen. In addition, as Kanter (1977) argued some time ago, a critical mass of at least 30 % means that people are likely to stop seeing women as women and more likely to see them as managers. The question then arises as to how women are enabled to achieve the top jobs, one strategy being that of introducing quotas. However, this notion is controversial and contested by women as well as men. For example, as Burkinshaw (*op. cit.*:33) argues:

> Some women worry that their success will be attributed to them satisfying a legal requirement, rather than being appointed on merit… some women deny that there are any barriers to women's success besides the barriers that women create for themselves; and some women… make it to the top believing that if they can do it any woman can.

It is important to bear in mind that under-represented groups are often blamed for their position in the hierarchy (Spar 2012), and as will be seen, the deficit theory remains only too prevalent.

It is also important to contest the idea that all women actually want promotion to 'top jobs'. As has already been noted (Hakim 1996; Sanders 2002; Hakim 2004), the pressures of senior management are actively rejected by some women. Those studying diversity management and leadership must guard against the danger of taking an essentialist stance when considering the movement of women into management positions and take into account the multiple, complex and contradictory factors, based on different value positions, which underpin such issues.

The Double Standard: Marriage, Career and Family

There are however lingering stereotypes attached to women in general and women managers in particular. One of these is that, despite their career aspirations, domestic responsibilities of women will always come first. Vinnicombe and Colwill (1995:7) refer to the 'double standard' for marriage held by some organisations which, as they say:

> view the married male manager as an asset, with a stable support network at home allowing him to give his undivided attention to work, but the married female manager as a liability, likely to neglect her career at the expense of her family at every opportunity.

Women who have children commonly experience further tensions in balancing work and domestic duties as childcare facilities such as crèches and nurseries may be expensive or in short supply. It should be noted however that many of the women in Sanders' (2002:83) research regarded juggling childcare and work as

> a challenge no different than a professional one. Some women planned the arrival of their children, some did not… very few women seemed to be set in their ways… [However] most admit that pregnancy, and the period immediately after that, do not always go with high-powered jobs.

It should also be noted that some men, as well as women, juggle work/home life responsibilities. However, as noted earlier, the stereotype remains that women are regarded as having primary domestic responsibility (Forrester 2005; Shakeshaft 2006).

'Unfriendly' Myths Surrounding Women Managers

As has been seen, there is a wealth of literature which explores the issue of women's continuing under-representation in management (Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014). However, as Boulton and Coldron (1998:149) comment:

> Most of the early sociological literature relating to women's careers… has suffered from a number of assumptions, which include a deficit model of women, a persistent tendency to see women in family role terms, and a persuasive ideology of individual choice.

The deficit model to which they refer includes assumptions, for example, that woman are less motivated to apply for promotion than their male counterparts as well as seeing women as 'deficient' when measured against managerial traits, which have sometimes been regarded as masculine.

Feminist critiques have sought to challenge some of these ideas. For example, Ozga (1993) found that assumptions about women's inadequacies permeated the literature on educational management in the 1950s and 1960s. However, she argued (Ozga *ibid.*:7) that the literature itself provides no direct evidence to support these assumptions, stating that 'they rest on "common sense" explanations and notions about what is "appropriate and feminine"'.

As well as 'deficit theories', Ozga (*op. cit.*:4) referred to some of the debates surrounding theories of 'structural discrimination' which were prevalent in the 1970s and 1980s that 'stress issues of power and control and the patriarchal construction of society'. Other important theoretical dimensions are provided by more recent perspectives, which consider women's own stories and accounts of what influences them to make particular career choices (Sikes et al. 1985; Ozga 1993; Thornton and Bricheno 2000). As Coffey and Delamont (2000:62) point out: 'The collection and analysis of personal narratives has become an increasingly common strategy for making sense of the social world.'

The notion of 'difference' is important here, and analysis of life histories and narrative accounts helps to recognise the complexity and diversity of women's experiences. However, whilst recognising individual differences, personalised accounts can also illuminate shared experiences, including some remaining deep-rooted prejudices about women managers (Forrester 2005; Shakeshaft 2006). As Shakeshaft (2006:500) notes:

> Theories that explain women's progress up the managerial ladder have been surprisingly similar across countries and cultures.

Fiske and Lee (2008:14) refer to the persistent stereotypes that affect the way in which people categorise each other. They refer to these as 'categorical associations—including traits, behaviours and roles—perceivers make to group members based on their membership'. The argument is that these categorisations lead to prejudices as to who is suitable for particular roles, for example, who is suitable to lead.

Problems with Essentialising Male and Female 'Ways of Managing'

The debates about whether men and women have different management qualities and styles and embrace different management discourses have been referred to briefly in the earlier discussion of leadership theory (Bensimon et al. 1989; Bryman 1992; Middlehurst 1997; Collard and Reynolds 2005). As has been suggested, traditional and stereotypical masculine qualities such as rationality and instrumentality have been inextricably bound up with notions of what it is to be a manager or leader. For example, Grace (1995:187) states: 'Patriarchal and male power has shaped the construct of leadership, its culture, discourse, imaging and practice for centuries.'

However, Grace (*op. cit.*) believes that female managers operate in a context of male hegemony whereby traditional male qualities are conflated with those of leadership. For example, some time ago, Marshall (1984:19) argued:

> leadership characteristics and the masculine sex role correspond so closely that they are simply different labels for the same concept.

Other commentators have argued that women who become managers develop what are perceived to be masculine ways of managing. Middlehurst (1997:13) asserts:

> As women proceed into management positions, they may undergo a socialisation process whereby they become more like men (i.e. more masculine).

This view is supported by Meta Kruger's (1996:454) study of male and female head teachers in Holland. She found that women were not 'more involved with others and less task orientated than men' and concluded: 'Women heads hardly differ from their male colleagues in the way that they experience power.' However, commentators such as Peters and Waterman (1982), Kanter (1983) and Kotter (1990) argue that the demands of leadership have changed. Organisations, they argue, are now recognising the importance of teamwork and a need for less hierarchical ways of managing. Therefore, different qualities such as flexibility and the ability to empower others are important. As women reach senior positions, they are often able to demonstrate a mixture of approaches which combine traditional 'masculine' and 'feminine' qualities (King 1993). Once again,

it is important to note the dangers of making essentialist claims about the managerial styles of men and women. As Reay and Ball (2000:146) point out:

> To ignore the ways in which the wielding of power modifies and reconstructs both men's and women's sense of self and their relationship with others is to overlook the shifting nature of gendered identities.

Specifically within research on educational management, there have been a number of feminist challenges to the mainstream tendency to equate management and leadership with traditional discourses of masculinity (Al-Khalifa 1989; Adler et al. 1993; Ozga 1993; Grogan 1996; Hall 1996.). For example, Ozga (1993:2) uses a number of case studies to celebrate the success of alternative management styles. She points out: 'It is the complex, varied and rich experience of women's lives which develops their particular management styles and capacities.' Ozga (*op. cit.*) also refers to Pitner's (1981) work on the leadership styles of male and female school superintendents, which highlighted some differences between male and female management as follows:

> *Definitions of task*: Women emphasise cohesiveness. They are much less individualistic, and spend time on fostering an integrative culture and climate.
> *Stress/conflict management*: Women cope more readily with 'routine' stress, and defuse conflict. They do not engage in displays of anger as control mechanisms (and hence may be mistakenly judged as 'weak').
> *Group management*: Group activities are much more highly valued by women than by men. Men attempt to retain control in group situations, or they withdraw.

Ozga (1993:12) comments that it is not simply that 'male' and 'female' management styles differ, but rather that those styles are predicated on different values. Some work has perhaps romanticised these different values. For example, women writers such as Shakeshaft (1989) and Blackmore and Kenway (1993) argue that women use power to empower rather than to dominate. Hall (1996:145) refers to her head teachers' descriptions of what power meant to them as follows:

> Power was not about being censorious, belittling or destructive, or taking arbitrary decisions, being hierarchical or confrontational. It meant being

> able to make things happen by distributing resources, interacting in ways that left others confident in their actions, enabling others to do things… having a vision and shaping a culture.

Reay and Ball (2000:147) however argue that the effects of more 'feminized' management styles may not be particularly far-reaching. They say:

> Despite the recent trends in management theory which celebrate a 'feminized' management style, the practice of management, especially in educational institutions, remains a paradoxical one for women. While it may be said that these style trends have had some impact on some aspects of management behaviour, it is patently unrealistic to argue that there has been a major transformation in management practices and culture.

They also warn that there are a number of problems with feminist texts, which sometimes operate with a notion of 'the universal feminine', which is frequently posited as an unmitigated good (Grundy 1993). As Reay and Ball (*op. cit.*:145) say:

> a number of feminist texts on management and gender work with essentialized notions of femininity in which homogenising conceptions depict women as uniformly nurturant, affiliative and good at interpersonal relationships.

They argue that this is not necessarily the case. Rather, they suggest that a number of feminist writers, in an attempt to counter notions of traditional male models of management, fail to address the 'impact of power and status on the construction of the femininities of powerful women'. Reay and Ball also argue (*ibid.*:152):

> the issue of women oppressing other women still remains relatively marginal to feminist theory. The possibility that domination and instrumentalism can shape women's relationships with other women has long been a silence in feminist writing and research.

Blackmore's (1999:205) research on leadership also revealed that not all women leaders were necessarily supportive to other women. As she said: 'many, but not all, women leaders sought to create safe havens for their colleagues'. Fitzgerald (2014:4) also points to the fact that 'women do not always exercise in positive and self-affirming ways' and refers to the work of Gini (2001:99), who explains:

> having achieved success by playing hardball and working hard, they [women] expect the same from others.

Chesler (2001:381) too speaks of her disappointment related to the way she had seen some women treating others. As she said:

> Forget about academic women helping each other. Some do, mainly it's cut-throat… For the last twenty years I have seen accomplished and generous women destroyed by other women… Just like the boys.

The degree to which women managers support their female colleagues, or for that matter each other, is an interesting point and will be further interrogated throughout the book.

It is however important to keep in mind the warning sounded by Fitzgerald (2014:11), who notes the danger of equating men and women, or for that matter, men and men and women and women, with homogenous management styles. Referring to her research on women managers and leaders, Fitzgerald states:

> The powerful potential of women's stories is that they offer a counter- narrative about how women 'do and perform' leadership. Their stories highlight that leadership is contextual, personal and adaptive. That is, leadership is enacted in different ways according to circumstance, personal and adaptive.

This chapter has explored some of the key issues surrounding management and leadership and how this relates to women. As has been seen, notions about 'who can lead' and what factors shape management and leadership discourses are contradictory and multilayered. The potential tensions and paradoxes between being a female and being a manager and leader are apparent within the literature, as are the dangers of essentialising how female and male managers carry out their roles. This chapter has discussed some of the general themes about women and management. However, deliberately, it has not attempted to explore the discourses and practices of a management regime which came into being in the late 1970s and which has altered fundamentally what it means to manage and lead within public sector institutions. The discourses and practices of new managerialism are interrogated in Chapter 5. But before that, we turn our attention to the women who hold authority positions in education.

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CHAPTER 3

Women: Educational Management and Leadership

This chapter turns its attention to women who hold managerial responsibility in the field of education. The chapter will argue that, just as with management in general, there remain stereotypes related to who can be managers and leaders in education.

As long ago as 1993, Ozga (1993:4) was writing:

> Women form the majority of the workforce in education; they are under-represented in its management. This is the case in all sectors and in all developed countries. Women are more visible in the management of education offered to younger pupils: as the age of the pupils' increases, the proportion of women diminishes.

As with management across the board, there is evidence to suggest that women are moving into educational management, particularly at lower levels (Acker 2005; Leathwood and Read 2009). However, despite this, Shakeshaft (2006:508) points out:

> women are less likely to be represented in formal positions of leadership in schools then men across all countries.

As Shakeshaft (*ibid.*: 501) notes, 'while equity gains have been made, different expectations and attitudes to women and men still exist'. Kelly and Thornton (2000), Thornton and Bricheno (2002), Fiske and Lee (2008)

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and McNamara et al. (2008) demonstrate that women's representation in educational management remains an important issue.

As has been seen in the previous chapter, leadership and management styles may be affected by the context in which these roles are carried out. This chapter will argue that contingency and context are important factors in shaping the social worlds of managers and leaders in education and may impact on those who may, or may not, seek promotion. The chapter starts by examining the dilemmas and challenges faced by women who hold authority positions in schools and then turns its attention to the world of higher education.

Women Who Manage Schools

Although the central focus of this book is upon the women who lead and manage initial teacher education, it must be remembered that many of these women began their professional lives as school teachers.

Teaching has been described as a feminised profession (Coffey and Delamont 2000: 44). Coffey and Delamont describe 'the feminisation thesis' as a situation where 'the gender balance of a profession is skewing towards women', both in terms of numbers and ethos. As Leathwood and Read (2009:13) point out:

> Education is positioned as both a feminized field per se and as a prime feminizing force for society as a whole. In a nutshell: increasing numbers of women teachers are assumed to be producing an increasingly feminized educational culture which then alienates and/or disadvantages boys and men.

Statistics from the 2008 report for the NASUWT on women teachers' careers demonstrate:

> Women dominate the nursery/primary workforce in England where they constituted around 88% of the workforce during the period between 1997 and 2005. (McNamara et al. 2008: i)

However, as Coffey and Delamont (2000) point out:

> While we are able to say with some confidence that the first kind of feminization is visible (the majority of the international teaching force is female), the

> second kind of feminization – suggesting new structures, organizations and ways of seeing/working is harder to delineate.

Despite the feminisation of the profession, historically, women have never been as prevalent as men in positions of authority. As commentators such as De Lyon and Migniuolo (1989: 49) have noted:

> there is no shortage of data to show women teachers do not occupy promoted posts as frequently as their male colleagues.

Some time ago, Adler et al. (1993:19) endorsed this fact, commenting, 'as most managers are men, so most teachers are female'. Referring to the 1990 figures from the DES Education statistics, they concluded:

> Despite the large number of women teachers in primary schools – four times the number of male teachers – men are disproportionately represented at head-teacher level.

Figures produced by the DfEE in 1999 show that rather than increasing in number, the number of women who take up headships was then declining. Acker (1994) argues that there is a gendered division of labour within the school teaching profession, which mitigates against women gaining senior posts. There is, in fact, a wealth of research over time (Evetts 1986; Grant 1987; Al-Khalifa 1989; Weightman 1989; De Lyon and Migniuolo 1989; Ouston 1993; Hall 1996; Lyons 1997; Boulton and Coldron 1998) which has investigated the careers of women teachers and found an under-representation of women in management positions. More recently, McNamara et al. (2008: ii) have noted:

> Women primary teachers' progress on the Leadership Scale is much slower than that of their male counterparts. Twenty per cent of male primary teachers with 5–9 years of service are already on the Leadership Scale compared with 8.5% of women; as are 54% of men with 15–19 years of service compared to 26% of women. After 20 years of service, 70% of men are on the Leadership Scale or a promoted post compared with 40% of women.

An article in the *Guardian* (February 2015) was still asking the question: 'Where are all the female headteachers?' Using figures from the Future Leaders Trust, the article noted:

> A government report on the school workforce in England, issued last year, showed that the state education sector is female, yet only 65% of headteachers are women.

As has been explored in the previous chapter, the issue of who can manage in organisations is strongly embedded in gender stereotypes. These stereotypes also apply to notions of who has the appropriate qualities to carry out leadership roles in schools. However, when these gender issues are investigated from a historical perspective, not only do women who manage in schools have to contend with the stereotypes that apply to women in general, but they also have to challenge the particular 'common-sense' assumptions surrounding what it is to be a woman teacher and manager.

Women's Under-representation in the Management of Schools: Some Explanations from History

The teaching of young children has always been linked to the so-called maternal qualities of caring and nurturing, as well as women's role within the family. As Heward and Sinclair (1995:39) have stated: '[H]istorically, women teachers have always accounted for a significant proportion of teachers of young children.' The census of 1851 showed that two-thirds of teachers were women and the most common types of schools before 1870 were known as 'dame schools' because they were run by women (Wicks 2001). Some time ago, Acker (1989:31) pointed out:

> The image of the woman teacher has always held contradictions. On the one hand teaching has been sold as an undeniably feminine occupation, linked to women's role as mothers and nurturers of children. The younger the children the more apt is a woman's place as their teacher. The sexual division of labour in the profession has emphasised this familial structure. On the other hand teaching has offered twentieth century women economic independence with relatively high (though unequal) salaries, responsibility and status

It is important to note the contradiction which Acker (1989) highlights. Teaching has offered scope for independence for many women while at the same time ensuring that they have been offered these opportunities for advancement within a gender-specific and normalised regime, that is, in an occupational setting which valourises maternity and nurturance. Acker (1989:32) goes on to make the link between these sorts of images and

the female teacher's marital status. For example, the image of the married woman teaching young children reflects the woman teacher's role as wife and mother. On the other hand, the image of the spinster teacher who had failed to marry became a powerful and therefore threatening image, in that such women did not fit into dominant discourses about femininity, dependence and women's work.

Oram (1987: 122) referred to the fact that, by the 1920s, male teachers had begun to feel threatened by the relative success of women in the teaching profession. This was for two reasons, namely:

> the number of women in the profession who were equally well qualified and capable and by the labelling of the profession as a feminine one.

Oram (*ibid.*: 108) believed that a concern of male teachers with 'manliness' confirmed 'masculinity' in opposition to and as superior to 'femininity'. She believed that the notion of 'masculine as superior' allowed the most prestigious posts in schools to be reserved for men. The statement 'it is not customary for a master to serve under a mistress' was contained in the handbook for educational administration in 1926. Oram (1989) claimed that this statement confirmed the understanding that women could become head teachers of schools with younger children and an all-female staff, but not in schools for older children and a mixed staff.

Gaine and George (1999:14) remind us that 'teaching originally had an unequal pay structure and women had to leave the profession when they got married'. The marriage bar, introduced as a result of the economic depression of the 1930s, caused another downturn in the career prospects of women teachers. As soon as women married, they had to give up teaching jobs because their main role was designated as caring, this time for their husbands. Although the bar was lifted during World War Two due to concerns over teacher supply, women teachers who were married while employed as part-timers and returners were not regarded as career teachers in the same way that men were (Oram, *ibid.*: 24). In fact, women teachers, married or unmarried, were often portrayed in negative ways. Although teaching was seen as an appropriate role for unmarried women, there was always the stigma attached to 'spinster teachers' of 'the failure to marry'. Oram (1989) pointed out that spinster teachers were increasingly portrayed as neurotic, lonely and frustrated, or threatening and powerful. On the other hand, married teachers who continued to work were seen as greedy, unfeminine and neglectful of home, husband and family (Oram

1989:32). In this way, the woman teacher was positioned, over time, in a way in which she was never really seen as acceptable.

By the 1950s and 1960s, married women teachers tended to work as part-time teachers, divided between work and home. As Oram (*ibid.*: 32–33) commented:

> Although women teachers had gained the right to work after marriage, they had lost some of their former power and professionalism along with the disparagement of the spinster teacher. … The greater emphasis on the importance of marriage, proven heterosexuality and actual rather than proxy motherhood reached its apotheosis in the 1950s and 1960s, while at the same time men teachers tightened their grip on headships and union hierarchies.

Persisting Inequalities Between Male and Female Managers in Schools

So far, this chapter has reviewed briefly some of the reasons why, historically, women have remained under-represented in the management of schools. However, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, not only do women teachers still constitute the majority of the teaching labour force, but also they remain disproportionately under-represented in the structure and hierarchy of school teaching (Coffey and Delamont 2000:50). Heward and Sinclair Taylor (1995:39), in their discussion of the career prospects of women teachers, noted:

> One of the most marked features of this century is the increasing inequality between men and women in their chances of promotion to senior positions. In all branches of the educational profession women are increasing their participation, but men continue to dominate senior positions to a similar or greater extent than in the past.

More specifically, Lyons (1997:48) pointed out that 'despite twenty years of improved social attitudes, women remain second choice for headship selection'. Figures produced by the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) in March 1999 show that women remain under-represented in positions such as head and deputy head despite the increasing number of women in the teaching profession. Kelly and Thornton (2000) analysed the 1999 DfEE data on teachers' careers which revealed

that, after 10–14 years in primary teaching, nearly 45 % of men had achieved headships or deputy headships compared with only 17 % of women despite the increasing feminisation of the teaching force.

The *Times Educational Supplement* (*TES*) (25 October 2002) placed this situation in the context of women managers in general. It commented:

> The rise of women across most professions has been one of the most striking revolutions of the past fifty years. Women are beginning to achieve positions of power in greater numbers. But there is one profession bucking this positive trend: teaching.

The article referred to figures taken from the Institute for Public Studies and Education report by Merryn Hutchings in March 2002. The figures revealed that in 1927, women made up nearly 60 % of primary head teachers in England and Wales, but by 2002, that figure had dropped to 53.1 %. The figures also revealed that men made up just 11.8 % of primary class teachers, yet 42.5 % of primary heads were men. These figures indicated that, in terms of senior promoted posts in schools, there was an enormous imbalance between men and women, especially at primary level. McNamara's (2008: ii) statistics demonstrate that there has now been some improvement in women's promotion opportunities; however, they also indicate:

> in senior and headship roles … [women] are currently still under-represented in relation to their proportion in the sector. Women are more likely to be appointed head in smaller schools and thus command a lower salary as, for primary and secondary alike, starting salaries on the leadership scale are based on the size of the school.

O'Conor (2015), in her article in the *Guardian*, points out that the lack of gender diversity, prevalent throughout the whole sector, becomes worse in secondary schools. O'Conor says:

> Here, 38% of the workforce are male and 62% are female. But when you look at headteachers, the numbers are reversed: just 36% are women.

The path to management, for many women, is a complex one involving the interplay of informal and formal processes. As will be explored in the next section of this chapter, situational and relational factors interact with

one another in a variety of ways that impact on whether some women teachers gain success in the promotion stakes.

A Suitable Candidate for Promotion? The Persistence of Unfriendly Myths About Women

One of the factors that may influence whether women teachers are successful in reaching senior positions is the fact that, in some cases, stereotyped views remain about what women can and should do in the workplace. The 'unfriendly myths' that frequently surround women managers in the corporation, namely a deficit model that persists in seeing their priorities as family rather than work (Boulton and Coldron 1998:149; Maguire 2005), may reappear with reference to women's exclusion from powerful positions in education. Adler et al. (1993: 25) referred to two studies, one by Davidson (1985) and one by Warwickshire County Council (1989), which identified some persistent assumptions about women teachers. These were:

- They are under-qualified;
- they are not interested in furthering their careers;
- they prioritise their children to the detriment of their jobs;
- they take career breaks and lose impetus
- they are tied to a spouse's career
- they cannot give time outside the school day because family commitments take priority;
- only single women progress well.

Acker (1989, 1994) and Heward and Sinclair Taylor (1995) also suggested that women's relative lack of success in promotion still relates to the way that the job of teaching, particularly in the primary sector, is still seen by society as closely allied to women's domestic responsibilities, or, in other words, 'a good job for a woman'. Acker (1989:1) commented:

> Teaching is thought of as an appropriate – perhaps even 'the best' – career for women, the best paid and highest status of the traditionally female professions, with holidays and hours that allow combined responsibilities in work and family contexts.

Acker argued that mainstream society continued to identify women as having the primary responsibility for care of family members and suggested

that women teachers are almost inevitably discussed in terms of their marital status while men are not (Acker 1994: 28). More recent work (Forrester 2005) points to the same sets of assumptions, and in a national survey of UK primary teachers' attitudes towards their careers, Thornton and Bricheno (2000) found that family responsibilities remain a significant issue for women teachers who choose not to seek promotion. These reasons were:

- when women were lone parents with other responsibilities;
- because of family commitments (the double bind of women's work);
- because [some women] see their paid work as secondary to that of their partners, as the chief bread winners (subordinate careers).

(Thornton and Bricheno *ibid.*: 203)

As one woman teacher put it, '[I]f you want promotion you have to be prepared to put the job before the family and I have never been prepared to do this' (Thornton and Bricheno 2000:200).

Maguire (2005:6) argues:

> The gendered nature of being a teacher (in the UK, as elsewhere) is conflated with discourses of caring and mothering. For this reason, it is perhaps not difficult for women to imagine a future where they work with children.

The point being made here is that persistent discourses about women teachers prioritising their domestic role continue to impact on some women teachers' career development. Nine years later, Fitzgerald (2014:23) is still clear that 'fundamental beliefs that women have primary responsibility to balance home, family and work remain unchallenged'.

Promotion … Taking a Different Path?

Dual commitments to, or tensions between, family and work responsibilities mean that, for some women teachers, their career paths may differ from those of their male colleagues. In their studies of the careers of male and female teachers, Grant (1987) and Adler et al. (1993) found that there tended to be a marked difference in the paths taken towards promotion. Men tended to see their career as 'a clear path leading to a final goal' (Grant 1987:231). Grant suggested that this path was seen as the norm and was based on men's experiences, and ignored the realities of many women's lives. This model was

> built on stereotypical traits of men: aggression, competitiveness and assumes promotion is the primary source of job satisfaction.

Adler et al. (1993:29) added:

> Career orientation based on a strong desire for advancement fits a career model, a clear path with defined steps leading towards a final target – a male model … the concept … is irrelevant to most women as it is out of step with their life-styles.

There is, however, a danger of making essentialist assumptions about the lifestyles of 'most women' (or for that matter, men). While Adler et al. (*op. cit.*) highlight the career pathway as masculine, they feed into another stereotype that all women are bound up in lifestyles linked to caring responsibilities. 'Women', in this case 'women teachers', cannot be positioned as a homogenous group. In addition, as has been discussed earlier, the premise that promotion is the primary source of job satisfaction may well not be the case for some women (or some men) in the twenty-first century (Hakim 2000; Sanders 2002). This issue will be returned to later in the chapter.

The Promotion Process

Coffey and Delamont (2000: 51) remind us that it is the case that fewer women than men in education apply for promotion (Lynch 1991; Acker 1994; Boulton and Coldron 1998). This has, in the past, been linked to ideas that women have a lack of commitment and ambition and take excessive career breaks. However, Measor and Sikes (1992) have challenged this idea, commenting that the notions of excessive career breaks are a myth rather than a fact. The assumption that family responsibilities prevent women teachers applying for promotion has also been challenged by Davies (1990) and Bloot and Browne (1996). They say that these stereotypes can mask more powerful deterrents; for example, Acker (1983 and 1994) argues that a lack of awareness of the promotion system and a lack of confidence may deter some women from applying for promotion.

As far back as 1989, the aforementioned study by Warwickshire County Council (1989:4) found that women teachers were as interested in promotion as men, but were more aware of, and subject to, discrimination. In a later study, Bloot and Browne (1996:83–86) also refer to women's own perceptions of the promotion process as a deterrent. Coffey

and Delamont (2000: 52) describe promotion as a two-way process involving both formal and informal procedures. As far as informal procedures are concerned, the importance of having support in the right places is well documented.

Informal Promotion Procedures: Role Models, Mentors and Networking

Bloot and Browne (1996:85) refer to the importance of role models and mentors in the promotion process, but argue that this is an area where many women do not receive the informal support given to many men. They say:

> Many women do aspire to senior positions, but fail to apply for them because they do not receive the initial patronage and support given to men.

De Lyon and Migniuolo (1989), Delamont (1990), Measor and Sikes (1992), Boulton and Coldron (1998) and Coleman (2004) also suggest that women may be less 'plugged into' the more informal processes of promotion such as 'networks, sponsors, role models, and general encouragement'. The *TES* report (25 October 2002) indicated that this still may be the case, noting that many men 'just assume that they will get headships' and receive mentorship from 'significant others' in a way that many women do not. On the other hand, David and Woodward (1998:5) refer to the importance of networking among women as a strategy to improve women's promotion chances. They state:

> We knew both from the burgeoning management literature and from our observations of men's strategies that such forms of networking were a vital ingredient of career development.

Some of the women in Ozga's (1993:23) research also alluded to the positive benefits of networking. As one woman Head of Unit said: 'A network of support is crucial—it is absolutely essential.' King (1997:94) also noted the importance of women supporting and encouraging other women into leadership positions. She said:

> Networking could help those who want to rise to positions of leadership, could encourage women to work toward a senior post, could offer support

> to the pioneers who are already at the top … indeed networking … may well be the single most important tool in women's advancement in the 1990s.

Despite these claims, Coleman (2004:42) notes that an enduring feature of both older and more contemporary research related to gender discrimination and women's promotion prospects was that 'there was not much evidence of heads giving women any special support in terms of career development'.

In a later study, Coleman (2011: 67) provides a useful analysis of different standpoints regarding mentoring. The majority of women in her study put their success down to their own 'determination, hard work and enthusiasm', although many did refer to the importance of mentoring which had happened 'informally and organically' rather than through any formal arrangement. Coleman (*ibid.*: 73) also makes the point that older women were less likely to have been mentored than their younger colleagues. One of her respondents made the link between a lack of mentoring and family responsibilities. As she said:

> I don't know that women are natural networkers. I would never dream of meeting someone for a drink after work; there are the children, the meal to think of, but for men, it is the natural thing to do.

Although this comment reflects a somewhat stereotyped point of view and not all women have to prioritise family duties; nonetheless, old stereotypes remain deeply embedded.

There is also a danger of identifying all women with uniformly nurturant discourses that seek to care, support and empower. This is because women's role as teachers or managers in education still tends to be equated with traditional stereotyped views of a domestic role which valourises caring. Acker and Feuerverger (1996:401) remind us:

> Traditionally, women are associated with the 'caring professions' of nursing, teaching and social work. Persons working in these occupations are expected, in a quasi-maternal manner, to care for, or care about, others … [what could be called] 'the caring script'.

However, there are problems with this analysis in that women teachers may not all endorse discourses which prioritise caring, whether that be for children or for colleagues (Fiske 2008). As Acker and Feuerverger (*ibid.*: 402) caution, '[T]here is a concern that diversity among women is not sufficiently recognised.' Reay and Ball (2000) have suggested that some

women, far from supporting their female colleagues, may behave towards them in obstructive ways. The oppression of women by other women is an area that remains under-researched. Reay and Ball (2000: 152) state there is a silence in feminist writing and research around the possibility that 'domination and instrumentalism can shape women's relationship with other women'. Unlike the women in King's (1997) narrative who did seek to encourage each other into management positions, other women may see a management role as oppositional to that of helping colleagues.

Reay and Ball (2000:148) point out:

> there exists a conundrum, even for those women who consciously aspire to operate in democratic, co-operative ways of working in the labour market, that is, whether, in practice, maintaining caring, collaborative ways of working is consistent with a career in management.

It is also possible that, as Reay and Ball (*ibid.*: 153) continue:

> the contemporary educational market-place conscripts headteachers of both sexes into goal orientated ways of working that position all subordinates as a means to senior management ends.

What Reay and Ball (2000) are suggesting is that the introduction of the marketplace into education may have caused a shift in management discourses further away from collegiality and teamwork towards 'top-down', goal-orientated directives. Analysis of the consequences of the introduction of the discourses and practices of the marketplace into education is fundamental to this book. This is explored briefly in relation to schools later in this chapter and in more depth in relation to higher education and teacher training in Chap. 5. Meanwhile, this chapter returns to the discussion of formal mechanisms that may impact on the promotion of some women teachers: the formal interview.

Formal Promotion Procedures: The Interview

As Coffey and Delamont (2000:51) point out:

> It is difficult to provide concrete evidence that formal promotion procedures are biased, or that they intentionally discriminate against women … equal opportunities monitoring is now a routine in many educational work contexts.

Nonetheless, it is likely that many interview panels in schools will be dominated by men (Coffey and Delamont *ibid*.: 51) and this may well disadvantage women. Even when women do apply for promotion and gain interviews, discrimination, in the form of stereotyped views which remain endemic in many interview panels, is seen by Hutchings (2002) to be a key reason why there are fewer women heads in primary schools than in the 1920s. Thornton and Bricheno's (2000) study also revealed that female teachers (but not males) saw promotion procedures as instrumental in furthering unequal gendered career patterns in UK primary schools. They note:

> school governing bodies have a great deal of power, making decisions about promotion, appointments and pay. Training for school governorship is encouraged, but is optional, and equality or gender issues are not high on the agenda of governor training. Thus traditional attitudes (men in leadership roles) may go unchallenged and the small number of available male primary school teachers can lead school governors to favour men when considering appointments and promotions in their schools.
>
> (Thornton and Bricheno *ibid*.: 2002)

Thirteen years later, O'Conor (2015) found that the stereotyped opinions of some governors are still a concern. She cites the opinion of a primary head teacher as follows:

> In my own experience of applying for a headteacher's role, governors overtly believed that a man would be better because he would be tougher and more respected by the students.

A Changing Management Ethos: The Effect of Educational Reform on Gendered Promotion Prospects

Coffey and Delamont (2000:52) perceive the management ethos of some schools as a key reason for women teachers' under-representation in management. They describe this as:

> A management ethos that values discipline, control and competition [one which] … is often conceptualized as a male model of leadership, with authority derived from an authoritarian approach.

This is a model of management, dismissive of the 'feminine' management styles based on collaboration, negotiation and participation as described by Ozga (1993). The issue as to whether men and women do, in fact, adopt different management styles has been debated in the previous chapter (see, e.g., Hall 1996; Blackmore 1999; Reay and Ball 2000; Fiske 2008; Fitzgerald 2014). The point being made here is that in education in particular, the 'well entrenched traditional [masculinist] model remains the norm' (Coffey and Delamont, *op. cit.*: 53). The *TES* report (25 October 2002) also cited the management style prevalent in many schools as an important factor in dissuading women from management roles. The article noted the comments made by a female head teacher referring to what she terms 'the male-orientated, top-down militaristic style of schools which puts many women off' (*TES op. cit.*). Reay and Ball (2000:151) make the point that certain contexts, or certain periods in history, lend themselves more readily to what may loosely be described as 'women's ways of working' or managing. They suggest that the late twentieth and early twenty-first century is not one of those times as the introduction of market forces and new managerialism has led to workplace cultures 'characterised by competition, insecurity and rampant individualism [which are not] conducive to "caring, sharing" ways of managing by either women or men'.

As will be explored in much greater detail in Chapter 5, the insertion of market forces into education has caused a sea change in the working practices of all those who work within it. The introduction of new managerial discourses related to efficiency, effectiveness, cost-cutting and competition, designed to reshape educational institutions, may well affect whether women, or men, want to become managers or leaders in reformed institutions. The introduction of the 1987 White Paper and subsequently the 1988 Education Act initiated a fundamental change in the ways that schools are organised, managed and controlled. The imposition of a national curriculum and national testing are, Ball (1994: 48–49) believes, 'direct and indirect interventions into pedagogical decision making', leading to 'an increase in the technical elements of teachers' work and a reduction in the professional'. Harnett and Naish (1990:11) comment:

> The reality is that the power has flown away from children, professionals, and LEAs [Local Education Authority] to bureaucrats and politicians at the centre.

The loss of control over the content of the curriculum has caused a value shift in what 'it is to be a teacher', which, as (Blackmore 1999:12) noted,

has caused 'many teachers [to] express a sense of loss of professional autonomy and judgement'. However, as well as suffering incursions into professional freedoms, teacher 'effectiveness' is now judged by appraisal schemes, which measure performance against agreed targets (Tomlinson 2005). Gewirtz (1997:225) states:

> clear lines of accountability coupled with appraisal systems effectively manage the work of teachers, ensuring that the values of the performance-driven market are institutionalised to the extent that they penetrate classroom practice.

In summary, as Hoyle and John (1995:21) note:

> The increased control of the curriculum outlined in the 1988 Act, the greater surveillance of teachers' work the rise of appraisal, examination league tables and performance related pay [have] led teachers to feel truly under siege.

A further value shift for teachers and head teachers has come with the fact that schools, along with other educational institutions, now also find themselves in competition, rather than cooperation with each other, in a climate of professional isolation and secrecy. The introduction of the values of the marketplace into schools has meant yet another discursive shift in teachers' work from discourses which privilege learning and teaching to those that endorse competition and entrepreneurial initiatives. Ball (1994: 51) noted:

> The introduction of market forces into the relations between schools means that teachers are now working within a new value context, in which image and impression management are becoming as important as the education process.

New approaches to management are the third way in which Ball (1994) argued that schools are controlled. As will be discussed in far greater depth in Chapter 5, the introduction of new managerial discourses of efficiency, empowerment and client centredness is seen as fundamental to reform of state institutions in that the market will dictate the allocation of resources and that will need to be managed (Clarke and Newman 1997). Changes in the management of schools came with the introduction of Local Management of Schools (LMS). For some managers in schools, reform meant that potential was now there for serious role conflict.

Ball (1994:58) noted the possibility of divisions arising between teachers (still focussed on learning, albeit of the national curriculum) and managers (now focussed on budgets, efficiency and entrepreneurial activities). Ball (*ibid.*: 71) argued that management has become a mechanism which

> drives a wedge between the curriculum and classroom-orientated teacher and the market and budget orientated manager, thus creating a strong potential for differences in interest, values and purposes between the two groups.

The effect of educational reform in schools, and in other educational institutions, has been to create value shifts related to what it is to be a teacher or manager within those institutions. It is clear that these value shifts may impact on decisions about whether to apply for promotion. One female respondent in Thornton and Bricheno's (2000:198) survey made clear that it was her love of teaching and care for children, combined with increased government bureaucracy, that made her wish to stay in the classroom. She said:

> I am perfectly content with my role as it stands. Teaching is very demanding and takes all our time and efforts. We have enough responsibility as it is. Promotion means more paper work etc. which detracts from your actual role which is to teach the children in my care. They are important, their individual learning, development and happiness. As teachers we have enough to cope with from the Government's bureaucracy. Their ever-changing policies and whims … it's the children that matter and what we do for them.

Sanders (2002:62) also refers to the fact that some women may decide that the demands of contemporary management and leadership are not for them, this time citing stress of the job as the deterrent. Sanders says:

> To be powerful one also needs to be extremely single-minded. For both males and females … a career represents constant pressure to reach targets and achieve objectives … Do women themselves want to cope? The answer from my study is, 'No, not always.'

However, despite the fact that some female and male teachers may decide not to apply for promotion because of increased pressure, paperwork and bureaucracy, many of the male teachers in Thornton and Bricheno's (2000:199) survey still felt that management was a logical career pattern

for them. One male teacher commented that gaining a headship 'was always a natural progression and what I set out to do'. Commentators such as Leonard (1998), Blackmore (1999) and Reay and Ball (2000) argued that the shift in managerial discourses may mean that management in educational institutions will become increasingly male dominated. Leonard (*op. cit.*:82) points out:

> the cultural shift in educational philosophy away from professional concerns to economic principles of marketisation, unit autonomy and performance targets has been seen by many men … as an opportunity to reclaim [educational] organisations as both male-dominated and masculine.

The argument being made is that normalised versions of traditional masculinity might converge with managerial discourses of competition and performance in ways which privilege male promotion in educational settings. As Mauthner and Edwards (2010:485) put it:

> New managerialism has heightened a management style which emphasizes control and macho decision making where the desire for profit and efficiency over-rides other humanitarian concerns.

The final part of the first section of this chapter returns to exploring further reasons why women teachers are under-represented in senior posts and emphasises the importance of contingency and context in determining whether or not some women make the decision to apply for promotion.

Contingency and Context, Choice or Constraint: Choosing Not to Go for Promotion

The fact that some women may 'choose' not to apply for promotion is one that has been suggested by Hakim (2000). Boulton and Coldron (1998) studied the dynamics surrounding one well-qualified and confident female teacher's decision not to apply for internal promotion to a senior management position despite the fact that, in many ways, she was the favoured candidate. Their study reinforces the notion that 'choosing' to apply or not for promotion is not a simple choice, but one that is made in the interplay of many complex variables. Boulton and Coldron (*op. cit.*: 154) note that worries about a lack of support from colleagues were identified

by Lesley as a key element of her decision not to apply for the post. As Lesley said:

> Well, the worst thing about it all was probably the fact that nobody said anything, nothing whatsoever, apart from one female colleague who was fishing … said are you going for the job … It wasn't a friendly enquiry at all.

Without wishing to make essentialist claims about what 'all women' do, Boulton and Coldron (1998:154) point out that Lesley's concern with 'wanting to be liked' could be described as a female trait, one which embraces a discourse that is essentially consultative and collaborative (Marshall 1984; Ozga 1993). Whether or not this is the case, what is clear is, as Coffey and Delamont (2000: 54) point out:

> the politics of promotion and situated contexts in which career advancement is made may actually constrain rather than promote real choice.

As they continue:

> It is certainly the case that gendered assumptions about women teachers' lack of ambition and commitment remain wholly inadequate explanations for the lack of women teachers within the higher echelons of the teaching profession.

As has been discussed in this chapter, there exists a plethora of reasons why women teachers may not be represented in senior promoted posts as much as their male colleagues. These range from lingering negative stereotypes about 'women as manager' to the fact that some women may make the choice not to enter the promotion stakes (Bottery 2000). Cultural shifts in current educational philosophy and the changing value contexts of schools may also have an effect on whether women, or some men, might wish to take on management responsibility. Discourses related to what it is to work, manage and lead in schools have undergone radical change, reflecting a fundamental value shift from a central concern with learning and teaching to a prioritisation of the values of the marketplace. In addition, the work of teachers and managers in all sectors of education is increasingly controlled by continually shifting policy directives, surveyed by external and internal audit and inspection and judged by performance and outcome (Mahony and Hextall 2000). As management and the market

become more closely entwined (Ball 2001:14), it would not be surprising that, for some, this is a career path which is no longer attractive.

So far this chapter has examined some of the key reasons suggested in the research literature, from a (brief) historic and contemporary point of view, as to why women teachers remain under-represented in the management of schools, particularly within the primary sector, where they might perhaps be expected to gain promotion. However, the central theme of this book is concerned with women who manage in teacher education, a sector which has a contradictory and complex relationship with both the schoolroom and the academy (Maguire 1993; Murray 2002). The chapter has interrogated the position of women in schools, as much can be learnt here about historical and contemporary discourses related to women, teaching and managing. Furthermore, the women who lead and manage teacher education will, in all probability, at some time, have been teachers in schools and are likely have brought values related to the organisation and culture of schools with them into the academy. However, before focusing specifically upon the women who run teacher education, this chapter now turns its attention to the role of women within the academy in general.

Women: Managing and Leading in the Academy

As has been discussed in the previous section of this chapter, teaching is often seen as 'women's work'; it might therefore be assumed that, as in the case of women teachers, women who teach in higher education might be expected to gain promotion readily. However, just as in the case of women teachers in schools, this does not appear to be the case. As Acker (1994:125) stated:

> If there is anywhere that women professionals should be successful, it is in the universities. We think of teaching as a woman's forte and universities as meritocratic institutions. Yet there is ample evidence that career patterns of women university teachers differ from those of men.

Research carried out in the 1980s, 1990s and early twenty-first century has shown that, at that time, men dominated senior positions in the UK academy (Bagilhole 1993; Ozga 1993; Morley 1994; Eggins 1997; Brooks 1997; Mavin and Bryans 2002; Leathwood and Read 2009; Fitzgerald 2014). Nicholson (1996:83) referred to the strategies that some women

had to employ in order to be accepted by their male peers within the academy. As Nicholson noted:

> many academic women either become positioned as harridans or keep their heads down and get on with their work; invisible, they are accepted into the academy.

Her view was endorsed by King (1997:91), who made it clear that, while in other areas, women were starting to make slow inroads into the promotion stakes, senior positions in both old and new universities remained a male preserve. Eggins (1997: xi) discussed the particular challenges faced by women managers in the academy and argued:

> Women who serve as the leaders of academic institutions confront all the issues that women executives face in any large and complex business organisation. They also confront unique issues … helping to shape women's roles in organisations that have a very traditional and masculine cultural ethos.

The traditional and masculine ethos of higher education was one of the reasons suggested by Powney and Weiner (1992:20) for the underrepresentation of women in the higher echelons of universities. They claimed that university management structures were based on traditional stereotypical views of class, race and gender and were therefore dominated by a culture that supported the old public school network, which is one that promoted 'jobs for the boys'. Mavin (2001) argued that the position of women within the academy was complex, contradictory and problematic, not least because institutions of higher education were said to have a very masculine ethos and are dominated by 'limited and rigid career patterns'.

However, Powney and Weiner (1992: 20) also suggested that some of those who held power in universities may not recognise that unequal gender relations operated because they had difficulty acknowledging the fact that discriminatory practices existed. As Powney and Weiner (*ibid.*) said:

> Their image as fair-minded people has proved a real problem to get over in universities. You are working against the grain of people who feel they have been fair all their lives and couldn't possibly … they do have the understanding of things like indirect discrimination. It's just not a concept they acknowledge.

Like Powney and Weiner (*ibid.*), Heather-Jane Robertson (1992:44) also claimed that many educational institutions 'avoided or dismissed analyses

and research which identify systematic bias'. She argued that there operated within such institutions a '"common-sense" hegemony of male dominance, [which] is masked by a version of gender neutrality'. This, she says, 'created a silence which promoted gender bias while superficially adopting mannerisms of impartiality' (Robertson 1992:58).

Sanders (2002) argues that women are less likely to become 'insiders' in male-dominated institutions. Within the academy, as elsewhere, subtle mechanisms may operate to position women as 'other'. These include not being taken seriously by male colleagues, being excluded from informal social networks and the danger of work success being attributed to the use of sexuality (Morgan 1986; Handley 1994; Nicholson 1996; Wajcman 1998; Currie and Thiele 2001). Katilia and Merilainen (1999:166) have argued that 'women are often positioned in the contradictory place of being simultaneously absent and present in academia'.

Many studies of the 1980s and 1990s claimed that, not only did informal exclusionary mechanisms operate against many women within the academy, but also much of the work undertaken by many men and women at that time differed. For example, Cann, Jones and Martin (1991: 19), in their study of women academic staff in colleges of higher education in England, noted significant gender inequality. They (*ibid.*: 20) found that the vast majority of women worked in the lowest career grades and outnumbered men only in part-time posts. West and Lyon (1995: 52) referred to the AUT's 1992 audit based on research on full-time university research and teaching staff in 1989. They found:

> overall women earned 16 per cent less than men. This reflects the fact that almost nine in ten academic women were in lecturer grades compared with just over six in ten men. A quarter of men were at senior lecturer/reader level compared to only 10 per cent of women.

As West and Lyon (1992:53) reported, the AUT's (1992) survey found that women on the lecturer pay scale earned on average 92 % of men's pay, whereas they noted:

> among senior lecturers/readers pay was almost the same and even at professorial level the difference was slight. The difference was least at senior lecturer level, partly because the salary range is shortest and there is least scope for discretion. But the AUT argues that at lecturer level, the pay gap

> of 8 per cent is explained by neither age nor length of service … It suggests that, since the gap widens for staff in their late thirties and forties, it could well be career breaks that account for women's lower earnings.

The AUT's survey in 1994 again found marked differences in the work undertaken by men and women in higher education institutions. Referring to their survey, Davies and Holloway (1995:16) made the point:

> It was … clear that women carried a greater administrative load than men. Furthermore, women at every level actually worked longer hours than men. The average working week of a woman professor was 64.5 hours compared with an average for male professors of 58.6 hours.

As these studies of the 1980s and early- to mid-1990s demonstrated, many men and women within the academy undertook a differentiated pattern of work, where men dominated numerically in full-time posts and many were positioned in more senior posts and undertook fewer administrative chores. When women did reach senior posts, many still had a heavier administrative burden and worked longer hours. The AUT's report of 2004 noted a remaining gender differential between full-time and part-time academics in that 45 % of women, as opposed to 38 % of men, were on fixed-term contracts. However, on 31 July 2008, the Higher Education Funding Council for England reported in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*:

> the proportion of academic staff on permanent contracts rose from 63–70 per cent in the three years from 2003–04 and 2006–07 … the proportion of female permanent academic staff rose from 35–38 per cent.

More recent studies endorse the notion that career prospects for some women academics are improving (Blackmore and Sachs 2001; Acker 2005). Acker's (*ibid.*: 103) small-scale study of women academics in Australia, Britain and Canada notes that women are beginning to make incursions into management positions within the university. Acker says:

> In all three countries, men dominate higher ranks and managerial positions but women's representation at that level is also gradually increasing (Wyn et al. 2000). In 1999/2000 women comprised 12 per cent of professors in the UK (*Times Higher Education Supplement* 2003).

Acker and Webber (2006:484) also note:

> Women are far better represented in academic ranks than they were in the past, and they are beginning to make inroads into leadership positions.

However, although women are making incursions into senior authority positions, progress could be said to be slow. As has been noted, in 2003, 12 % of women in the UK held professorial posts; in 2005–06, this figure had risen to 16.5 %. An article in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* (18 May 2007) reported:

> Male academics continue to dominate senior roles, figures for 2005–06 from the Higher Education Statistics Agency show … women comprise just 16.5 per cent of professors compared with 15.8 per cent the preceding year. According to HESA, women accounted for 30.8 per cent of senior lecturers and 42 per cent of lecturers and researchers.

More recent statistics such as the 2011–12 Higher Education Statistics (HESA) in the UK show that, although there has been an increase in women at both middle and senior management levels, in terms of the overall proportion of women working in higher education, the situation is not as encouraging as it first appears to be. Fitzgerald (2014) explains:

> The 2011–2012 Higher Education Statistics in the UK show that while 1 in 5 … or 20.5 percent of professors are women, women comprise 47.3 of the non-professorial workforce. An even bleaker pattern reveals that 1 in 13, or 7.7 per cent of professors are Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) women and BME women are in 13.2 per cent of other academic posts (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2013).

Burkinshaw (2014) also notes that the percentage of women in the professoriate in the UK has now risen to 21%, but on average, these women are approximately 10 years older than their male counterparts. Even when women do reach senior positions in the academy, many may still have to overcome discriminatory discourses, which stubbornly still attach themselves to the notions of 'woman as manager' and 'woman as educational manager' that have been explored earlier in this book. Knights and Richards (2001: 238) point out:

> There is no doubt that academia appears to be one of the spheres in which men and masculinity are locked into one another in ways that, whether by intention or not, exclude or marginalise women and femininity.

Fitzgerald (2014:41) agrees with Bagilhole and White (2011), who point out that more women are moving into management positions in the university. However, Fitzgerald argues:

> there is a precarious gender imbalance in senior leadership and management roles. … Once women are at these senior levels they then encounter the power of male hegemony that can accommodate the presence of some women, but has little or no tolerance with having its dominance challenged.

Van den Brink (2009, 2011) points out that what is important is to recognise that, far from being gender neutral, gendered structures, practices and processes in higher education perpetuate inequalities. Failure to recognise such issues as pay differentials and delayed career progression can lead to what Morley (2011) describes as 'misrecognition'. Fitzgerald (*op. cit.*) argues that what is needed is to interrogate more thoroughly a number of myths that are current about gender and leadership, specifically that women now compete with men for management and leadership roles on an equal playing field. This, she says, is far from the truth. On the contrary, Fitzgerald refers to

> a set of powerful and troubling myths that highlight the invisible and persistent gendered traditions, regimes and cultures. … Universities thrive on the myth of individualism that reinforces competitive self-interest as well as self-promotion. Entwined in this myth is the notion of merit and the assumption that high-quality work and demonstrated commitment will be recognised and rewarded. Less acknowledged are the ways in which the highly masculine culture of the workplace works to discipline and exclude women.

So far, this book has examined the historic and contemporary position of women who lead and manage in schools and those who hold authority positions in higher education. This book has a central concern with the women who lead and manage in a sector which, in many ways, combines the schoolroom and the academy, the field of teacher education. It is important to explore the research undertaken on/with women who work as managers and leaders in teacher education, and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

The Particular Story of the Management of Teacher Education

Before focusing upon the current position of teacher education and interrogating the barrage of imperatives forced upon it by governments of all persuasions from the late 1970s to date, this chapter places the current position of teacher education into context by discussing relevant elements of its history. It sheds some light on the issues affecting the professional lives of the men and women who have held authority positions in teacher education at different times.

The Changing Face of Gendered Leadership

Some time ago, Heward (1993:11) pointed out that there has been (and remains) an ambiguous relationship between teacher education and higher education in general. She commented:

> Relations with the universities, particularly [teacher education's] integration into the wider system of higher education in the last two decades, are … significant to its history.

Of particular interest to this study are the changing roles that men and women have played, and continue to play, in the management of teacher education from its earliest beginnings to the current day. Heward (*ibid.*: 11) continued:

> more intriguing, because it is so unusual, is the domination of the profession by men and women at different periods.

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The issue of gender is important to the story of who is deemed to be 'appropriate' to manage teacher education at different times. This chapter will now discuss some of the underlying reasons for the periodic changes in the predominance of men or women in the management of the profession.

Heward (1993) identified four distinct periods relating to the periodic dominance of the authority of men or women in the management of teacher education. The first period began in 1810 with the opening of the first teacher education institutions, and as Heward informs us (*ibid.*: 12), these early colleges were controlled largely by the Church of England and were largely single sex. Where there were mixed colleges, as in the case of Homerton, strict segregation of men and women was maintained for all activities. Heward (1993: 13) refers to the fact:

> Women's colleges had a non-resident [male] chaplain who was responsible for religious practice and all external relations. A lady superintendent, often a widow, was in charge of internal domestic arrangements.

Heward (*ibid.*), however, points out that these female superintendents' posts were not well remunerated. She refers \to the case of Miss Trevor, a lady superintendent appointed to Bishop Otter College when it changed from a men's to a women's training college. Miss Trevor was appointed at a salary of £100 per annum, which she later agreed to forgo, whereas 'the [male] chaplain enjoyed a salary of £120', which he retained.

When schooling became compulsory after the 1870 Education Act, teacher education expanded and women, in particular, entered teaching, one of the few professional occupations open to them. However, the issue of who should manage the training institutions was contentious. As Heward (*ibid.*: 13) says:

> The issue of authority in training colleges was an important and vexed one. Three principles of legitimacy were in conflict: clerical, secular professional and sex segregation. The men who became Principals of the Church of England colleges were usually ordained Oxbridge men or the products of St Mark's Chelsea, the flagship of the men's colleges, who had subsequently taken Holy Orders … Lecturers could become Principals only if they took Holy Orders. Women's opportunities were limited since they were barred from graduation and ordination.

An important development for the career choices of women, and subsequently for their movement into the management of teacher education,

came with the middle-class movement, which sought to establish academic secondary schooling for middle-class girls. Coffey and Delamont (2000:95) refer to this period from 1848 to 1918 as the 'pioneering days'. As they point out (Coffey and Delamont *ibid.*: 98):

> The middle class ladies who obtained an academic secondary education, went on to university and then entered teaching in the fee paying sector, had three career routes available in education. First, they could choose to stay in schools, aiming to be head of a subject … or a headmistress. Alternatively they could move into teacher training, perhaps becoming the principal of a Ladies Training College such as St Mary's Cheltenham. Third, they could move into university teaching, either in their own subject or into the education department.

The position of women in teacher education colleges was changed by the fact that the curriculum was becoming more secular and a small number of women were gaining graduate status. In 1908, the Board of Education, appointed to formulate the regulations for teacher training colleges, passed a series of reforms designed to reduce the power of the Church of England and the clergy, and this was instrumental in furthering the career prospects of women in teacher education (Heward 1993:19). A new regulation was announced in the Board of Education report in 1909. It stated:

> In view of the large number of questions arising in the administration of Training Colleges confined to women students that are best dealt with by women and the large number of capable women now available for such posts, the Board will in future require that vacancies occurring in the headships of such colleges shall be filled by women.
>
> (Minutes of the Board of Education Committee for 1907:55–6)

Thus, women's authority to manage teacher training for women students was finally institutionalised.

Powney (1997:50) refers to the extended period between 1910 and 1960 as a time when women dominated teacher training, their authority legitimised by academic qualifications, the predominance of single-sex colleges and the regulations of the Board of Education. Although, as Coffey and Delamont (2000: 111) remind us, there was no equal pay for women teachers, or for that matter, women principals, there was at least a career path open to them. Furthermore, the jobs of head mistress or principal of a women's training college were relatively well paid, had a high social

standing and could lead to other work such as the magistrates' bench and local committees and councils.

However, women's career opportunities, both in schools and in teacher education, were soon to be significantly eroded both economically and ideologically. The economic depression of the years between 1914 and 1928 resulted in the closure of some educational institutions and caused mass unemployment, resulting in a backlash against feminism (Coffey and Delamont, *ibid.*: 101). At the same time, the advent of Freudianism in the 1920s had made the notion of celibacy unfashionable and 'suspect'. The growing popularity of Freudian ideas meant that there was now a danger that single-sex schools or colleges ran the risk of being seen as a place where girls might be 'imperilled by lesbianism' (Coffey and Delamont: *ibid.*). Merrick Booth (1932:179) used Freudian psychological theories to attack the idea of girls being educated by celibate women and accused girls' schools and women's teacher training colleges of not preparing girls to be wives and mothers. He argued that 'it is by preparing girls for celibacy that we make them celibate' (Booth *ibid.*). Hand in hand with Freudian ideology, the campaign for co-education rather than single-sex education gradually gained momentum and the single-sex institutions began to be seen as out-of-date anachronisms.

Powney (1997:50) referred to another event which contributed to the gradual demise of the single-sex colleges and thus to the erosion of the careers of their women principals. This was the end of the Second World War, which saw an influx of men entering the teaching profession. As Powney said, '[A]s more men became teachers from the 1950s on, so women's authority became eroded.'

The 1960s saw a dramatic expansion of teacher education, with the trend now being towards mixed rather than single-sex institutions. This adversely affected the career prospects of women teacher educators.

Heward (1993:25) commented:

> By 1963 there was a clear distinction in the career paths of men and women into the training colleges. … Rigid sex segregation was being weakened by wider social changes and by the encouragement of the colleges to be mixed. There were fewer suitable women than male applicants for the posts created by this rapid expansion.

The 1960s therefore saw a gradual shift in the balance of power between men and women in teacher education. Men saw greater career opportunities in the expanding degree-granting colleges of education and, at the

same time, women's authority was undermined in a number of ways. As Heward (*ibid.*: 27) informed us:

> Two arguments were used to devalue the status of women's colleges under women's management and control. Women principals [were] characterised as autocratic … [and] the second criticism was that the small women's colleges were intellectually and socially inferior.

Another move, which further eroded the position of the women principals, came after 1974 when the government decided that teachers should no longer be trained in teacher training colleges separated from other higher education students. This move, combined with the falling birth rate, meant that the demand for primary and then secondary teachers fell. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the cuts in intakes to teacher training were severe, reducing, in under a decade, provision to less than half its previous quota (Hencke 1978). Many of the small monotechnic teacher training colleges were closed. Others were amalgamated or merged into a variety of higher education institutions such as colleges of higher education, polytechnics and universities. This train of events had a fundamental effect on the role of women in the management of teacher education. As Heward (1993:29) reminds us:

> The exclusion of women from senior and managerial positions is well documented in the sociological literature. As teacher-training organisations became mixed, larger and more complex, women were increasingly replaced by men in senior positions.

Coffey and Delamont (2000:113) cite the comments of a retiring principal of a women's college in 1969 who referred to her generation as 'the last of the lay abbesses'. By 1980, there were only five women principals among those of the 78 institutions of higher education outside the universities with initial teacher education courses (Heward 1993: 28). Career opportunities for many women were curtailed, higher education opportunities were diminished and a career path for female college lecturers and managers almost vanished.

Moving into the Academy: The Devil's Bargain

By 1980, teacher education had changed from being a certificated to a predominantly graduate course. As has been seen, it had also moved out of the teacher training colleges. However, according to Goodson

(1995: 141), this move caught it up in what he describes as a 'devil's bargain'. He stated:

> the schools of education may have entered into a devil's bargain when they entered the university milieu. The result was that their mission changed from being primarily concerned with matters central to the practice of schooling towards issues of status through more conventional university scholarship.

Taylor (1983:4) also described the ambiguous position of teacher education as it faced, and continues to face, different demands from its different functions. As he said:

> Teacher education is Janus-faced. In one direction it faces classroom and school, with their demands for relevance, practicality, competence, technique. In the other it faces the university and the world of the research, with their stress on scholarship, theoretical fruitfulness and disciplinary rigour.

Maguire (2000) describes this contradictory relationship with the rest of the academy as being both 'inside' and 'outside' the ivory tower. The status of those who lecture on teacher education courses may also be seen to be lower than those who teach in other more 'academic' disciplines (Steadman 1987: 120). Maguire (*op. cit.*) describes a binary divide between 'academics', those that teach in subject departments, and the 'non-academics', the teacher educators. In her study of the nature of the work undertaken and the promotion prospects offered to the 'academics' and the teacher educators at Sacred Heart College (pseudonym), there were marked differences. As Maguire (2000: 155) explains:

> In contrast with members of the Education department, the 'academics' generally do less teaching (and thus marking) … the 'academics' are generally more focussed on achieving publications, attending conferences and having time to write. They all have research days…They were more likely to gain promotion and in some cases were offered personal chairs in their departments.

Women: The Marginalised Teacher Educators?

Heward (1993:32) noted that teacher education was a sector where women 'once held positions of power … with distinction'. This was particularly the case at a time when teacher training took place in monotechnic single-sex institutions. However, as Heward (1993: 30) said:

> Traditions of authority in universities are much older, [than those in teacher education] based on the exclusive models of Oxbridge colleges which dominate the status hierarchy of higher education … The evidence that universities continue to discriminate against women, especially in promotions to senior posts is growing … the tradition of masculine managerial authority [is] perceived as a requirement in senior positions in the very large organisations, which universities and polytechnics have become.

Heward (*ibid.*) made the point that, now, initial teacher education is just part of the work of large diverse colleges and universities in which managerial authority, seen as overwhelmingly masculine, is legitimated. Heward said (*ibid.*: 32), '[I]nstitutions of teacher education are gendered, as are the activities and interaction of the individuals within them,'

Some time ago, Coffey and Delamont (2000:49) pointed out:

> men effectively manage teacher education. Although the number of women academics working within university education departments is greater than in some other higher education fields, women are seldom in a position to dictate policy, as they are mainly concentrated in the lower ranks of the profession.

Ironically, the current climate of teacher education, where temporary and 'visiting', rather than permanent, staff are prevalent, may increase the feminisation of the teacher education workforce. As Coffey and Delamont (2000:88) remind us, '[I]t is well documented that women are more likely to be found in such "transient" and usually insecure employment.'

One reason for women's marginal status in learned professions, such as teacher education, is suggested by Coffey and Delamont (*ibid.*: 199). They argue that women are distanced from the hidden 'habitus' or real values and beliefs of the profession. Some time ago, Mary Rowe (1977) referred to these subtle barriers that operate against women as 'Saturn's Rings'. These barriers obscure from women the true nature of the profession in which they operate. Coffey and Delamont (*op. cit.*: 199) explain:

> in co-educational schools and teacher training institutions, the power holders, elite men, share a set of values, beliefs and practices (a habitus) that is veiled from women and non-elite men by Saturn's Rings. This habitus is invisible, implicit and taken for granted by the male elite. … Women, by focussing on the classroom and the everyday realities of classroom practice … may be avoiding learning about the habitus of the ruling group in their particular school [or] teacher training institution.

Women Teacher Educators: Professionally Neutral, Maintaining the Status Quo?

Murray (2002) argues that consideration of gender is marginal within the generally under-researched field of teacher education. She refers to the work of Atkinson and Delamont (1990) and Davies (1996), who point out that there is a lack of 'sociologically adequate explanation for the continuing marginalisation and powerlessness of women in the learned professions' (Atkinson and Delamont *op. cit.*:91). Davies (*op. cit.*:671) links this to a construction of professionalism, which she sees as one that 'privileges male characteristics while denigrating and/or suppressing female ones'. What Davies means by this is that professionalism is viewed as a masculine construct of impersonal and impartial encounters between a male 'expert' and the client where any preparation and service work undertaken by women is largely ignored.

Maguire (1993: 269) also makes the link between the under-representation of women in the management of teacher education and the gendered discourses that are inherent within the profession, some of which are enshrined in the values attached to being a good teacher. These values are brought into teacher training by new tutors who have their roots in the classroom (Maguire 1993:269). Maguire claimed in her study of teacher educators that the women were 'generally more experienced and better qualified than their male colleagues but tended to have fewer posts of responsibility and heavier work loads'. In addition to this, despite the fact that, like many women who enter teacher education, they had already had a successful career in schools, the women tutors in Maguire's research did not seem to feel that their unequal position in teacher education was in any way discriminatory in terms of gender. Maguire (*ibid.*: 270) suggested that this could be for a variety of reasons:

> For many of them, who had come recently from school teaching, the fact of their college appointment indicated further professional success to them, which they were reluctant to interrogate.

However, Maguire (*ibid.*: 269) also believed that there was a reluctance among many teachers and teacher educators to engage with controversial issues. This she linked to the values and beliefs inherent within teacher education. Maguire referred to the gender neutrality of educational institutions:

> the colleges of higher education, which are the direct heirs of the old training colleges … passed on a tradition of gentrification, respectability and

> a concern with meeting the needs of individual children in a neutral and apolitical fashion. This tradition has shaped the values and beliefs, which characterize teacher education.

There is a danger that valuing discourses related to caring, teaching and professionalism may cause a resultant 'blindness' to discriminatory practices and can mean that there may be reluctance among some teacher trainers to engage with 'political issues'. As long ago as 1989, Thompson argued that teacher education did not have an easy relationship with issues of gender or feminism, particularly within the primary age phase. Referring to her study of students and staff on a four-year primary undergraduate teacher training programme, she found that the predominant attitudes to gender among both students and tutorial staff were either those of complacency or those of hostility. Many of the teacher educators who she interviewed were complacent that gender inequality was not a concern in schools because child-centred education meant that everyone was treated 'as equal'. Skelton (1989) also referred to the fact that a belief in child-centred methods contributed to 'gender blindness' in the PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate of Education) students with whom she conducted her research. Other teacher educators in Thompson's (1989) research were hostile to the idea that the issue of gender should have anything to do with the training of primary school teachers as it was not an appropriate issue for their training.

The fact that many teacher educators come directly from schools means that they often bring with them particular values and beliefs linked to what it is to be a 'good teacher or, in their new role, a good tutor'. Maguire (1993) says that the job of a school teacher has been constructed in terms of 'professional concern with individual needs', and that this positions them into a sort of 'neutrality' which is at odds with 'hard-edged politico-economic consideration of structural inequality and its relation to schooling'. Coffey and Acker (1991:254) describe the values attached to 'being professional' that might also sideline a stronger perspective. As they say:

> Being 'professional' can be taken to mean doing one's job competently. It also has connotations of neutrality, detachment, being uncontroversial and protective of occupational autonomy.

Apolitical views of the teacher may well be bound up with particular discourses related to what it means to be a professional (Murray 2002), and this political neutrality may be carried forward into some teachers' new

careers as teacher educators. What has become clear from the research literature is that some teacher educators appear to be reluctant to engage with political issues and, as a result, some women tutors may not see their lack of promotion in terms of gender inequality. Furthermore, it appears that some women teacher educators may not help themselves in the promotion stakes. Maguire (2000:158) found that those who gain promotion in the world of higher education tended to be the 'academics' rather that the 'non-academics, the "teacher educators"'. However, despite this, she also found that some education lecturers appeared deliberately to eschew the 'academic' and reconstruct themselves as 'school teachers in the ivory tower'. They did this by

> teaching long hours, giving extra time to students (which is not included in their teaching time allocation) and thereby almost 'cutting their own throats' in relation to academic performance … and arguably, their promotion prospects.

Managing Teacher Education: A High-Status Job or Simply Doing Women's Work?

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, at different times, women and men have dominated the management of teacher education. Broadly speaking, women have predominated in the days of the lower-status single-sex institutions. Once teacher education was removed from monotechnic single-sex institutions and located in the wider world of higher education, its management was defined by the rules that define the management of higher education in general, and in effect, it was largely 'managed by men' (Coffey and Delamont 2000:49). Despite this, some, if not many, women teacher educators did rise to senior management positions. Some time ago, Maguire (1993: 275) pointed out that the fact that there were 'few women at the top' had consequences both for the 'top women' and for others. Maguire explains:

> They are highly visible, and can be constrained to be a 'man in a man's world' or become what Sutherland (1987) has called 'pioneers' or 'mascots'. They serve to hide discrimination, 'after all more women would have been appointed if they had been capable'. They may themselves experience enormous marginalisation at very senior levels where they have been

> brought in as the token woman. They can serve as 'cheerleaders' for other women too, who can exert an enormous pressure on what may already be a complex and difficult position. These successful women can be used to serve a range of micro-political functions; to neutralise and disguise disadvantage.

It will be important to investigate whether 'top women' in teacher education remain in the minority. However, it is also important to point out that, as will be discussed in the next chapter, management and leadership roles and titles have proliferated since the introduction of new managerialist discourses in education. In teacher education, as elsewhere, there are now many levels of management, ranging from junior managers who may be coordinators of subjects, to middle managers who may be heads of programmes, to senior managers who may be deans or heads of schools/departments. Thus, it is important to explore the gendered discourses and expectations related to what it is to be a manager at different levels in teacher education.

One of the discourses related to being a female manager/leader in teacher education might be related to a lingering stereotype that continues to equate women with caring (Forrester 2005). Teacher educators, and thus those who manage teacher education, will all have, at some time, been school teachers, and as Acker and Feuerverger (1996: 401) pointed out, women teachers in particular are associated with what they term 'a caring script'. Acker and Feuerverger (*ibid.*: 402–3) argue that this stereotype continues into higher education and is not always helpful in furthering some women's promotion prospects:

> The arguments about the nature of women's teaching in schools can be extended to the university context too. At all levels of schooling, we find expectations that teachers, especially women teachers, will care about their students … But in the university a discourse of caring is not the dominant one … Research is usually the highest status activity within the university… In contrast, service, unless in a very public capacity, tends to be downgraded in the discussion of what counts in the university. There is a sense that service to one's department, institution or community is either a chore or an optional activity.

Acker and Feuerverger (*ibid.*: 404) and Forester (2005) note that, for many women, university work is like schoolwork, 'i.e. tiring work, incorporating caring and service, with responsibilities that are not regarded as demanding a high level of skill or rewarded as such'. This may be particularly the case for those who hold positions of responsibility in teacher

education because of its close links to traditional discourses related to the schoolroom. However, managers and leaders in teacher education operate within the context of the academy, which increasingly prioritises research rather than teaching or caring.

As will be seen in Chapter 5, the climate in which women, and for that matter men, manage and lead teacher education has changed radically as the whole of the public sector, including education, at all levels, has been affected by events which have impacted fundamentally upon the working and management practices of all those within its institutions (Ball 1994; Tomlinson 2005; Murray 2006; Leathwood and Read 2009).

Going Back to School

As has been discussed in this chapter, over time, teacher education moved from a certificated profession, originally in single-sex monotechnics, to a graduate profession in the wider academy. However, the late 1970s and 1980s saw the beginning of a government drive to control the content of the curriculum, both in schools and in teacher education, and a process began where the training of teachers was to be gradually and inexorably moved out of the academy and back into schools (Menter 2013). This was part of a specific purpose of reforming public sector institutions, including education (Davies 2003:91). In fact, education became a main focus of the reform movement, the underpinning reason for which was the perceived need to respond to the demands of a competitive global economy by improving the skills and knowledge of young people. Critically, this knowledge would be inextricably linked to the economy and the curriculum of schools would henceforth be tailored to those needs. Over time, there was, as Tomlinson (2005: 90) points out:

> a continued emphasis on state regulation and control of the curriculum, its assessment, teachers and their training and local authority activity.

This chapter has traced the historical development of teacher education from its beginnings in single-sex monotechnic institutions, to its arrival in the wider world of higher education, to its current state where it is positioned increasingly by government legislation further away from the academy and closer to the practical world of the classroom (Furlong 2013; McNamara and Murray 2013). This will be further debated in Chapter 10. However, throughout the book, reference has been made to the effect of

the encroachment of market-led neoliberal and new managerial discourses on education. Before focusing upon the effect of these incursions upon the gendered nature of leadership and management, specifically within teacher education, it will be useful to explore in more depth the reasons for, and effects of, a culture where, as Naidoo (2003:250) argues:

> [t]he perception of higher education as an industry for enhancing national competitiveness and as a lucrative service that can be sold in the global marketplace has begun to eclipse the social and cultural objectives of higher education generally encompassed in the conception of higher education as a 'public good'.

The next chapter focuses on the analysis of the effects of the insertion of educational reformist strategies, at both a macro and a micro level.

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CHAPTER 5

Neoliberalism, New Managerialism, Policies and Practices

This chapter will discuss what neoliberalism is, where it originated and why it has become fundamental in 'shaping the remaking of the British state – its institutions and practices as well as its culture and ideology' (Clarke and Newman 1997: ix).

Neoliberalism

Clarke and Newman (1997) inform us that neoliberalism is a strand of New Right ideology which focuses upon the importance of market individualism. As they (*ibid.*: 14) put it:

> Neo-liberal economists in Britain and the USA stressed the supremacy of markets as mechanisms of social distribution of goods, services and incomes.

One of the prime tools of neoliberalism is new managerialism, which, as Ball (1999:1) points out, is accompanied by an audit culture of 'performativity' that is the use of targets and performance indicators to drive, evaluate and compare educational 'products'. It is, however, argued that new ways of management are key to driving these imperatives forward.

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New Managerialism: Origins, Discourses and Cultural Change

New managerialism, or new public management as it is sometimes called, came into being in the Thatcher and Reagan years (Davies 2003: 91) as part of a New Right ideology dedicated to reshaping public sector institutions, which were perceived to be economically straitened, poor value for money and not fit for purpose. Grocott (1989:119) comments that, with the arrival of Thatcherism in the UK:

> came a great determination to do what was 'necessary' to rescue Great Britain from the perceived national decline for which the civil service was partly to blame. Reducing public expenditure, eliminating waste, rolling back the frontiers of the state, lifting the dead hand of bureaucracy, cutting the public payroll were the objects of a crusade.

The New Right believed that, along with the introduction of market forces and the utilisation of techniques from the private sector, new approaches to management were essential to achieving reform of the state.

The welfare state had, in the post-war period, been managed by professionals who were trusted to work in the best interests of everyone and were supported in their endeavours by resources made available by the state (Hanlon 1998). The welfare state was 'organisationally constructed around twin principles of bureaucratic administration and professionalism to produce "bureau-professional" regimes' (Clarke and Newman 1997:60). It is important to explore what is entailed in bureau professionalism so that the impact of new managerialist practices can be more readily understood. First, as Clarke and Newman (*ibid.*) say, resources to support the welfare state were provided by the state. Second, professionals who worked within the welfare state were, by and large, trusted to make professional decisions, largely unencumbered by interference from management. Those working under bureau professional regimes were also likely to be positioned within relatively clearly defined career positions based on predictable career trajectories throughout the organisation. These career patterns were moreover likely to be based on traditional patterns of structural relations in the workplace. Referring to gender, Clarke and Newman (*ibid.*: 69) note:

> Bureau professionalism was based on strong gender roles and divisions, with very clear boundary distinctions operating horizontally, with some professions and occupations being seen as men's work and some – typically the

> 'semi' or 'para' professions – being identified as women's work. This traditional order was also structured vertically with women predominating in low level support and front line service delivery roles, and rarely present at higher levels of the hierarchy.

The fact that career patterns under bureau professionalism were largely predicated along traditionally gendered lines is an important point and will be returned to later when discussing the 'promises' offered by new managerialism.

Personal loyalties, attachments and identifications in the workplace were also, under bureau professionalism, likely to be formed in a variety of complex and multidimensional ways. For example, loyalty might be given to particular departments or sections of the organisation or to professional or occupational groupings or to any combination of the same. In short, professional identity and adherence went broader than simply that of corporate loyalty. The introduction of new managerialist discourses was however to disrupt the traditional order of bureau professional practices in fundamental and far-reaching ways. Its discourses and working practices were to result in not only the restructuring and realigning of organisations, resource allocation, job opportunities and professional loyalties, but also to become 'a large scale process of cultural change through which hearts and minds could be engaged' (Clarke and Newman 1997:36). Clearly, change from one regime to another does not happen in an immediate, untroubled and uniform manner. Old alliances may remain, at least for a while, and new working practices evolve, gradually resulting in fractured and uneven alignments between the old (bureau professional) and new (managerial) regimes. However, the evangelical siren call of new managerialism made it seem obvious that change was inevitable, desirable and impossible to resist.

The new focus upon the transformational power of management evolved from a belief that the market should dictate the means of allocation of resources rather than the state and this would need to be managed. Furthermore, managers would be reconstructed from 'their previous image as dull organisational timeservers to … entrepreneurial change agents' (Clarke and Newman 1997: 35). In 1980, Michael Heseltine made the following statement:

> Efficient management is the key to the [national] revival … And the management ethos must run right through our national life – private and public companies, civil service, nationalised industries, local government, the National Health Service. (Heseltine 1980, quoted in Pollitt 1993: vi)

As well as a dynamic mechanism for organisational change and resource management, Clarke and Newman (1997: 34) note:

> Managerialism was presented as the means through which more rigorous *discipline* could be introduced to the public sector to produce more cost-effective services (and thus limit public spending). This identification of management as being business-like, as the driving force for greater productivity, efficiency or 'value for money' is based on a fairly general conception of management as a progressive social force.

Whether, of course, this is the case is debatable. It is interesting to note that within new managerialist discourses of market supremacy, entrepreneurialism, efficiency and cost-cutting, people-centred management discourses seem to be conspicuous by their absence. It is, however, important not to take an essentialist view about what new managerialism is or what it offers. As will be discussed later, it can be seen, in some cases, to offer what seem to be liberatory opportunities (Currie et al. 2000; Fitzgerald 2014).

New managerialism evolved within the context of what Bottery (1998: vii) argued is the emergence of a new age where the power, role and control of the nation state was under threat from a number of different factors. These are that, on the one hand, smaller communities such as Wales and the Basque Region, were trying to break away from the nation state and assert their own identity. On the other hand, the emergence of the global society and economy along with the expanding power of multinational corporations meant that nation states had to compete in a global marketplace. Better management was seen as the way forward for western economies that were struggling to compete in new economic markets. Clarke and Newman (1997:46) comment:

> The development of a global economy has formed one of the meta-narratives which have legitimised change, at the level of the state itself and in terms of the management of organisations … At the level of the state, the narrative concerns the competitive positioning of nations in the global economy. It sets out the need to construct 'Great Britain plc' in the image of a company competing in a hostile and aggressive marketplace.

Globalisation is however not merely an economic and political project; its discursive strategies have entered the culture until globalisation has become seen as inevitable and unchallengeable. As Maguire (2002:263) notes:

> globalisation is a discursive as well as material practice … That is, the globalisation thesis works as a way of thinking and speaking that makes possible certain ways of acting and behaving and at the same time, works to conceal other versions or alternatives. Outcomes of living in a globalising world are made to seem 'natural' or 'inevitable'.

The leaders of the New Labour Government, which came into power in 1997, maintained the previous position of the Conservative Party, notably that the British economy needed to be led by the market with little state intervention. Gordon Brown made the following comment:

> today we know that in a global economy greater competition at home is the key to greater competitiveness abroad … any government, be it left, right or centre, depends on its credibility with the markets. (Brown 1997:15 cited in Jones 2003:144)

The fact that globalisation was viewed by New Labour as an 'inevitable' and 'irresistible' process became evident from the comments made by the then UK Prime Minister Tony Blair. In a radio interview, Tony Blair said:

> We are going to live in a market of global finance and there will be investors that decide to move their money in and out of countries. Even though we're living with a very serious economic problem … we have also derived enormous benefit from greater international trade, from absence of protectionism and the absence of exchange control. (Blair 1998)

In an attempt to survive in this new global environment, Bottery (1998: viii) argued that national politicians:

> increasingly cease to engineer national frameworks, and instead attempt to adapt their countries to cope with these demands … To do this they paradoxically see the need to keep a much tighter rein upon what they *can* control within their own countries, and have thus encouraged the adoption of managerialist strategies in the state sector which are very interventionist

In order to compete in what is seen as the 'inevitable', 'unbuckable' and 'irreversible' globalised economy, it becomes the duty of the central state to ensure that 'the labour force is prepared for the demands of a high skills economy' (Maguire 2002:264). One way that this can be done is to employ strong interventionist directives from the centre, which manifest

themselves through a plethora of policy directives targeted particularly at the public sector. New managerialism, perceived by its advocates as a dynamic entrepreneurial system of management, can implement these directives, revitalise organisations, make them leaner, fitter, efficient and effective and thus more able to compete in the harsh global marketplace. It is easy to see that such discourses appear, at first sight, to be highly seductive. Clarke and Newman (1997: 35–36) argue that new managerialism:

> announced the possibility of a way forward which linked the fortunes of the individual manager, the corporation and the nation. The born-again manager could rescue the situation brought about by the failure of the old corporate mentality: the 'playing safe' organisation man; the ossified corporation … new managerialism promised liberation for managers (at least those who kept the faith) from their old oppressions.

Part of the seductiveness of new managerialism is its language of empowerment, accessibility and transparency. The needs of the consumer are said to be at the centre of strategies for change and the efficiency of new systems is supposedly made transparent through systematic auditing processes (Morley 2000). In addition, as has been discussed, bureau professionalism is based on, and reinforces, traditional notions of gender, race and class relations in the workplace. New managerialism, speaking the language of anti-paternalism, empowerment and client centredness, disrupts and blurs some of the boundaries between traditional working relations. As a result, it seems to offer ways forward for those, for example, women, the working class and minority ethnic groups, who have criticised the patriarchal discourses of the welfare state. The discourses of new managerialism also incorporate both masculine and feminine ways of working, what Clarke and Newman (1997: 73) describe as 'contradictory management styles'. They say:

> The practice of becoming leaner, fitter and faster organisations has a tendency to produce the worst excesses of 'macho' management (whether practised by men or women). On the other hand, the drive towards becoming more people oriented … requires a partial 'feminisation' of management.

Under new managerialist regimes, management is seen to be the way forward, leading to a great expansion in managerial roles. Clarke and Newman (*ibid.*: 77) point out:

> The most obvious indicator of the impact of managerialism is the rapid growth in the number of people who have the title of managers.

This, in combination with the possibility of the dislocation of some traditional gender roles and the partial feminisation of management, has meant that no longer is management the sole province of men in senior positions. Managerial positions have cascaded down through organisations, providing some women with the opportunity to acquire managerial titles and responsibilities. What this means in practice is debatable and will be discussed later in this chapter.

New managerialism has also disrupted other hierarchies within the workplace and has, at least superficially, blurred the traditional divisions between management and workers. The introduction of such mechanisms as appraisal systems, individual performance reviews and performance-related pay means that relationships between workers and managers are conducted on an individualised basis, rather than negotiated collectively through trade unions. On the surface, this appears to be a positive move as barriers between the workforce and management appear to be removed. What this also means is that the forum for collective representation has been significantly weakened and there is more opportunity for individualised 'deals to be done' behind closed doors.

Very cleverly, new managerialism has borrowed the language of progressivism and, by doing so, has effectively ensured that those who may wish to resist its strategies are more or less silenced. It is after all difficult to criticise something when to do so is to imply a wish to return to the oppressive discourses of a supposedly outdated regime. The discourses of new managerialism imply that change is 'good' and the status quo is 'bad'. Organisations must be transformed and reinvented, as, arguably, must those who work within them. The language of new managerialism speaks of dynamism, radicalism, entrepreneurialism, innovation, progressivism and vision. The old order of stifling bureaucracy is to be done away with; the new age of dynamic managerialism has arrived. In an attempt to legitimise itself, new managerialism has positioned itself in opposition to the old regime of bureau professionalism. Clarke and Newman (*ibid.*: 65) provide a useful juxtaposition of the supposed qualities of the (bad) old order and the (good) new order (see Table 5.1).

New managerialism became not merely a mechanism for managing organisational restructuring, but also a new dynamic and entrepreneurial way of managing, and something more. It became part of a 'large scale process of cultural change through which hearts and minds could be engaged' (Clarke and Newman *ibid.*: 36). Whether or not new managerialist discourses actually fulfil their promises will be investigated as this chapter continues.

The first section of this chapter has detailed the emergence of new managerialism. It has laid out briefly its central tenets and interrogated its role

Table 5.1 The 'old order' (bureau-professionalism) versus the 'new order' new managerialism

BUREAUCRACY is:	MANAGEMENT is:
Rule bound	Innovative
Inward looking	Externally orientated
Compliance centred	Performance centred
Ossified	Dynamic
PROFESSIONALISM is:	MANAGEMENT is:
Paternalistic	Customer centred
Mystique ridden	Transparent
Standard orientated	Results orientated
Self-regulating	Market tested
POLITICIANS are:	MANAGERS are:
Dogmatic	Pragmatic
Interfering	Enabling
Unstable	Strategic

Source: Clarke and Newman (1997:65)

in shaping and legitimising the New Right project of reshaping state institutions. It has discussed the discursive use of new managerialist strategies by New Labour in order to meet the challenges of the global market. It has argued that the discourses of both globalisation and new managerialism have become part of a transformative project, which is seen by some as both inevitable and almost impossible to resist.

Having analysed what new managerialism is, the next section of this chapter will discuss briefly what happens when market forces intersect with new managerialist discourses in public sector professions. It will then examine in more depth the effect of these dual imperatives on the academy, with particular reference to teacher education.

Manifestations of New Managerialism and Market Forces Within Public Sector Professions

The introduction of market forces into public sector settings meant that, henceforth, resources would be allocated according to client demand. As a result, public sector organisations were forced into competition with each other for funding in order to grasp an ever-diminishing crock of gold. On the other hand, human resources were viewed as a cost to organisations, which meant that individual labour had to be increased through an intensification of work (Apple 1990). The type of work undertaken was

also no longer a result of decisions made by professionals, but that which was dictated by market forces and managerialist discourses. As a result, the notion of what it means to be a professional has changed radically. Slaughter and Leslie (1997: 4) make the point that, historically, professionals have not been particularly concerned with the demands of the marketplace. They say:

> The very concept of a professional turned on the practitioner eschewing market rewards in return for a monopoly of practice. Professionals made the case that they were guided by ideals of service and altruism. They did not seek to maximise profits; they claimed to put the interest of client and community first.

The degree to which this is still the case is arguable and may be different for different professional groups. However, the point is that, previously, the demands of the marketplace had never before been the central imperative for professional groups in the public sector.

Bottery (1998:3) considers that professional work is identified by the following three concepts. These are:

- expertise (the possession by an occupational group of exclusive knowledge and practice);
- altruism (an ethical concern by its group for its clients);
- autonomy (the professions' need and right to exercise control over entry into, and subsequent practice within, that particular occupation)

It is not the purpose here to enter into the debates surrounding professional practice and to discuss whether the autonomy given to professionals is uniform across the private and public sector. The argument is that, since the advent of new managerial practices, professional work in the public sector has altered. The central tenet of new managerialism, in relation to the work of public sector professionals, is a shift from a sometimes distanced managerial trust in knowledgeable, responsible and largely self-regulating professionals towards surveillance of every aspect of an individual's work. In terms of the working practices of professionals, Davies (2003:91–92) argues that new managerialism involves a system of government of individuals who are perceived to need 'management, surveillance and control'. Its introduction, she argues:

> may well involve the most significant shift in the discursive construction of professional practice and professional responsibility that any of us will ever experience. Now … instead of those (more or less) benign leaders who

> could rely on our internalised gaze to monitor our own work, we have the multiplied gaze of the workers on each other, their gaze shaped by the policies and practices emanating from management.

Power (1994) refers to what he terms the audit explosion, what Clarke and Newman see as 'the growth in both internal and external evaluations of performance and compliance' (Clarke and Newman 1997:80). Whereas the term audit once referred to financial regulation, it has now become synonymous with the control of organisational and individual performance and regulation. As part of this regulation of staff, Exworthy and Halford (1999) note that flexible teamwork is encouraged so that there is less chance of professionals working unsupervised and there is more surveillance and self-regulation of work regimes. The end result of the control, monitoring and auditing of staff and institutional performance is the production of league tables, some of which reach the public domain. As Morley (2003:14) puts it:

> Quality assurance, as part of new managerialism, involves the responsibilization of every organizational member. The organization, or unit of analysis, becomes the reflexive project for which all organizational members are responsible. This is reminiscent of the Japanese car industry.

It is clear that the inroads of market forces and new managerialist practices into public sector professions has radically changed both the ethos and working practices of public sector professions and professionals. The academy, 'historically more insulated from the market than other professionals … because they worked for institutions that were non-profit' (Slaughter and Leslie 1997:5), has not been immune from pervasive managerialist discourses. Deem's (2003: 243) analysis of the practices of what she terms manager-academics in UK universities found:

> many of [the] features of new managerialism [cost centres, target setting and performance management] are found in UK universities, albeit often resisted or subverted by academic staff.

Having discussed some of the impacts on new managerial discourses and practices upon the public sector in general, the next section of this chapter will focus on the particular challenges faced by the academy, particularly by teacher education.

Market Forces, New Managerialism and the Academy

Deem (*ibid.*: 241) notes:

> Academic work in the UK is … in flux, as global and local factors change the funding, remit and accountability of higher education institutions … Public funding is in decline, external audits of teaching and research quality are widespread … and there is considerable growth in student numbers, representing a shift from an elite to mass higher education system.

These changes began in the 1980s with a dramatic slash in government funding for higher education. Davies and Holloway (1995: 10) comment:

> There was increased Government pressure to persuade the universities to seek a greater proportion of their income directly from the marketplace and therefore tie in the academic programme more closely with the wealth-creation needs of society and the economy.

The 1987 Government White Paper demanded that higher education changed its 'raison d'être' from a largely academic and cultural function to one that was much more closely linked to the needs of the labour market. As Slee (1989:64) stated, higher education must serve the economy by 'achieving greater commercial and industrial relevance' and 'serve the economy more efficiently'.

Higher education was to 'have closer links with industry and commerce, and promote enterprise' and expand access 'to take account of the country's need for highly qualified manpower, including studying the needs of the economy' so as to achieve 'the right number and balance of graduates' (Secretary of State for Education and Science 1987). In addition, the government directed that 'state expenditure on higher education should be regarded as payment for services provided rather than as block grants to institutions' (Johnes 1992:173).

The discourses surrounding higher education began, subtly, to change. The academy began increasingly to speak the language of the corporation.

Philips (1989:81) commented:

> In recent months, the Department of Education and Science has surreptitiously begun to refer to students as 'consumers'. There is a hidden implication in such a terminology that those involved will have to pay directly for what they are consuming … higher education will have to shake off its elitism and become popular.

Davies and Holloway (1995: 7) also made the point:

> There was never really any doubt in the early 1980's that the pattern of Higher Education in the UK would have to change. The values which had underpinned the expansion of the university sector in the post war era included a firm faith in degree level education as among the social goods that merited public support and a strong belief in the capacity of academics to deploy government funding wisely and to run their own affairs with wisdom, prudence and foresight. Such values came to sound hollow in the context of a Conservative Government, which was facing deepening economic recession.

One of the fundamental changes for those working within the academy was that, as with other public sector professions, the type of work undertaken became less a matter for professional decision and more a process of government regulation.

Academic Work: Controlled, Monitored, Audited and Appraised

As funding followed particular priorities and initiatives from central government, academics began to see their work controlled and channelled into particular areas. Slaughter and Lesley (1997:42) noted:

> In terms of career training and curricula, national policies privileged science and technology numbers in terms of student places and research. National research policies moved away from basic or curiosity driven research to research tied more tightly to state initiatives aimed at increasing industrial competitiveness. Overall, the system lost autonomy … and [academics] lost many of their prerogatives with regard to control over their work.

In effect, this was a powerful attack on the autonomy of academics and an attempt to erode independent academic culture (Shattock 1994). As Marginson (2000: 211) points out, 'research is increasingly "managed", priorities are set and performance is monitored'. In addition, universities began to restructure their provision in order to change curricula and to cut costs. As a result, academics began to face what Morley and Walsh (1995:21) described as:

> increasingly coercive working environments, combined with escalating workloads, long hours, open-ended commitment/availability, together with increased surveillance and control.

Part of the shift in academic working practices and conditions under neoliberal regimes meant that, as in the public sector in general, there was a proliferation of new management posts, either through new appointments or through the restructuring of some academic roles. The academy too has installed 'business managers, chief executives, quality co-ordinators and internal audit staff' (Clarke and Newman 1997:82). It could be said that academic teaching and research took almost second place to the management of it. As part of the management of academic endeavour, the performance of academics was increasingly subjected to internal and external surveillance. Morley (1999:30) referred to the 1987 Croham report, which

> recommended performance indicators for universities' finance, management, teaching and research…The concept of measurement was introduced via interventions such as teaching quality audits (HEFCE) and research assessment exercises [the RAE].

The purpose of the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFCE) was to distribute money to universities in England and Wales and monitor and audit that spending. According to Trow (1994:13), HEFCE was to be

> an arm of government and an instrument for the implementation of government policy on the universities, which in the government's view are by their nature recalcitrant, and tend to defend their own parochial interests against the national interest, as defined by the government of the day.

Another way of controlling funds was inserted through the introduction of the Research Assessment Exercise (the RAE), which allocated research money to the universities. Through this mechanism, by which research, rather than teaching, was assessed, universities were driven into competition with each other and a hierarchy emerged. As Tomlinson (2001: 60–61) comments:

> A pecking order quickly appeared among the universities, and a group of research-dominated old university vice-chancellors calling themselves the Russell Group…claimed to be at the top. The government had successfully instituted the tactic of divide and rule in higher education.

As universities expanded, anxiety about quality assurance across the sector grew. The mechanisms for controlling and assessing provision gradually became more universal and stringent. Kogan and Hanney (2000: 108)

describe the movement from a kind of 'academic freedom' to a state-imposed quality assurance straitjacket as follows:

> The UK thus moved from a position in which the state had virtually no direct interest in assuring quality in universities and in which it delegated quality judgements in the public sector to an increasingly 'hands off' CNAA to one in which quality requirements were imposed by law. The creation of quality audit, teaching quality assessment and research assessment, and the associated machinery in the funding councils and the Higher Education Quality Council (from 1997 The Quality Assurance Agency) were part of the fundamental shift in the relationship between the state and higher education.

Quality assurance regimes are not only evident at a macro level, but also imposed on individuals within the academy. Academics are now subjected to appraisal schemes such as Personal Review and Development Plans or Personal Development Plans. Although the exact nomenclature may be different in different institutions, the purpose of these mechanisms is the same. Performance is measured against targets, which are allied closely to the targets of the institution rather than the individual (Ball 2007). This is in marked contrast to the traditional and popularist view of university work, where academics (mainly white middle-class men) teach and research their chosen subject, carry out little administration and are safe in the knowledge that their tenure is secure (Halsey 1992; Henkel 2000).

Over time, quality assurance mechanisms have become an increasing feature of academic life, a situation which Leathwood and Read (2009:133) point out make 'many academics, both men and women, feel acutely out of place … and feel deleterious effects as a result'.

Administrative burden is, of course, an integral part of the quality assurance systems, which have been put into place within the academy. In addition to their already heavy workloads, the content of which is largely controlled by others, academics also are increasingly burdened with heavy administrative roles. Currie, Harris and Thiele (2000:3) describe the effect upon academics who work in what they term 'greedy institutions'. Whereas academics have always worked long hours in pursuit of academic goals, now many of these hours are devoted to administrative and quality assurance type work rather than to research. They state:

> jobs are becoming increasingly 'proletarianised', controlled by external forces. Under the influence of wider economic and political trends, university bosses are calculating productivity and asking more of it. It is the

> market, and not the quality of creative ideas and scholarship, that is increasingly determining the lives of academics and the work they do.

These changes in academic ethos and work practices, of course, affect the jobs of those who carry management roles within institutions. As far as managers in higher education are concerned, Brooks (2001:19) notes a divide. She says:

> The goals of the institution and the senior management coincide, leading to divisions within the academic community between the 'corporate managerialism' of the new higher and middle management and the 'rank and file' grassroots academics.

Job Insecurity and Job Dissatisfaction

Prior to the insertion of new managerialist discourses, one of the benefits of working in the academy was the fact that tenure effectively meant having 'a job for life'. In a climate of reform and restructuring, the issue of job security is one of the major causes of stress for those who work in the academy, as universities everywhere move to redefine tenure and other conditions of employment (Taylor 1999:57).

The discourses of new managerialism have brought with them changes in working practices. Bottery (1998: ix) commented that many of those who work in professions and services dedicated to the public good now see themselves as reduced

> to being mere functionaries in a larger institutional and managerial scheme, in which notions of public good are increasingly traded for success in a market place and in which the words of management seem to be those of economy, efficiency and effectiveness.

New working practices mean that some of those skills which were once valued are no longer so in new managerialist regimes. As Taylor (1999: 49) commented:

> the capacity to deliver very effective lectures is of decreasing importance … academics are facing demands to reinvent themselves … to develop new approaches and capacities … It is salutary to remember that most models of evolution are based on the assumption that 'losers' are eliminated.

Job insecurity and changes in working practices in the university caused by the introduction of new managerialist practices cause tensions and dissatisfaction for many academics. The shift from professional to managerial control of the job and the regular surveillance of work by others, according to Bottery (1998:2), has caused stress to many professionals. Feelings of stress are caused by many factors, including: lack of autonomy in the exercising of professional judgement (Morley 2003; Acker 2005), a limiting of vision and practice, heavy workloads (Acker and Armenti 2004), lack of time and, for some, a perceived diminution of their role in society. Unsurprisingly, the distress caused by these changes in work practices impact upon the enjoyment of the job, ability to do the job, home life and health. Taylor (1999:47) commented:

> The reality is that for a majority of academics, the emergent job demands are not the demands … of the positions for which they were originally employed. Nor are they the demands that attracted them to enter an academic career.

In her research into how women academics make sense of their working lives under new managerialism, Skelton (2004) notes the comments of one of her respondents who was distressed about changes to her work as a researcher. Sarah said:

> I don't want to work on things that are 'quick and dirty' which I don't think are proper academic … Things that clash with my politics and values which I feel obliged to do so we can survive. Being a proper academic means [doing] intelligent stuff – the opposite of quick and dirty – careful, considered, reflective, not doing the government's evil work.

Referring specifically to the RAE, Howie and Tauchert (2002:68) state:

> The highly intrusive nature of the [RAE] … and the continual measurements … is a mutilating experience. All academics are subject to these criteria and regulate their work accordingly. The academic … produces the work by which his or her authority will be judged … the academic experiences acute anguish and stress.

Leathwood and Read (2009: 132) point out that new managerialist practices place different types of stresses on academics depending on the type of university in which they are employed. Some post-1992 universities focus primarily on teaching rather than on research and, as a result,

academics are less likely to face the necessity to 'perform for the RAE', now re-titled Research Assessment Framework (REF). They do, however, face other forms of accountability demands such as constant evaluation of teaching and performance-related pay schemes, also experienced by those in pre-1992 institutions.

As a result, regardless of the type of institution in which they work, the relentless employment of quality measures, in whatever guise they appear, causes many academics to consider leaving their posts.

Trowler (1998: 115) noted the following statement from one of the respondents in his research:

> I love my job, I love [my discipline], I love teaching. I get a terrific amount of stimulation and satisfaction out of the job but what I want is the job as we used to know it, not as it is now. That's why I would like to get out.

The reforms which have affected higher education in general have also increasingly impacted on institutions which offer initial teacher education. Along with the rest of higher education, departments and schools of teacher education have been forced to restructure their provision in order that they can both compete successfully in the marketplace and also meet the government requirements for initial teacher education. However, it can be argued that teacher education in many ways faces a double burden, faced as it is by the challenges and impositions on the academy in general, but also its own particular plethora of rules and regulations. As Acker (1994:18) commented:

> Schools of education have had to face *both* the incursions into academic freedom and security suffered by higher education *and* the fallout from the government's educational reforms in the schools and alterations of teacher education.

Reforming Teacher Education: A Plethora of Policies

Over time, education has become a main focus of a reform movement, the underpinning reason for which is the perceived need to respond to the demands of a competitive global economy by improving the skills and knowledge of young people. Critically, this knowledge would be

inextricably linked to the economy and the curriculum of schools would henceforth be tailored to those needs. As a result, there was, as Tomlinson (2005: 90) points out:

> a continued emphasis on state regulation and control of the curriculum, its assessment, teachers and their training and local authority activity.

The attempt to reform education was heralded by a litany of policy statements as central government gradually appropriated educational decision-making.

Ball, Goodson and Maguire (2007: ix) note:

> Policies began to proliferate and seethe around education … to control, delineate, specify or require of education and educators that they 'reform' … Education was no longer a policy backwater, rather educational issues were to the front of national politics around the globe

It is not possible in this book to interrogate all the policies that have cascaded down upon education in the last 20-plus years. However, the following section gives a flavour of some of the key initiatives through which it is possible to trace a movement away from professional freedom to increased government control.

At a conference at King's College London in February 2013, Ian Menter and Ann Childs provided a synopsis of policies that they consider being milestones in government interventions into education. Menter argues that 1984 saw the beginning of neoliberal incursions into initial teacher training with the instigation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE), which became responsible for the regulation of initial teacher training programmes. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a diversification of training routes for teachers with the Licensed Teacher and Articled Teacher Programmes, signalling a movement away from programmes based wholly in higher education to those where students spent a significant time in schools. As has been described earlier, there was an increasing emphasis on training undertaken in partnership with schools and a shift from engagement with theoretical perspectives to an emphasis on 'on the job' chalk-face skills. Theoretical aspects of training came under attack by organisations such as the Hillgate Group, with much of the time remaining for theoretical issues focusing on government priorities such as the core curriculum of English, maths and science. Subsequently, the time allocated to courses on social justice and equity

issues, not seen as a priority in reformist regimes, was eroded (Dillon and Maguire 2001).

The language related to training also changed from reference to the 'reflective practitioner' to discourses related to 'competence' (Circular 14/93) and later 'standards' (Circular 4/98). Provision was inspected by the newly established Teacher Training Agency through the mechanism of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and was focused on whether competences, or standards, had been met. Circular 2/02 and TDA Professional Standards (2007) simply made adjustments to what those standards were.

Moving Out of the Academy and Back to the Classroom

One of the most significant reforms of teacher education has been the move out of the academy to a return to 'on the job training' in the classroom. The desire to (re)turn teacher training into an 'on the job' practice-focussed model was reflected in the speech made by Kenneth Clarke at the North of England Conference as long ago as January 1992:

> Teacher trainers promoted 'dogmatic orthodoxies' and training should be handed over as far as possible to schools, mostly in partnership with higher education, but with school centred initial teacher training being advocated as policy which would minimize HE influence. In 1992, the government published proposals for the reform of teacher training which in essence were to remove funding for Initial Teacher training from HEFCE and hand it over to a Teacher Training Agency whose chief executive and members would be appointed by the secretary of state. The education and training of teachers would thus become largely detached from higher education.
>
> (Clarke cited in Tomlinson 2001: 61)

Now all new teacher training routes must embrace a workplace training model with the emphasis on training in, and partnership with, schools (Furlong et al. 1996; Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1999). As well as a substantial part of training taking place in schools, assessment of trainees also commonly involves a 'mentor' from school and a 'link tutor' from the institution acting, in many cases, as co-assessors. The discourses surrounding teacher education now are those of common sense, practicality, competence and standards. The role of the academy has been weakened. As Maguire (1995:119) noted:

> In the UK the teacher is being reconstructed as the practical person, the doer not the thinker, the manager not the scholar. This new teacher will be cheaper to produce because what is required is more practical experience and less theoretical interrogation of schooling and pedagogy.

The inspection of teacher training was handed over to Ofsted, a quasi-government agency (Tomlinson 2005). Hey (2005:1) regards the reform of teacher training as encapsulating what has happened to professional work within the public sector. She says:

> this arena condenses a series of important material, cultural and symbolic moves in term of the English state's shifting terrain of professional regulation. These alterations include – a radical insertion of a prescribed knowledge base, a transmission mode of delivery of training, the subordination of the academic role of experienced professionals, the preference for modalities of on-site learning … Education per se and teacher training in particular seem victim to what Stronach and Morris (Stronach 1994) call 'policy hysteria' as initiatives rain down like meteors in outer space.

The Effects of Neoliberal Reform upon Teacher Education

Coffey and Delamont (2000: 79) summed up the result of government educational reforms upon teacher training. They said:

> Institutions have been closed, merged and reconstituted. The changes imposed on teacher education have affected its structure, organisation, curriculum and ethos with the result that there is now much tighter control over its content.

Furlong et al. (2000:164) referred to their findings from the 'Modes of Teacher Education' (MOTE) project, which was carried out in two stages from 1991 to 1996 and which investigated changes in initial teacher training. The MOTE project demonstrated that the central government reforms of the 1990s significantly altered the structure and content of initial teacher training in the following ways:

- students have to spend more time in schools during their training;
- schools' involvement in training has been substantially increased;

- higher education institutions have to pay schools for their contribution to the training process;
- the content of training has, to a significant degree, been externally defined through a series of government-prescribed competencies or standards and more recently a national curriculum for teachers;
- within this government-defined content, there is a growing emphasis on subject-based knowledge and the 'basics' of literacy and numeracy, and ICT.

The effects of the reforms upon teacher education were to see a change in both its ethos and content from a mixture of theory and practice to a stress on practical classroom-based competence. What has emerged has been an 'anti-theoretical stance which concerns itself with demands for practicality, competence and "standards"' (Ball 1992:140).

Tightening the Grip of Government Control: Continuing the Reconstruction of the Teacher

Menter (2013) refers to an ever 'tightening grip' on teacher training which continued through the 1990s to date and demonstrates a constant and unrelenting drive to situate teacher training in schools and erode the role of the academy. For example, the White Paper (2010:9) made clear that the reform of initial teacher education was to continue. It stated:

> We will … reform initial teacher training, to increase the proportion of time trainees spend in the classroom, focusing on core teaching skills, especially in teaching reading and mathematics and in managing behaviour.

Nick Gibb, speaking to the Education Committee on 14 March 2012, proclaimed that 'we are not abandoning the universities', although much of his other rhetoric gave the lie to this comment. Gibb stated:

> We are not keeping pace with those countries around the world that are improving their education systems … we want schools to have more say in the selection of candidates and to have more involvement in the training at the chalkface … there is lots of school-centred initial teacher training at the top of the rankings of the best initial teacher training … they are quality and what we are trying to do is expand the number of school-centred courses.

Allied to the imperative to base teacher education in schools rather than in the academy came a shift in philosophy where teaching, once seen as a research-based profession, is being (re)constructed as a craft (Beauchamp et al. 2013:1). With this change in philosophy came the notion that there should be a (re)turn to practicality and what is termed 'relevance' in initial teacher education. As Beauchamp et al. (*ibid.*:2) continue:

> an emphasis on the experiential skills and knowledge necessary for new teachers to be 'classroom-ready' is a common … feature. In England the (re)turn to the practical has been intensified by specific structural and political factors and by a dominating culture of compliance and regulation.

McNamara and Murray (2013:14) point out that current policy in England is underpinned by

> an understanding of teaching as a) essentially a craft rather than an intellectual activity; b) an apprenticeship model of teacher training that can be located entirely in the workplace; and on the related assumption that more time spent in schools is inevitable – and unproblematically – leads to better and 'more relevant' learning. The model potentially privileges performativity and 'practical' knowledge over theoretical, pedagogical and subject knowledge.

Effects on Teacher Educators

The effect of neoliberal changes to the working practices of those who work in teacher education has been dramatic. For some, as well as having their principles about what constitutes 'good' teacher education undermined, the barrage of initiatives, reforms and inspection has meant a dramatic increase in workload. The paper work needed to comply with new requirements for training is onerous (Currie et al. 2000). For example, to name but a few of the current requirements, partnership arrangements have to be set up with schools, profiles of evidence for achieving competences and standards have to be designed and maintained, evidence of trainee progression has to be kept. In order to comply with these initiatives, teacher educators face heavy administrative burdens on top of their existing teaching and marking load, with resultant incursions into their own private and professional lives.

The shift from higher education to school-based training, and the word 'training' is used deliberately, has also resulted in a shift of resources from HEIs to schools and a resultant slimming down of the personnel in schools/departments of education (Furlong et al. 2000). Some time ago, Aziz (1990) pointed out that the workforce in teacher training was becoming casualised and hourly paid contracts for lecturers were becoming increasingly common. As far as teacher training is concerned, because of the continued shift of funding into schools, teacher training is still likely to be seen as a drain on the resources of the academy. Certainly, as Coffey and Delamont (2000: 88) pointed out:

> Inside the university sector, certainly in the UK, few rewards are offered to those involved in the training and education of occupational groups such as teachers.

Those who work in teacher training are caught between more than one set of professional demands, having, as they do, a somewhat ambiguous relationship with the rest of the academy. As has been argued earlier, teacher educators are 'neither inside nor outside the ivory tower' (Maguire 2000:156), treading a thin line between the demands of the academy and the requirements to be 'proper academics' while struggling with the contemporary world of teacher training. Teacher trainers face dual demands in terms of their workloads. On the one hand, they must deliver teacher training programmes, designed by the Training and Development Agency (TDA) and scrutinised by Ofsted (Tomlinson 2005); on the other hand, they face increased demands to publish and contribute to the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), now Research Assessment Framework (REF). As a result of the dual demands of the academy and the classroom, it could be argued that many of those who work and manage within teacher training face almost impossible demands upon their time (Maguire 2007).

A Question of Survival

The ability to survive remains an essential requirement of higher education in general and teacher training in particular. The necessity to survive manifests itself in a number of ways. For trainees, the time constraints on teacher courses are severe and the demands of meeting competences and standards mean that a 'survival skills' approach is sometimes necessary,

particularly early in training, (Maguire 1995:127). For teacher trainers and those who manage teacher training, it is necessary to survive in an increasingly pressurised climate (Acker 2005). Coffey and Delamont (2000: 89) comment that '[s]urvival … is not only prioritised on teacher training courses but is also a lived reality for teacher trainers'. One of the lived realities for teacher trainers is that they have to survive in institutions faced with reform, reorganisation, restructuring, redundancies and intensification of work (Acker and Armenti 2004).

So far, this chapter has interrogated the reasons for, and the effects of, government reforms and the introduction of new managerialist discourses into the public sector, at both a macro and a micro level. It has focused particularly upon the world of the academy, and within that, teacher training. An important question to be explored is what effect does the task of leading and managing teacher training in the current climate have on the gendered composition of those who hold authority positions in teacher training in changing and risky times?

Neoliberalism, New Managerialism and Gender

Within the literature that considers neoliberalism and new managerialism from a gendered perspective, different standpoints are apparent. Some commentators (Currie et al. 2000) argue that new managerialist practices minimise gender differences in that both men and women in the academy experience the negative impact of their work being redefined and assessed in terms of market forces. As has been discussed earlier, other literature argues that for women, new managerialism provides an opportunity to challenge traditional masculine university hierarchies and creates a wealth of different 'management jobs'. By doing so, it seems to offers opportunities for some women, those who are macho or tough enough to stand the pace (Newman 1995; Hearn 1998a; Harley 2003). Some feminist academics (Blackmore 1999; Morley 1999) put forward the view that new managerialism has a particular negative impact on those, often feminist, women who endorse people-centred managerial discourses and who are committed to social justice. Finally, commentators such as Prichard (2000), Currie et al. (2000), Evans (2003) and Fitzgerald (2014) make the point that supposedly neutral managerial practices mask gender inequalities in the fact that some women, particularly those who take on managerial responsibilities, are being beguiled and exploited by what seem to be liberatory opportunities.

It cannot be denied that both men and women suffer the negative aspects of new managerialism in the workplace. Currie, Harris and Thiele (*op. cit.*:6) found:

> many staff, both male and female, believed that the combination of work demands and an increasingly competitive ethos produced an anti-family, anti-social environment which was injurious to their personal commitments and values.

However, while not wishing to minimise the damage done to men by changing practices in the workplace, the focus of this research is upon women, and it is to an exploration of their experiences under new managerialism that this chapter now turns. Davies and Holloway (1995:8) claimed:

> the gender regime of the older universities was itself profoundly unwelcoming to women and that there are aspects of its passing that we should not mourn.

Davies and Holloway (*ibid.*) made the point that an increasing number of women were being promoted to management and leadership positions within the academy. Ten years ago, Bown (1999.11) noted that some women were making inroads into positions of power and reminded us:

> The general picture of academic hierarchy in 1996/97 is … one of leadership still very male dominated … All the same, the arrival of 11 women as Vice-Chancellors (or equivalent) must be seen as a definite advance.

More recently, the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* (27 March 2008) pointed to an influx of women in junior management posts. However, it noted that 'although women are taking over at lower levels, they continue to struggle to break into top jobs'. Davies and Holloway (1995: 17) suggested that new managerial regimes within universities may help some women attain senior posts because universities now have to operate in a more formal way than previously and are required to be more transparent in the identifying of goals and the monitoring of progress of staff. This could be of benefit to women in that discriminatory practices might become less easy to hide. As Davies and Holloway (*ibid.*: 17) put it:

> There is a potential, and we put it at no more than that, for a new and more inclusive debate to be had in the contemporary vocabulary of goals, missions, strategies and performance.

Others however go further, believing that the discourses of new managerialism actually promote both women's rise into managerial positions and women's ways of working. Morley (2003:149) explains this viewpoint as follows:

> Quality audits, particularly those focussing on teaching and learning, are seen as enabling women to enter the managerial elite in organizations, and sometimes help fulfil ideological and career aspirations concerned with career and change agency.

Luke (2001:57–58) agrees with this standpoint, arguing:

> working creatively and politically within dynamic contradictions can mean rearticulating and using a managerialist discourse such as Quality Assurance for social justice means and ends in the interests of women.

Niddifer and Bagshaw (2001) offer a positive analysis of what senior women 'can do' when they enter management positions. They focus on the 'soft skills' that women can bring to the job, such as listening, empathy and care, which they note is a chance for women to bring 'women's values' into the workplace. Niddifer and Bagshaw (2001: 4) believe that women's welfare within institutions depends on more senior women being appointed. They comment:

> Women are increasingly occupying senior faculty and administrative positions. Within this context, discussion of the role women play in the administration of institutions of higher education remains essential to the future welfare of women.

However, this optimistic and perhaps essentialising standpoint is regarded by other commentators with caution for a number of reasons. For example, Evans (2003) argues that equality discourses can mask unequal practices. Prichard (2000: 196) claims that some women are being seduced by managerialist discourses in that some of the demands placed upon them chime with women's feminine identities. By this he means that some women are prepared to work long hours, to combine administration and teaching and to suffer incursions into their private lives. Acker (1994: 126) also made this point when referring to the demands made by 'greedy institutions' saying that 'like housework, academic work is

never really done'. This has a certain resonance with the question put by Hey (2005:11) when she asks:

> What are we to make of stories of workaholic female academics, 'good-girl' professional responses in preparation for Ofsted, QAA [Quality Assurance Association], or hyper-compliance by 'wannabes' in relation to the RAE [Research Assessment Exercise]?

Fitzgerald (2014:30) argues that the notion that new managerialism has provided new career opportunities for women is nothing more than a myth that needs debunking. As she puts it:

> The reality is that roles linked with quality assurance, pastoral care, student services, human resources, and so forth are forms of institutional housekeeping that do little to challenge the hyper-masculinist model of management. (Hatcher 2003)

Another reason that feminist women should be cautious before celebrating the increase in women managers within the academy is that there is a danger of endorsing an essentialist position that 'women in power' must mean a move towards good feminist/social justice practices. This may not always be the case. Not all women managers will endorse discourses that privilege empathy, compassion and relationships and challenge organisational cultures. As Reay and Ball (2000:149) note, women who challenge organisational views are unlikely to be promoted in the first place and new managerialism demands corporate loyalty. As Morley (1999:75) argued:

> female cannot be unilaterally equated with feminism, nor are all feminists reflexive about their location in organisational power relations. Furthermore, a process of 'masculinisation' can occur for 'successful' women.

As she implies, there is a danger that once women get into management, they are incorporated into the [masculine] status quo. There is the danger that any radical ideas they may have had are likely to be moderated and compromised (Deem and Ozga (2000: 153). Casey (1995: 96) argued that when women enter into management roles

> incorporation into and collusion with the dominant cultural values of organisations is not uncommon … even those with strong feminist or equity values

> could … acquire values infused with macho masculinities and management narratives of business organizations.

Arguably, they may not survive in their management position unless they do.

It is, however, undeniable that the number of women in higher education has risen across the board, as students, tutors, middle managers, and, slowly, in more senior positions. This has led to an outcry that there is a danger that the culture of the academy is becoming 'feminised' (Leathwood and Read 2009). However, Leathwood and Read (*ibid.*: 20) challenge this notion for a number of reasons, stating:

> We … take issue with the cultural feminization thesis in relation to HE [higher education], and argue that despite the increase in undergraduate women students and the activities of feminist academics, the culture of HE remains predominantly masculinist. Indeed it can be argued that the new managerialist, audit, individualistic and competitive aspects of academic culture are an example of re-masculinization

Burkinshaw (2014) agrees that despite the increased visibility of women, the academy is not gender neutral and that new managerialism, despite its claim that it offers liberatory opportunities (Davies and Holloway 1995), provides little evidence that organisations are changing to embrace women and that women, if they are to succeed in their management roles, must conform to masculine cultures. As Saunderson (2002) points out, there is a danger that an increase in women managers and leaders, without a genuine assimilation of equity issues in the organisation, will be little more than, as she puts it, putting 'lipstick on the gorilla'.

Fitzgerald (2014:5) argues that managing and leading in 'risky' times is what she terms 'dangerous terrain'. As she says:

> The introduction of managerialism and managerial practices has created a new level of workers within higher education (Morley 2001), the manager-academic (Deem 2003), many of whom are women. In a devolved system where risk and responsibility are located at the school/department level this is dangerous terrain for women as they bear the burden for ensuring that performance indicators are met, compliance secured, financial viability and profitability enhanced and the student experience improved. In these roles women are required to act as change agents as well as managers of the increasingly corporate culture of the university.

Feminist Analysis of the Changes to Teacher Education

Some years ago, Coffey and Delamont (2000: 80) commented that 'any feminist analysis of [the] changes to teacher education has been slow to develop'. A possible reason for this was provided by Mahony (1997:88), who pointed out that 'feminist teacher educators are too busy trying to survive the changes to write about them'. Nonetheless, as has been noted earlier in this book, commentators such as Maguire (1994), Maguire and Weiner (1994), Acker (1996), Acker and Feuerverger (1996), Murray (2002) and Thompson (2007), among others, have identified some of the gendered contradictions and complexities for those who work in teacher training. Korthagen et al. (2005) have noted an increased interest in teacher trainers, but despite this, Murray and Maguire (2007: 290) argue that 'they [teacher educators] remain an under-researched and poorly understood group'.

Feminist Managers and Leaders: Caught in a Managerialist Web

There is, of course, a danger that we conflate the terms 'women managers and leaders' with 'feminist managers and leaders'. Not all women managers are feminists or endorse feminist principles in the carrying out of their management or leadership roles (Edwards 2000).There is therefore a danger of endorsing an essentialist position that 'women in power' must mean a move to towards good feminist/social justice practices. This may not always be the case.

However, for those managers and leaders who do practise social justice, some may, at first sight, have seen new managerialism as an opportunity for challenging former patriarchal regimes. Davies (2003:95) argues:

> One of its cleverest, and perhaps the most devious, strategies of new managerialism has been the inclusion of equity discourses in the objectives that institutions were impelled to include. Many feminists were drawn into managerialism – and so into the new *episteme* – in which their professional life was reconstituted in the terms of auditors and economists because of their desire for change. It seemed to offer an alternative to old hierarchies of power and control. What new managerialism has achieved however is a far cry from the radical re-visioning of old universities that they had imagined in which the locus of power would shift and disrupt the apparent naturalness and inevitability of male hierarchies.

Rather than producing a system which would facilitate discourses and practices which would lead to egalitarian change. Clarke and Newman (1997:73) pointed out:

> The practice of becoming leaner, fitter and faster organisations has a tendency to produce the worst excesses of 'macho' management (whether practised by men or women.).

Munford and Rumball (1999: 4) referred to the negative experiences of some women managers who have experienced dilemmas and contradictions in working within a regime which prioritises achievement and success and which does not fit with their own beliefs. They explain that, rather than try to operate in a regime which compromises their integrity, some academic women are

> choosing to move out of senior management positions, rather than work for and with people who do not share their vision of how things should be done.

Much research into feminism, leadership and management focuses on the challenges and tensions of putting feminist principles into practice, because as Mauthner and Edwards (2010:483) put it:

> Feminism is about collectivity, social equity and social change – an anti-hierarchical political position. Management, by contrast, tends to represent control, authority relations and conservatism.

What is disturbing is that, although some women are achieving positions of power, the ethos of many institutions, in terms of equality and social justice, does not appear to have improved. Wyn (cited in Davies 2003: 95–96) makes the following observation:

> The changes over the last few years are both detrimental and positive to different women, but almost completely detrimental to the feminist goals of academic women … Now is a time when individual women may well reach the highest ranks of the profession. But this does not mean that the university has become a more egalitarian … supportive workplace.

The first five chapters of this book have explored the complexities, dilemmas and challenges faced by women who hold positions of authority, with particular reference to those who manage and lead within the

field of education. This chapter has placed the challenges faced by these women into the contemporary context of neoliberal and new managerialist discourses and changing practices within the academic workplace, particularly within the field of teacher training. It has noted the particular dilemmas of those women managers and leaders who endorse feminist and social justice discourses within 'new hard times'. Chapter 6 now presents the details of the research design and interrogates relevant theoretical and methodological issues.

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CHAPTER 6

Researching Women Managers and Leaders

Background to the Research

As has been made clear, teacher trainers are a notably under-researched group who have borne the brunt of unparalleled changes imposed by governments of all persuasions over the last 40 years (Murray 2008). This book is about what it is like to be a woman manager or leader in teacher training at a time when neoliberal market forces and new managerialist discourses have been inserted into the public sector, particularly in education. It is written from the standpoint of an insider researcher in that, at the time of the study upon which this book is based, I managed a major initial teacher training programme. It is also written from a feminist perspective. The study is therefore seen through a set of critical lenses, which reflect the interplay of three major influences, namely shifts in theoretical perspectives related to feminism, critical analysis of policy changes in education and management, and issues related to qualitative work. In the first part of this chapter, I explore shifts in feminist theory over time and outline my epistemological position, namely the theory of knowledge that I drew upon for generating information about the social world that I was researching. As this research has been carried out by a feminist, the question arises, is this feminist research, or, related to this, is there any such thing as feminist research? This question is explored within the context of debates related to qualitative work and feminist theory. The way that I am positioned within the research, as a woman manager and a feminist,

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poses a number of theoretical and methodological challenges, which are also explored.

The second part of the chapter describes how the study was carried out. It explores such questions as how the sample group was constructed, how access to the institutions where the research took place was gained and, related to that, how the problems of being both an insider and an outsider researcher were tackled. Next, the chapter explores the rationale for the choice of research tools and explains how the practical problems of carrying out the research were addressed. The ethical problems associated with being an insider researcher are considered, including the way that my positionality within the research may have impacted on the ways that the data were collected and presented. Interrogation of these issues forms the final part of the chapter.

Shifts in Feminist Theory … Shifts in My Thinking

In order to contextualise current feminist theoretical perspectives, which have informed my research, it is helpful to examine, briefly, changes in feminist theory over time. This is important because during the learning process of the research, my theoretical perspective has shifted from the liberal/radical feminist positions that influenced my earlier work in the 1980s but were, even then, causing frustration as I could not fit myself into a convenient theoretical pigeonhole. During the period of this research, I have increasingly found the insights offered by feminist poststructuralism useful. At the same time, while recognising differences between some women, as well as the similarities between some men and women, I do not seek to fracture the experience of women to such an extent that there is a denial of any material reality. My journey through the changes in feminist theory, and the impact that these had on my theoretical position for this study, begins with a brief exploration of first-, second- and third-wave feminism.

Early Feminist Theory

Briefly, what is termed 'first-wave' feminism emerged in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries out of the Enlightenment and was based on the concept of liberal individualism. Second-wave feminism, on the other hand, had its roots in the 1960s and was a more dissenting political movement. Weiner (1994: 53) informs us that 'first-wave' feminism

> was associated with the Enlightenment and the emergence of liberal individualism and Protestantism … [it] was *liberal*, *bourgeois* and highly *individualistic* principally concerned with extending legal, political and employment rights of middle class women.

Campaigning on 'The Woman Question' was often part of general reforms that embraced universal suffrage and national education and concentrated on improving middle-class women's position vis-à-vis marriage, property law and access to education, and participation in public life (Weiner *ibid.*). Coffey and Delamont (2000: 6) argue that first-wave feminism was a liberal individualistic feminism which was

> grounded in a social democratic, natural justice and equal opportunities tradition and believing that through democratic social reform women (and men) should be free to determine their political, social, educational and labour market roles and futures.

'Second-wave' feminism, on the other hand, was precipitated by the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s and was born out of other political movements such as the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. Second-wave feminism, although not a unitary movement, tended to be divided into three major strands, namely liberal feminism (equal opportunities), radical feminism (anti-sexist) and socialist (Marxist) feminism. Although it incorporated liberal feminism, 'second-wave' feminism was a more dissenting movement and had radical feminism as its underlying principle, the concept of patriarchy which was extended from its original meaning of 'the rule of the father' to 'describe the historical dominance of men over women' (Weiner *op. cit.*: 54). However, radical feminists, and to some extent liberal feminists, were criticised for taking a hegemonic stance by Marxist feminists and, in particular, black feminists such as Carby (1987: 65), who argued:

> We can point to no single source of our oppression. When white feminists emphasize patriarchy alone we want to redefine the term and make it a more complex concept. Racism ensures that black men do not have the same relations to patriarchal/capitalist hierarchies as white men.

In addition to black feminism, by the end of the 1970s, a number of other feminist perspectives, such as lesbian feminism and psychoanalytic feminism, had surfaced to challenge what was seen as essentialising feminist

thinking. However, despite their differences, the varying schools of feminist thought demonstrated some unifying features. As Francis (2001: 66) argues:

> …across these varying schools a common theme could be found where women were perceived as sisters in struggle, united by their femaleness and the consequent oppression by patriarchy. The suggested methods with which to challenge male domination differed between feminist schools, but the assumption of womanhood as the founding subject of feminism, and the emancipatory intentions, remained unifying themes.

However, by the early 1980s, the unifying subject of 'woman/girl' was being problematised. Some feminist groups, such as black feminists, lesbian feminists and working-class feminists, argued that the oppression suffered by women could not be categorised uniformly, and that the experience of white middle-class women was taken as a norm against which all women's oppression could be measured. These groups pointed out that white middle-class women were guilty of discriminating against other women, and that there were inequalities between women and women, as well as between women and men (Francis 2001: 66). Over time, feminism became more fractured and the assumption that feminists could speak for all women on the basis of their shared womanhood and oppression was exploded (Mirza 1997). As Weiner (1994: 24) commented:

> Sadly, I have come to realise that the 'sisterhood' that was so celebrated in the 1970s is possibly more imaginary than real and that women can be divided by class, ethnicity, religion etc. as they are bound together by shared experiences of, say, domesticity and motherhood.

However, as Gamble (1999: 52) pointed out, some feminists found a way of accommodating competing feminist perspectives by 'accepting pluralism as a given' and participating in a 'third wave' of feminist thought. As Gamble (*ibid.*) says:

> the primary difference between second and third wave feminism is that third wave feminists feel at ease with contradiction [it understands] that no account of oppression is true for all women in all situations all of the time.

Thus, third-wave feminism seeks to reduce or remove the oppressions of essentialising discourses which would position all women, and for that

matter, all men, in particular ways. In an attempt to theorise the growing assumption that power relations between women and women, as well as between men and women, are more complex and diverse than previously thought, some feminists turned to alternative theories to find a way through increasingly challenging and confusing debates.

Foucault: Poststructuralism and Feminist Poststructuralism

One of the theories increasingly turned to by some feminists in recent years is poststructuralism. Poststructuralism is a strand of the postmodernist movement, which itself grew out of a reaction to the modernist belief in 'universal scientific truth', which was a product of late-eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinking. As Coffey and Delamont (2000: 8) put it:

> At its simplest, postmodernism is a challenge to the consensus held among the educated classes in the Western capitalist nations, since the Enlightenment at the end of the eighteenth century, that universal, objective scientific truths can be reached by scientific methods. … Postmodernism argues that there are no universal truths to be discovered because all human investigators are grounded in human society and can only produce partial, local and historically specific insights.

In poststructuralist theory, text can be interpreted in a number of ways and thus dominant story lines can be 'deconstructed'. The philosopher Michel Foucault was one of the foremost proponents of poststructuralist theory and linked poststructuralism to an analysis of power which he saw as operating through discourses. Francis (1992: 2) interprets Foucault's analysis of power and discourses as meaning that

> the self is not fixed: instead it is positioned and positions in 'discourse' – socially and culturally produced patterns of language which constitute power by constructing objects in particular ways. A housewife for example, could be positioned as fulfilling her natural role through traditional gender essentialism, or could be positioned as a victim of oppression in some types of feminist discourses.

Foucault (1980) argued that there may be an element of resistance to discourses in that if someone is positioned as powerless by one discourse,

they may actively position themselves as powerful through alternative discourses. Importantly for this research, Foucault (*ibid.*) argued:

> Discourses wield power by constructing objects in different ways and for this reason that individuals can simultaneously undergo and exercise power and be positioned in different ways at different times depending on the discursive environment.
>
> (Cited in Francis 1992: 2)

Francis and Skelton (2005: 30) argue that poststucturalism is useful for feminism in three ways. First, it explains some of the ways in which power is constituted between women and women and between men and men, as well as between men and women. Second, the view of all selves as positioned in society as men or women can be presented as relational. Third, gender itself is deconstructed. As Francis and Skelton (*ibid.*) say, 'rather than reflecting biological givens, "maleness" and "femaleness" is simply produced by discourse'. Therefore, if it is argued that the self is not fixed but positioned in discourses, then gender itself is not fixed but is positioned in gender discourses, and the way that gender discourse can position women (and men) is open to analysis.

Francis (1999: 3) argues that poststructuralist discourse analysis offers an explanation for some of the theoretical complexities which have challenged feminism. For example, as she says, it is helpful in understanding

> the ways in which power is constituted between women (and between men) as well as between men and women. Black, working-class, gay and disabled feminists have drawn white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual feminists' attention to the fact oppressive power relationships are not only dependent on gender, but can occur due to a host of other factors, and can exist between women.

Francis (*ibid.*) also argues that poststructuralism may be helpful in explaining some of the problems that became apparent in the sex role theories of the 1970s and 1980s, which are still the basis for gender equality strategies used in schools today. For example, sex role theory argued that, through the 'hidden curriculum', schools taught girls that they were inferior to boys in the classroom and prepared them for their future domestic role as wives and mothers (Delamont 1980). However, sex role theory relied on an essentialist view of what it is to be a 'girl' and did not account for either the differences between girls or for the fact that some girls actively resisted

traditional gender socialisation. Rather than being passive recipients of gender socialisation, girls took up gender roles in sometimes traditional and sometimes contradictory ways, simultaneously accommodating and resisting (Riddell 1989; Lees 1993), and as Francis (1999: 2) points out:

> the fact that women have attained far greater educational success over the last 20 years, and that more than half of all British women now engage in paid work, illustrates two social changes which cannot be explained by socialization theories of role reproduction.

Having interrogated some of the arguments as to why poststructuralism can be helpful for feminism, it is now important to consider opposing arguments because, if taken to its logical conclusion, poststructuralism can give feminism as many problems as it offers solutions.

Poststructuralism deconstructs meta-narratives such as oppression and, highly problematically for feminism, challenges the very notion of the subject 'woman'. As Francis and Skelton (2005: 30) point out, in poststructuralism, gender is not fixed but positioned in discourses, and if gender itself can be deconstructed, then, if the argument is taken to its logical conclusion, the terms 'girl' and 'woman' may be misleading. Some time ago, feminists such as Squires (1992), Soper (1993), Ramazanoğlu, (1993) and Maynard (1994) argued that poststructuralism is a theory that is dependent on deconstructing other theories but leaves nothing in its place and, as a result, renders social research pointless (Maynard 1994). As a result of this potential, Squires (1993) was clear that poststructuralism caused political paralysis, and Soper (1990) and Nicholson and Seidman (1995) asked the question, if there is no subject 'woman', how can there be any theory of resistance, how can there be feminism and how can there be feminist research? As Munroe (1998: 33) put it:

> The primary concern of feminists in regard to poststructuralist theory has been the lack of a theory of resistance. … Without a subject, how could there be agency? In other words, without the category 'woman', how can there be feminism?

Although there is no single definition of feminist research, it can usually be said to be underpinned by emancipatory aims, defined by Assiter (1996: 84) as aims dedicated to 'removing oppressive power relations'. Feminist research is usually intended to impact on or change society, either through the findings of the research project or sometimes through the research process (Stanley

and Wise 1993; Kelly et al. 1994; Skeggs 1994). As a result of the fact that feminism is a political emancipatory project, Francis (1999: 4) argues:

> feminism is inherently a modernist theory in that it supposes a founding subject ('womanhood') and is based on the 'truth narrative' that patriarchy oppresses women, and the moral assumption that such oppression is wrong, and that we should work to end this oppression.

To this end, Francis (*ibid.*: 7) argues that what she terms a 'fully poststructuralist position' is incompatible with feminism in terms of the possibility of the theoretical deconstruction of the subject 'woman' and hence the potential for the deconstruction of feminism and feminist theory. Although there are many unresolved tensions between feminism and poststructuralism, a number of feminists who recognise poststruturalism's usefulness have tried to resolve or circumvent these incompatibilities. For example, Davies (1989) argued that as poststructuralism recognises the impossibility of coherence and unity, she does not have to worry about the inconsistencies between the theories that she uses. Similarly, Munroe (1998) makes it clear that, while she recognises the problems associated with poststructuralism, she acknowledges that it provides opportunities for feminists to think differently about notions of subjectivity. Munroe (*ibid.*: 35) says:

> Notions of the self as unitary, autonomous, universal and static are fictions. … When agency is not accorded to a unitary subject – and is always in the state of production – how might women's actions be re-thought? … Thus women are not merely victims of patriarchy, but are also agents, although their acts of resistance need not conform to acts of agency inscribed in primarily patriarchal discourses.

In addition, Francis (1999: 8), while continuing to acknowledge the fact that there remain many unresolved theoretical questions related to the compatibility of feminism and poststructuralism, points out:

> while we may agree that theoretically the self is constituted through discourse, we still feel ourselves to have agency, moral obligation, and preferences for different kinds of discourses; and that creating narratives to structure or describe our lives is part of being a human subject.

The first part of this chapter has spent some time interrogating the shifts in feminist theory in order to contextualise some of the theoretical perspectives that I draw on in this study. As a feminist, I too have been

challenged by what Coffey and Delamont (2000: 7) refer to as the 'serious claims that feminism is dead'. Clearly, like many other feminists, I do not believe these claims and, like Francis (1999), have problems with 'a fully poststructuralist position'. However, like feminists such as Davies (1989), Francis (1999), Munroe (1998), Blackmore (1999) and Francis and Skelton (2005), I recognise the usefulness of poststructuralism in disrupting notions of the self as 'unitary, autonomous, universal and static' (Munroe 1998: 35). As has been discussed earlier in this thesis, commentators such as Acker and Feuerverger (1996) and Reay and Ball (2000) argue that diversity among women and the different ways that women 'do power' is not sufficiently recognised. Poststructuralist theory is therefore useful for this research in that not only does it account for the fact that women do not behave in essentialist ways, but it also helps to explain why, albeit slowly, some women have resisted traditional sex role socialisation and are gaining success in the workplace.

Bourdieu: 'Habitus', 'Field' … and Feminism

In this research, I have attempted to take a position which recognises a diversity of power relations between women and women, as well as between men and women, but which also recognises the inter-relationship between the material and cultural dimensions of social life. In attempting to do this, the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' have been useful. Bourdieu's theory of social construction emphasises the fact that there are multiple levels of constructs and interactions within any given field, which are both structured and structuring. Bourdieu (1990: 123) argues that there are objective structures existing in the social world which operate independently of the agents' consciousness. For constructivism, he gives the following definition:

> there is a social genesis on the one hand of the patterns of perception, thought and action which are constitutive of what I call the habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and in particular of what I call fields and groups (Bourdieu 1990: 123).

For Bourdieu, the social world is dually structured and structuring, and he also argues that construction does not exist in a social vacuum but is subject to the social world in general and the relevant social field. Importantly for this study, he generated a theory of social agents operating within given fields with a 'practical sense' or habitus of 'what is to be done' in

those fields. Through the concept of 'habitus' therefore, Bourdieu has attempted to bridge the gap between agency and structure and has added an important analytical tool when thinking about differences within social groups. Bourdieu and Wacquant (2002: 126) argue that habitus is a 'socialized subjectivity' and is Bourdieu's way of theorising a self which is socially produced. As Johnson (1993) puts it, habitus is like a second sense, or second nature, that equips social actors with practical 'know-how' about how to operate in given situations.

Although Bourdieu's social theory was focused upon class rather than gender, it does not mean that it cannot be useful for feminism. As Adkins (2004: 3) argues:

> Other key contemporary theorists such as Foucault and Habermas have also – substantively speaking – had little to say about women and gender or indeed feminism but this … has not stopped feminists deploying, rethinking and critically developing the theoretical resources offered by these theorists to produce some of the most compelling and productive forms of contemporary feminist theorizing.

Ulrich Beck and the 'Individualised Individual'; Du Gay's 'Entrepreneur of the Self'

Other theories that I have found useful are Beck's notion of the 'individualised individual' and Du Gay's concept of the 'entrepreneur of the self'. Beck's (2000) thesis explains that the change from a first to a second modernity, that is, from an industrial to a global society, will result in an end to discrimination in terms of social class and gender and a transformation in the nature of work. Beck (2002: 209) is optimistic that the change from full-time to part-time contracts and the rise of part-time work will mean that people will juggle different types of work, which will create a society where there are 'people working for themselves' on one side and 'social entrepreneurs' on the other. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim paint a picture of the individualised individual making 'free choices' about the nature of work. At the same time, Walkerdine and Ringrose (2006: 36) argue:

> The desegregation of gender in many jobs and the shifting nature of work … brings the distinction between men's and women's work into question … the qualities of re-invention, adaptation, flexibility and malleability by outside market forces that in demand are traditionally feminine.

Reay (2001: 165) however argues that in education, with its demand for outputs, competition and entrepreneurship, it is primarily the assertiveness and authority of masculinity that it is rewarded, 'so, the task is to somehow juggle traditionally feminine and masculine attributes'. In the current climate of shifting work patterns from 'jobs for life' to short-term contracts, what is needed is an adaptable, flexible individual who can reinvent himself or herself at will or what Gee (1999) describes as 'a shape-shifting portfolio person', Du Gay's (1996) 'entrepreneur of oneself'. In this study, where women are trying to find a space for themselves in the contemporary world of work, namely the management and leadership of initial teacher training, both Beck's and Du Gay's insights have resonance.

The first part of this chapter has described the shifts in my thinking during the process of the research and, as part of that process, has interrogated changes in feminist theory over time. The insights provided by the work of Foucault concerning discourse, the insights provided by feminist poststructuralism, the work of Bourdieu concerning 'habitus' and 'field', Beck's model of the 'individualised individual' and Du Gay's concept of the self-driven entrepreneur have been particularly useful in developing my final theoretical position. This is grounded in the material experiences of women managers and leaders in initial teacher training, but nonetheless recognises the power of dominant discourses in shaping the world in which these women operate. It also recognises diversity among, and differential power relations between, the social actors in the study as well as the fact that these categories are relational. The next part of the chapter will expand upon these insights by discussing my theory of knowledge in relation to the methodology and methods utilised in the study.

My Epistemological Position and the Research Process

Epistemology, or 'ways of knowing', is defined by Stanley (1990: 26) as:

> a theory of knowledge which addresses central questions such as who can be a 'knower', what can be known, what constitutes and validates knowledge, and what the relationship is or should be between knowing and being (that is between epistemology and ontology).

Like McWilliam (1992: 6), I perceive knowledge to be personally, historically and socially constructed, therefore interpretive and open to change.

There can therefore be no one 'correct' version of knowledge, although conventional epistemologies have privileged mainstream ('*male*stream') knowledge as more valid. However, whereas postmodern and poststructural perspectives challenge notions of grand narratives about what constitutes knowledge and recognise new ways of seeing and knowing, they also run the risk of destabilising the category 'woman' both as the 'subject and agent of feminist politics' and as a category of 'knower'. Butler (1992: 15–16) argues that whereas there may be difficulties in establishing what is meant by 'woman', this does not mean that the category 'women' should not be used politically. However, she does acknowledge the difficulties inherent in connecting this political position with knowledge claims about women—the constituency for whom feminism speaks. On the other hand, Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2005: 98) claim:

> From a feminist perspective, postmodern thought need not be seen as beyond epistemology. Postmodern thinkers themselves make knowledge claims, some of which seem to have become established as general truths. Rather than feminists being required, for example, to take on trust that power is everywhere and cannot be possessed, that gender is performative or that hybridity is powerful, these knowledge claims can be investigated, qualified and contested and their knowing subjects deconstructed.

Harraway (1991: 161) also pointed out that epistemology could be part of the solution when making judgements between competing knowledge claims and that feminists should guard against

> [l]apsing into boundless difference and giving up on the confusing task of making partial, real connection. Some differences are playful; some are poles of world historical domination. Epistemology is about knowing the difference.

I have argued in this chapter that the category of 'woman' is not unitary as not all women share the same experiences but operate as social actors in a diversity of ways. As Stanley (1990: 22) notes:

> The social contexts within which different kinds of women live, work, struggle and make sense of their lives differ widely across the world and between different groupings of women … the experience of 'women' is ontologically fractured and complex because we do not all share one single unseamed material reality.

My epistemological position resonates with Stanley and Wise's (1993: 192) well-known advocacy of a theory of knowledge that is grounded in people's everyday experiences and in their fractured ontologies. In this way, epistemology is ontologically grounded. With the goal of producing ontologically grounded knowledge in mind, debates related to feminist research guided my epistemology and, by implication, the decisions that I took about the research methodology and methods that I would use in this study. The next question that I had to consider was, as I am a feminist, would I be carrying out feminist research?

Researching from a Feminist Perspective: Changing Debates

As with other feminist theoretical perspectives, debates related to what constitutes feminist research have changed over time. Early theories related to what was entailed in 'feminist' research focused on the fact that qualitative rather than quantitative should be its defining principle (quantitative/positivist techniques being associated with '*male*stream' ways of carrying out research). On the other hand, it was argued by some that it is a mistake to equate feminist research solely with a qualitative methodology (Roberts 1981). Developing an interactive methodology, and thus diminishing the hierarchical relationship between researcher and researched, represented another criterion for feminist research. Rapoport and Rapoport (1976), Kleiber and Light (1978) and Lather (1988) argued that feminist research involved placing the social construction of gender at the heart of the study. Stanley and Wise (1993: 30) defined feminist research as research on, by and for women, although feminists such as Skelton (2001) queried what happened when feminist researchers undertook studies on males.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, although feminist research has no fixed aims, it is often demarcated from non-feminist research by its emancipatory objective (Stanley and Wise 1993; Kelly et al. 1994; Griffiths 1995; Francis 1999; Ramazanoğlu 2005; Marshall and Young 2006). There appears to be some consensus in much feminist argument that the emancipatory project is what underpins feminist work. As Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2005: 98) argue:

> For feminist researchers, the nature of relationships between people and how these are constituted, structured, investigated and understood remains a central political, ethical and epistemological concern.

Also of importance to many feminist researchers (Opie 1992; Stanley and Wise 1993; Maynard and Purvis 1994) is the need for feminists to locate themselves within the research. The need for reflexivity and awareness of the researcher's own position in relation to the research is emphasised, as is the need for constant self-awareness and reflexivity. As Marshall and Young (2006: 72) argue:

> A self-reflexive understanding of one's identity is a necessary part of understanding the impact of one's presence and perspective on the research.

This is an important issue for my research because, as a manager in teacher training, I was integrally bound up with the research question. This issue will be returned to later in the chapter.

As Liz Stanley commented at a conference on feminism and educational research methodologies in June 1999, there is a sense in which feminist research has itself become more 'mainstream' in recent years. For example, principles of feminist research such as addressing the hierarchy within the research relationship and taking a reflexive position within the research have now become common currency in other areas of social enquiry such as 'race' and social class. I would argue that this is not a reason for saying that feminist research no longer exists; it is simply the fact that the 'good practice' of feminist research has been adopted by other areas of social enquiry. In other words, what Lloyd (1999) refers to as the 'archeology' of feminist research has informed the practice of others.

Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2005: 102) also point out that there is a place for feminist research in times that are increasingly influenced by postmodern thought. They argue:

> Feminists are in the contradictory position of being confined to local truths, but living in a world shaped by global relationships. They need valid knowledge of the range, diversity and interconnections of gendered social life in order to judge what power relations are and how/whether they should be changed.

Ramazanoğlu and Holland (*ibid.*: 103) believe that 'feminist researchers' can 'keep their moral agency and emancipatory impulses in exploring what "women" do and do not have in common'. However what is important for feminist research in these times is that

> [they] can only be pragmatic about choosing their ethical positions and political identities, making these explicit, making themselves accountable for

> the knowledge that they produce, and interrogating their own constitution as knowing subjects.
>
> (Ramazanoğlu and Holland *ibid.*: 102)

This section of the chapter has briefly considered some key debates about what constitutes feminist enquiry, many of which have been influential in my research design. The importance of self-awareness and reflexivity within the research has already been emphasised (Stanley and Wise 1993; Maynard and Purvis 1994; Marshall and Young 2006). Reflexivity requires my beliefs to be made visible within the research account so that judgements can be made about how they may have influenced the research process and about the status of the findings. To that end, given that the data are the product of interaction between researcher and researched, I consider that the relationship between myself and those that I was researching was pertinent to the findings and therefore pertinent for inclusion in the research account. I have already declared the fact that, as a manager in initial teacher training, this research had an autobiographical aspect. I have also declared my positionality as a feminist and pointed out that the underpinning reason for this project was to shed light on what is happening to women managers and leaders in ITT working within new managerial discourses. Part of my goal as a feminist researcher was to contribute to a feminist epistemology and to produce 'really useful knowledge', and I am therefore part of the continuous process of discovery and interpretation. The question then arises as to how to validate the results of value-informed research. In attempting to answer this question, I wish to foreground two key concepts about research that I endorse. In this, I draw from older work which still has resonance. The first is, as Griffin (1991: 109) argued, '[T]here is no such animal as the totally detached and value-free observer.' The second is, as Finch (1984: 87) pointed out, '[A]ll research is political in character and is conducted in a manner which embodies some of the political … interests of the researcher.' Moreover, as Coffey and Delamont (2000: 124) note:

> a feminist discourse of the nature and process of social research discounts the myth that research can ever be neutral or 'hygienic'. Feminist perspectives contribute to the demystification of social research, making problematic the stance of the researcher and the researched as unattached and objective. Instead research is recast as personal, emotional, sensitive, reflective and situated in existing cultural and structural contexts.

In conclusion, the study was by me and of me, and as Ball (1990: 167) has pointed out, there is the possibility that another researcher may gain different data and insights if she or he carried out similar fieldwork. However, Ball (*ibid.*) has also argued that the difference in analysis would likely be small rather than large and

> would be matters of emphasis and orientation, rather than in the story to be told. The complexity and the 'becomingness' of social life belies the possibility of a single exhaustive or definitive account.

Having interrogated the theoretical perspectives that underpinned the study, it is now appropriate to explore how the research was designed and carried out.

The Research Design and Implementation

My research sits within what Silverman (1993: 21) defines as the interpretive tradition of social science, which he sees as concerned with concepts of social construction in meaning. Within this tradition, qualitative methods are used in order to generate meaning. Bryman (2004: 266) informs us that qualitative research takes

> an epistemological position described as interpretative, meaning that, in contrast to the adoption of a natural scientific model in quantitative research, the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants [and] an ontological position described as constructionist, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction.

The emphasis of qualitative research is on words rather than on numbers, although as researchers such as Bryman (*op. cit.*) and Bell (1999: 4) point out, while different approaches tend to use different methods, 'no approach prescribes, nor automatically rejects any particular method'. However, as Bell (1999: 7) also notes:

> Researchers adopting a qualitative perspective are more concerned to understand individuals' perceptions of the world. They seek insight rather than statistical analysis.

The interpretive approach therefore resonates with my position as a feminist researcher who seeks to gain insights into the challenges, dilemmas and tensions faced by female managers of initial teacher training in the current climate.

Bryman (2004: 4) considers that social research is influenced by a variety of factors, namely ontology, epistemology, theory, values and practical considerations. My theoretical, ontological and epistemological positions have already been examined in this chapter, as has been my positionality and the fact that I acknowledge 'subjectivity' as an integral part of the research process. Like Day (1995: 357), I own the fact that I, as the researcher, am integrally involved in the values which underpin the research design and outcomes which emerge in this text. I argue that this is a strength of the methodology as it allows me to incorporate an element of reflexivity into my empirical research.

Gaining Access to the Field, Ethics, Confidentiality and Participant Observation

The initial fieldwork was carried out in six schools/departments of education in the UK and the sample group was later extended to include four more institutions (ten institutions in all). I was employed as a manager of initial teacher training in one of the institutions, a factor which raised issues related to being an insider researcher, such as ethics, confidentiality of data and the power relationship with the interviewees, who were my colleagues. The decision to begin the research in my own workplace was taken for two reasons. First, as a feminist, I have always been interested in the gender dynamics which operate in the social arena. I had begun to be intrigued about the discourses related to, and endorsed by, the women managers in the School of Education and how they were positioned and positioned themselves in day-to-day functioning of the School. As will become apparent later, the job of managing an initial teacher training programme is onerous and time-consuming. Researching my own workplace helped with the limited time that I had to carry out the research and gave me easy entry to the field and also the 'insider knowledge' which comes with being a 'participant as observer' within the research (Gold 1958). The difference between being a 'complete participant' and being a 'participant as observer' relies on the fact that, although the researcher is a fully functioning member of the social setting, his or her

identity as a researcher is not known (Gold 1958; Bryman 2004). In my case, I was a full member of the social setting, but I felt that I was ethically bound to let other members of the group know that I was carrying out research. Issues related to participant observation will be returned to later in the chapter.

Ethical Issues

Ethics are an important consideration for any researcher, particularly for those carrying out research from a feminist perspective (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2005).

For clarity, I will consider generic ethical considerations at this point in this chapter and explore specific issues related to my research throughout the remainder of the text. The research was carried out within the guidelines published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA 2004: 4) and particular attention was given to the following reminder:

> The research ethic of respect for persons requires the researchers, in reporting data on persons, to do so in ways which respects those persons as fellow human beings who have entitlements to dignity and privacy.

Bryman (2004: 510) informs us:

> The BSA (British Sociological Association) *Statement of Ethical Practice* enjoins researchers to anticipate, and guard against, consequences for research participants which can be predicted to be harmful.

Some time ago, Diener and Crandall (1978) broke down ethical issues into four main areas and argued that researchers should consider whether, in the carrying out of their research, there is a potential for harm to participants, a lack of informed consent, and an invasion of privacy, and whether they may be betraying their informants. Harm to participants may range from actual physical harm as in the Millgram (1963) experiment, where participants were subjected to electric shocks, to more intangible forms of harm such as might arise from, for example, breaches of confidentiality or deception. Research which is conducted ethically requires that participants are properly informed of the nature and intention of the research and should be given a detailed account of the research process (Silverman 2006). Ryen (2004: 231) defines informed consent as follows:

> research subjects have the right to know that they are being researched, the right to be informed about the nature of the research and the right to withdraw at anytime.

Whereas Goode (1996) has put forward the argument that informed consent should be considered on a case-by-case basis and that the 'end may sometimes justify the means', there is a general consensus that covert research transgresses ethical considerations. As Bryman (2004: 513) argues:

> Covert methods are generally deemed to be violations of the privacy principle on the grounds that participants are not being given the opportunity to refuse invasions of their privacy … the issue of privacy is invariably linked to issues of anonymity and confidentiality in the research process.

Grieg and Taylor (1999: 153) have argued that one way that researchers can guard against being overly intrusive is to consider, '[A]re [my] research questions necessary and of substance?'

I have argued earlier in this chapter that reflexivity is important for those undertaking research from a feminist perspective. Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2005: 156) explain:

> A reflexive approach demands awareness of, and appropriate responses to, relationships between researcher and researched. When your prospective sources are people, your relationships with them and what they understand you to be doing, are ethical issues and raise questions about the exercise of power in the production of data.

However, Ramazanoğlu and Holland (*ibid.*: 157) warn:

> Even the most committed feminist researcher is in the game of research out of self- interest … you will need to work out your ethical position in relation to the researched, your accountability for the research, how you should present yourself, what the researched are to be asked to consent to, and what information it is proper to give them to this end.

How I, as a feminist researcher, tackled the issues explored so far in this chapter will be addressed as I return to a consideration of the specific issues related to my research.

Gaining Access to the Field

Burgess (1984: 45) points out that gaining access to the 'field' of research is not a straightforward process, but

> an essential phase in the research process. For access is a pre-requisite, a precondition for research to be conducted … the activities that occur during this key phase of the research process will influence the ways in which those who are to be researched define the research and the activities of the researcher.

However, just because I was starting the research within my own institution did not guarantee me access. Bell (1999: 42) warns:

> No researcher can demand access to an institution, an organization or to materials. People will be doing you a favour if they agree to help, and they will need to know exactly what they will be asked to do, how much time they will be expected to give and what use will be made of the information they provide.

Before I began any fieldwork in my home institution, I formally requested permission from the Dean and the Head of School to undertake the research and this was readily granted. In the other institutions in the sample, permission to undertake fieldwork was always obtained from a senior member of staff. However, as Bryman (2004: 299) notes:

> access does not finish when you have made contact and gained entry to a group. You still need access to *people* … Securing access is in many ways an ongoing process.

Ongoing access continued throughout the period of the research, both in my home institution and in the other universities. It involved interaction with many gatekeepers, those people who have the power to grant access to people or institutions (Burgess 1984: 48). Bryman (*ibid.*: 299) points to three ways in which the path towards ongoing access may be smoothed. He suggests that researchers should:

> Play up your credentials – past work and experience; your knowledge of the organization and / or its sector, understanding of their problems … be non-judgemental … make sure information given to you does not get back to others, whether bosses or peers … You may need a role – if research involves

> quite a lot of participant observation, the role will be part of your position in the organisation; otherwise you will need to construct a 'front' by your dress, by your explanations about what you are doing there.

As a woman who ran a major teacher training programme, I had an in-depth knowledge of the sector, its problems and the day-to-day challenges and dilemmas faced by its managers. However, whereas on the one hand my 'insider' status provided useful insights that may have been missed if I had been more of an 'outsider', I did run the risk faced by researchers who are 'complete participants' of 'going native'. This is a state described by Cohen and Manion (2000: 311), where

> the researcher adopts the values, norms and behaviours of the group as her own, i.e. ceases to be a researcher and becomes a member of the group.

I was a member of the group that I was researching and, in many ways, was more of a 'complete participant' than a 'participant as observer'. The crucial difference lay in the fact that my colleagues knew that I was also carrying out research.

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, I could have made the decision to become a complete or covert researcher and stay under cover. In this way, I would minimise the risk that my presence would affect what people would say or do. However, as Cohen and Manion (*ibid.*: 314) argue:

> [covert research] appears to violate the principle of informed consent, invades the privacy of subjects and private space, treats the participants instrumentally – as research objects – and places the researcher in a position of misrepresenting her / his role … or rather denying it.

If I had taken this stance, it would have been very much at odds with my position as a feminist researcher who wished to minimise the power that she held over her respondents.

Rosaldo (1993: 194) suggests that the social researcher is more accurately described as an intersection through which multiple identities travel. My identity in the institutions that I was studying shifted between being a member of overlapping communities. In all the institutions in the sample, I was a full member of the 'group of women managers'. I was an external examiner in some institutions and therefore would have been likely to be regarded as more of an 'outsider', but a member of the group nonetheless. At all times, I was a researcher. I had a particular concern to protect the

confidentiality of my respondents, particularly in light of the fact that many of them were very open about what they thought about the management and leadership discourses which they believed to be operating within their institutions. A careless word from me might well have meant that, ultimately, their jobs might have been at risk. Although I would remind staff from time to time that I was carrying out research, I made a point of not disclosing who my interviewees were or disclosing anything that had been said. As part of the writing process, the institutions where the research took place were given pseudonyms, as were the participants.

Carrying Out the Research: The Field Methods

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, I was engaged in interpretive research, which relied mainly on qualitative methods. In-depth ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979; Bryman 2004) were carried out with middle and senior women in those departments. Bryman (*ibid.*: 113) points out that the term ethnographic interview is a term which is synonymous with unstructured or intensive interview in which

> [t]he interviewer typically has only a list of topics or issues, often called the *interview guide* or '*aide-mémoire*', that are typically covered. The style of questioning is usually informal. The phrasing and sequencing of questions will vary from interview to interview.

I produced an aide-mémoire for use in all the interviews, and although the sequence of questions did sometimes vary, the same broad issues were covered. The interviews took place in a variety of places chosen by the respondents. These ranged from an interviewee's garden to hotel grounds to interviewees' offices. I never carried out interviews in my own office as I felt that people would feel more at ease on neutral, or their own, ground. On two occasions, interviews were conducted over the telephone as the respondents were too far away geographically for me to travel to see them. At the start of each interview, I reminded the interviewees what the interview was to be about and reaffirmed that they were happy to proceed and to have the interviews taped. I reassured them about confidentiality and promised that that they could see a copy of the tape transcript if they wished to do so. The main issues in the aide-mémoire were covered at some point but I also allowed our conversations to develop in ways that the women managers wanted to take them (Spradley 1979). In this way, the interviews became part of the analysis, which was further developed

at a later stage by transcription and coding. It also enabled me to identify areas to be included in future interviews. I asked open questions in order to develop reflection and analysis and I also added information about myself, where appropriate, in order to attempt to lessen the power dimension between my respondents and myself. Some time ago, researchers such as Cook and Fonow (1984) and Bristow and Esper (1988) advocated that the researcher should share some of her personal experiences in order to develop a dialogue rather than a question-and-response situation. There are, however, problems associated with this approach as the researcher may 'hijack' the interview and marginalise what the interviewee wants to say. It is also worth noting that Maynard (1994) argued that employing techniques such as sharing personal information in the interview situation does not remove power dynamics. However, although power dynamics may not have been removed, I hoped that they would be minimised. In some cases, interviewees shared sensitive information with me and I felt it only right that they were privy to some information about me in return.

In addition to carrying out interviews, participant observation was undertaken at St. Bede's College, St. Crispin's College and St. Peter's University. Participant observation carries with it several ethical considerations, some of which have been explored earlier in the chapter. As I argued earlier, I became a 'participant as observer' within the research. Cohen and Manion (2000: 311) advise that participant observers should remain with those that they are observing for long periods of time as this reduces the effect of their presence. In my home institution, I was with those that I was observing for long periods during much of the working week. Morrison (1993: 88) argues that

> being immersed in a particular context over time not only will the salient features of the situation emerge and present themselves but a more holistic view will be gathered of the inter-relationship of factors.

Much has been written about how, when and what participant observers should record during their observations (Spradley 1980; Bogdan and Biklen 1992; Le Compte and Preissle 1993; Carspeken 1996). The way in which I conducted my role as participant observer resonates closely with the procedures suggested by Spradley (1979) and Kirk and Miller (1986), who suggested that observers should make notes *in situ*, which they should expand as soon as possible after the initial observations. They suggested that 'journal' notes should be kept where reflections could be made on issues that arose during the fieldwork. Finally, there should be

an ongoing record of the researcher's interpretations and tentative ongoing analysis. In my research, I made *in situ* notes in whatever diary or notebook that I had with me. I then transferred these notes to my field notebook, where I also made reflections on what I observed. I also began to code these observations as I went along.

Constructing the Sample Group

The original sample of six schools/departments of education where the research took place was constructed because they formed a representative sample of those institutions where initial teacher training takes place. The sample group therefore consisted of a mixture of former colleges of education as well as old and new universities. There was also an element of pragmatism in the choice of the institutions, because, with my demanding job, I had to be able to access them relatively easily. Initially, the sample of respondents was selected at a grounded level and I chose women in my own institution who, like myself, managed programmes or routes into initial teacher training. These women could be said to be middle managers, defined by Kemp and Nathan (1989: 7) as

> the people who have the day to day responsibility for managing departments … or for co-ordinating some form of activity or initiative.

Having constructed an initial sample group, I then sought out systematically other women who held similar positions in other universities, sometimes those that I visited as an external examiner or an external consultant, and others that I went to purely as a researcher. This could be said to be a form of snowball sampling (Cohen and Manion 2000: 104), where 'researchers identify a small number of individuals who have the characteristics in which they are interested' and the researcher is then alerted to others who share similar characteristics. In all the institutions that I visited, in whatever guise I went, the fact that I held a similar role to my respondents in my own institution seemed to smooth the way in terms of people being willing to be interviewed and to talk to me quite freely. Even when I 'took off my external examiner's hat' in an institution and became an interviewer, people seemed to trust that whatever they told me would not 'reach the wrong ears', a fact which I found to be quite humbling. However, it soon became apparent, after an initial coding of the data (Miles and Huberman 1994), that I would need to extend my sample

to include some more senior women who were heads of school or deans or directors of initial teacher training. This was because middle managers in the initial sample often commented upon how they thought senior women carried out their management or leadership roles. Rather than rely on the opinions of others, I wanted to hear the voices of the 'top women' themselves in relation to what they felt about leading and managing initial teacher training in new hard times. I thus set out to construct what Cohen and Manion (2000: 103) term a purposive sample group where researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality'. In this way, I was engaging in theoretical sampling, which is a key component of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), a concept that will be returned to later in the chapter. In theoretical sampling, Strauss and Corbin (1998: 201) point out:

> Data gathering [is] driven by concepts derived from evolving theory and based on the concept of 'making comparisons', whose purpose is to go to places, people or events that will maximise opportunities to discover variations amongst concepts and densify categories in terms of their properties and dimensions.

Because of the nature of their positions, senior women were thinner on the ground, particularly in light of the fact that I wanted to add some women into the sample who I knew positioned themselves as feminists. The process of enlarging the sample group in this way resulted in me adding four more institutions to the original sample. The process of gaining access and negotiating gatekeepers continued in the same way, although this time, my status as a middle manager did not allow me such easy entry into this group of more senior women. In order to ensure that I would be given access to this more elite group, I felt that I had to 'play up my credentials' more actively than previously.

The following section of the chapter provides the detail of some of the management positions held by the women managing teacher training in the ten institutions in the full sample (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

- At St. Crispin's College, Wilma is Acting Head of Primary Education, Childhood Studies, and Schools Partnership Manager. These roles mean that not only does she carry a heavy burden of responsibility within the institution, but she is also responsible for managing the partnership between the institution and the 100-plus partner schools

Table 6.1 The six institutions in the original sample

Institution	*Person*	*Job title*	*Status*
St. Crispin's College	WILMA	ACTING HEAD OF PRIMARY EDUCATION, CHILDHOOD STUDIES AND SCHOOLS PARTNERSHIP MANAGER	Middle
	GWEN	DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS, PRIMARY ITE	Middle
	Marion	Head of Quality	
	TANIA	DEAN OF EDUCATION	Senior
St. Peter's College	OLIVIA	HEAD OF DIVISION	Senior
	Theresa	*New Head of postgraduate ITE*	*Middle*
	WINIFRED	FORMERLY LEADER OF POSTGRADUATE ITE PROGRAMME	Middle
	Maggie	*Formerly leader of postgraduate ITE programme*	Middle
Queen Catherine's College	Belinda	Head of School of Education	
	KATE	HEAD OF QUALITY	Middle
St. Bede's College	*Irene*	*Director of School of Teacher Education*	Senior
	WENDY	HEAD OF UNDERGRADUATE PRIMARY ITE	Middle
	CYNTHIA	HEAD OF POSTGRADUATE PRIMARY ITE	Middle
	Daphne	Coordinator primary ITE route	
	DIANE	COORDINATOR, CHILDHOOD STUDIES, FORMERLY A TUTOR AT QUEEN CATHERINE'S COLLEGE.	Middle
	HANNAH	DEPUTY HEAD, UNDERGRADUATE PRIMARY ITE	Middle
	DEBBIE	ROUTE LEADER FOR PRIMARY POSTGRADUATE ITE	Middle
	Tracey	Head of Primary ITT	
	Margaret	*Head of Quality*	*Middle*
	SUZSI	COORDINATOR IN THE INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND MANAGEMENT CENTRE	Middle
Prince's University	Elaine	Head of Department of Education	
	Marion	Coordinator, major ITE programme	
	HILLARY	FORMER COORDINATOR, MAJOR ITE PROGRAMME	Middle
Regent's University	Norma	Head of Department of Education	
	ERICA	HEAD OF ITT	Senior
	Trudie	Head of Primary Education	
	Ursula	Primary programme leader	
	Katherine	Route leader for primary postgraduate ITE	
	Mary	Route leader for primary postgraduate ITE	

Table 6.2 The four additional institutions included in the enlarged sample where interviews with senior women took place

Institution	*Person*	*Job title*	*Status*
Fallowfield University	ROSALYN	PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION	Senior
St. Augusta's College	RACHEL	HEAD OF TEACHER EDUCATION	Senior
King Edward's University	LINDA	PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION	Senior
Lakeside University	HERMIONE	PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION	Senior

with whom the School of Education works. Wilma made reference to the fact that there were a growing number of senior women at her institution, including Tania, the newly appointed Dean of Education. She said, '[T]here are now more female than male deans here.' In addition to Wilma's own senior role, and Tania who is Dean of Education, Gwen is in charge of the day-to-day functioning of the school at an operational level. Marion, a new appointment, is Head of Quality, which means that at St. Crispin's, the top four positions in the School of Education are held by women. The prominence of senior women in ITT at St. Crispin's is not an isolated occurrence within the institutions in the sample.

- At St. Peter's College, Olivia, who has held the position of Head of Initial Teacher Education for some years, has now been promoted to Head of Division, a new title denoting managerial responsibility across departments. Unusually, a new senior ITT post that was subsequently created was given to Theresa, a young woman who had comparatively recently been a student at St. Peter's and who had just completed her PhD. In the other institutions, women are also running teacher training.
- At Queen Catherine's College, Belinda is Head of the School of Education, a position that she has held for a few years, and Kate is Head of Quality.
- At St. Bede's College, Irene had just been appointed to the position of Director of the School of Teacher Education. Other women at St. Bede's also hold managerial positions in the School in the sense that they are responsible for the day-to-day running of teacher training. For example, Tracey has recently been appointed to the post of Head of Primary Education, Wendy and Cynthia are Heads of Primary ITT Programmes and Daphne, a recent appointment, runs one of

the teacher training routes. Margaret has just been appointed to the newly created post of Head of Quality.

- At Prince's University, Elaine holds the position of Head of the Education Department and Marion is in charge of a major teacher training programme.
- At Regent's University, women are to be found in most of the key initial teacher training posts. The Head of the School of Education at Regent's is Norma, and Erica, Trudie, Ursula, Katherine and Mary, respectively, hold the positions of Head of Initial Teacher Training, Head of Primary Education and Primary Programmes or Route leaders.
- At Fallowfield University, Rosalyn is Professor of Education.
- At St. Augusta's College, Rachel is Head of the School of Teacher Education.
- At King Edward's University, Linda is Professor of Education.
- At Lakeside University, Hermione is Professor of Education.

The age ranges of the women in the sample range from late thirties to early sixties. One woman is black and three women describe themselves as feminist.

Altogether, my sample group consisted of twenty two middle and senior women. Eighteen middle and senior women were interviewed and their titles and pseudonyms are presented in capital letters, in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

The four middle and senior women presented in italics were not interviewed formally, but featured regularly in participant observations and were referred to frequently by those who were interviewed.

Issues Related to Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research

Qualitative data and participant observation is sometimes criticised as being 'subjective, biased, impressionistic, idiosyncratic and lacking in the precise quantifiable measures that are the hallmark of survey research and experimentation' (Cohen and Manion 2000: 313). However, as measurement is not the prime concern of qualitative researchers, issues of validity based on measurement would not seem to be appropriate for such work. Bryman (2004: 273) notes that writers such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that qualitative studies should be evaluated in different ways to quantitative work and suggest the two primary criteria of *trustworthiness* and *authenticity*. Bryman (*op. cit.*: 273–274) points out that trustworthiness is made up of four criteria, namely 'cred-

ibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability'. Authenticity has five criteria: 'fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity'. I felt it would be interesting to see where my qualitative study stood in relation to these criteria.

Credibility entails ensuring that the research findings are credible to the members of the social world who were being studied. One way that this can be done is by submitting the research findings to the group that was being observed and another way is by triangulation. In all cases, I offered my respondents the chance to see the interview transcriptions that were made and the final study, and articles that arise from it, will be in the public arena. Only one of the senior women said that she would possibly take me up on my offer and would consider asking to see the final study.

As Bryman (2004: 275) informs us, 'triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the in the study of social phenomena'. In my study, I triangulated my data in that I checked out my observations by interviewing and also carried out an analysis of the gendered composition of the management postholders in the six original institutions in the sample beyond those I interviewed or observed.

Transferability refers to the question as to whether the findings of a qualitative study will transfer to other situations. As Bryman (*ibid.*: 275) argues:

> qualitative findings tend to be orientated to contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspect of the social world being studied.

Qualitative researchers are encouraged to produce *thick description* (Geertz 1973), that is, rich detail of a particular culture. However, Guba and Lincoln (1994) point out that thick description can provide others with the data to make judgements about the transferability of findings to other situations. In my case, while I recognise that no social situation can ever be replicated and, I note that, from a poststructuralist perspective, it is not necessary to seek for meta-narratives, I did find that key issues that emerged from analysis of the data were apparent in more than one institution.

Dependability involves keeping complete records of all phases of the research process in order to ensure that correct procedures have been followed, and this I have done. I have also acted in accordance with the final criterion related to trustworthiness, that of conformability. While recognising that objectivity is impossible in social research, the criterion of conformability asks the researcher to 'act in good faith' and not allow personal values to affect the conduct of the research or its findings. As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, subjectivity and reflexivity are an

important part of feminist research. Like Stanley and Wise (1993), I argue that the researcher is also the subject of the research, which was certainly the case in this study. Judgements may be made about the way that I may have influenced the research findings, but I can also reflect on the way in which the research has affected me.

Authenticity 'concerns the wider political impact of the research' (Bryman 2004: 276). This includes the notion of 'fairness' or whether the research represents a number of different viewpoints within the social setting. Analysis of the data revealed that a number of different discourses related to being a manager and/or leader in initial teacher training were apparent within the research. I am not in a position to judge whether, through the research, my respondents have gained a better understanding of the social setting, nor whether they better understand each other's perspectives, nor whether they will be empowered to become change agents. However, an important principle in feminist research has been that the process should empower the participants. Opie (1992) has suggested that by using unstructured interviews, issues personal to the women concerned can be discussed, and in many of the interviews that I carried out, people would focus on elements of management and leadership discourses that they found particularly disturbing. Opie (*ibid.*) also argues that the participant-centred interview style can have a therapeutic dimension, which she characterises as empowering. I did not seek to be a counsellor, but a few women did thank me for giving them the time and space to 'talk about things and to say how they felt'. As Francis (1995) and Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2005: 103) argue, emancipatory concerns remain an important part of feminist work. This research will offer consideration of ways in which women managers and leaders can seek to become change agents within the social arena in which they operate. However, that is for the future. The final part of this chapter explores issues related to the ways in which the data were analysed.

Analysing the Data: Grounded Theory, Coding, Saturation of Data and Key Themes

A research intention had been outlined and clarified from the onset of the study; however, analysis of the data was based upon what Glaser and Strauss (1967: 6) have called 'grounded theory', that is:

> Generating a theory from data [which] means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research.

According to Bryman (2004: 401), grounded theory has particular tools, namely theoretical sampling, coding of data, theoretical saturation and constant comparison. I was engaged in a process of theoretical sampling as I adjusted my sample group in line with the emerging data and theory. I began to code my data shortly after the collection of initial data. As Bryman (*ibid.*: 401) points out:

> Coding is one of the most central processes in grounded theory. It entails reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied.

Charmaz (2000: 515) comments:

> We grounded theorists code our emerging data as we collect it … unlike quantitative research that requires data to fit into *preconceived* standardised codes, the researcher's interpretations of data shape his or her emergent codes in grounded theory.

Ezzy (2002: 94) notes that coding is the 'process of dissembling and reassembling the data' in order to 'produce a new understanding that explores similarities [and differences] across a number of different cases'. Miles and Huberman (1994: 65) warn that 'late coding can enfeeble the data', so each interview transcript was coded on completion of transcription. At the beginning of the process, I used 'open, or initial coding' in order to 'open up the text and expose the thoughts, ideas and meanings exposed therein' (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 102). I noted anything which might be of interest because, as Bryman (2004: 402) informs us:

> It is crucial at this stage to be open-minded and to generate as many new ideas and hence codes as necessary to encapsulate the data.

I noted initial codes on each transcript, as well as on field notes. The next stage of analysis involved the creation of what Charmaz (2004) refers to as 'selective' or 'focused codes', which are arrived at by emphasising the most common initial codes, which are then re-examined (Bryman 2004: 402). Selective codes, whether generated from field notes or from interview transcripts, were colour coded in the same way, in that the same colour was given to particular selected codes**.** Selective coding focused my analysis and guided my future questioning of respondents. Although all the areas in the aide-mémoire were still addressed in interviews, my

questioning was guided by emerging themes that could be discussed and/or developed. Methodologically, my research practice resembled that described by Parlett and Hamilton's (1976) notion of 'progressive focusing', as deeper levels of analysis led to a more focused investigation into the experiences of middle and senior women managers and leaders in ITT. The phasing of interviews, participant observation, transcription, coding and writing allowed me to engage in 'constant comparison' (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 277) and also to reflect further on areas to focus upon in future interviews.

Late in the coding process, the codes were placed into broad categories into which new data were continuously added and the categories began to create broader conceptual or thematic codes, which eventually led to the bringing together of 'chunks' of data from interviews and field notes. This was not a static process and 'conceptualisation was under constant revision' (Bryman and Burgess 1994: 5). I followed the advice of Glaser and Strauss (1967: 110), who state:

> core theoretical categories, those with the most explanatory power, should be saturated as completely as possible. Efforts to saturate less relevant categories should not be made at the cost of resources necessary for saturating the core categories.

This analysis of interviews and field notes from participants in the ten institutions finally enabled the identification of patterns between the various sets of data and resulted in the emergence of some key themes.

Interpretation and Ownership of Other People's Words

The need for reflexivity was an important consideration in the data analysis process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) note several subjective influences that can compromise the integrity of the research, including missing data, overstating a particular case and the under-representation of particular groups.

Many qualitative researchers, and certainly feminist researchers, will express a commitment to, as Bryman (2004: 279) puts it:

> viewing events and the social world through the eyes of the people they study. The social world must be interpreted from the perspective of the people being studied.

However, in their choices of what data to foreground and which quotations to select, the researcher exhibits a degree of control and ownership of the data.

Maynard and Purvis (1994: 7) argue:

> Feminist researchers can only try and explain the grounds on which selective interpretations have been made by making explicit the process of decision-making, which produces the interpretation, and the logic of the methods on which these decisions are based. This entails acknowledging complexity and contradiction, which may be beyond the interpreter's experience, and recognising the possibility of silences and absences in their data.

Each respondent was offered a transcript of the interview so she could check it for accuracy. I did, in some cases, tell the interviewees which parts of their interview that I had included in my writing, but this process was, at best 'patchy' and, in any case my respondents had to accept that what I was saying was true. Although in my selection of certain data it could be argued that I exhibited a degree of control over my respondents, I made every effort to ensure that their perspectives were accurately represented.

The Writing Process

Writing is part of analysis in that in order to commit ideas to paper, meanings have to be explained and clarified. I was involved in writing from the earliest part of the research, from coding data to drafting and redrafting each section of the study. During my journey through the research process, I examined and re-examined ideas in relation both to theoretical perspectives and to a progressive focusing of the data (Parlett and Hamilton 1976). The biggest challenge for me came with trying to find sustained periods to write coherent and fluent text while also running a teacher training programme and dealing with such interruptions as Ofsted inspections!

Ball (1990: 170) refers to the shift that takes place between the ethnographic-style research process and the writing-up process, suggesting that the writer adopts, what he refers to as, a 'sanitised scientific style'. Ball's concern is that the researcher's interaction with the social actors should retain its energy and truth. Feminist writers such as Stanley and Wise (1993: 137) argue that women should be more daring and less concerned with being 'respectable' in their writing. While I have adopted an academic style, I have quoted extensively from the real words of my respondents, including some of their more forthright comments. I hope that, in this way, I have

not only remained true to what has been said, but also retained in the writing the life and spirit that was apparent within the process of the research.

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CHAPTER 7

Women: Returning to Manage Initial Teacher Education

This chapter focuses on major issues arising from analysis of the data particularly related to the middle women managers in my sample. I argue that there has once again been a sea change in the gender composition of those who manage and lead teacher training. As can be seen from the gender composition of middle and senior managers as shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, and from evidence gathered from analysis of in-depth interviews with women who held key management positions in teacher training in these institutions, it is clear that women are being appointed to management positions across the board. These appointments range from junior and middle management positions such as route and programme leaders to senior management positions of head of school/department or dean of faculty. Analysis of my data revealed that women have re-emerged to become dominant in positions of authority in many schools and departments of education.

The first part of the chapter explores possible reasons why women have returned to authority positions in initial teacher training (ITT). The second part interrogates the lived reality of what it is like to be a woman middle manager in the contemporary ITT institution.

Why Women… Why Now?

To a greater or lesser extent, women have always played a role in the management of teacher training, but in specific periods were sometimes outnumbered and outranked by men (Heward 1993; Maguire 1993). From

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analysis of the data in my research, it is evident that men who manage teacher training are now in the minority. The question must be asked why, at this particular time, women seem, once again, to have returned to the management of teacher training and why, by and large, men are conspicuous by their absence. The first reason to be considered in relation to some women's advancement into management positions is related to changes in society, which have affected the lifestyle choices of many women. Hakim (2000: 7) refers to five historical changes in society and the labour market which have created new opportunities for women. She describes these as follows:

- The contraceptive revolution, which, from about 1965 onwards, gave sexually active women better and more reliable control over their fertility for the first time in history.
- The equal-opportunities revolution, which ensured that for the first time, women had equal access, in theory at least, to all positions, occupations and careers in the labour market.
- The expansion of white-collar occupations, which are more attractive to women than blue-collar occupations.
- The creation of more jobs for secondary earners, people who do not want to give priority to paid work at the expense of other life interests.
- The increasing importance of attitudes, values and personal preferences in the lifestyle choices of affluent modern societies.

In this account, Hakim (*ibid.*) has outlined significant shifts that might help to account for female entry and staying power in the labour market. However, Hakim's standpoint that 'all women now have equal opportunities' could be regarded as overly simplistic and dependent on what Coffey and Delamont (2000: 50) refer to as 'a pervasive ideology of individual choice'. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the issues related to women and work, and women, management and leadership are infinitely more contradictory and complex than is suggested by Hakim (*op. cit.*), there can be little doubt that for some women, career opportunities have expanded in recent years. As DiGeorgio-Lutz (2002: 1) points out:

> Within my own institution, women have ascended to the ranks of assistant dean, director of the honours programme, president of the faculty senate, department heads and even vice president and provost.

It may be the case that the work of women who train teachers is being recognised by their institutions, and that some of them, finally, are being promoted. It may also be the case that, as has been discussed in Chapter 5, with the introduction of neoliberal regimes into higher education, more formal quality assurance mechanisms have provided particular women with the opportunity to gain promotion to management positions (Davies and Holloway 1995; Luke 2001; Morley 2003). On the other hand, Fitzgerald (2014: 82) refers to the work of Haslam and Ryan (2008) as follows:

> The work of Haslam and Ryan (2008) has revealed that in times of crisis, it is more likely that women will be appointed to senior positions. Explanations range from those that are relatively benign, such as the need for organizational change, to those that are malign, such as inferences that decisions were made due to friendships, to those that point to the availability of opportunity due to reorganization or previous resignations.

No Job for a Man?

A key finding that emerged from analysis of my data, both from interviews and field notes, was that, while women were moving into managerial positions in teacher training, male managers were underrepresented in the institutions in the sample. Another reason for the recent predominance of women in positions of authority in teacher training may be because men no longer find this sector attractive. As Bown (1999: 11) says:

> A cynic might say that women are getting to the top in institutions which are smaller, financially weaker, or slightly unorthodox, because these institutions are no longer attractive to men.

The idea that working in teacher training may no longer be a particularly attractive proposition has been referred to by several commentators (Maguire 2000; Furlong et al. 2000). As Furlong et al. (2000) have noted, as a result of both of market forces and the move towards school-based training, schools and departments of education are being slimmed down, leaving a shrinking core of tutors to teach large groups of students with a resultant increase in workload, some of which is done in tutors' own time

(Maguire 2000: 160). A barrage of educational reforms (Menter 2013) has reconstituted teacher training as a practical, common-sense, heavily regulated affair, which takes place largely in the workplace. An early manifestation of this was, as Dillon and Maguire (2001: 68) pointed out, the setting up of the Teacher Training Agency:

> with almost total control over teacher education provision, made up of personal appointees of the Secretary of State for Education, was seen as a move to erode the autonomy and power of higher education and invest greater control in the central state.

Prichard and Deem (1999) suggest that prior to the demands of the market such as competitive funding, audit and strategic management practices, college senior postholders were curriculum professionals with some autonomy in what they did. Now they are becoming functionaries who deliver what is required. Thus, the policies and practices of the marketplace and new managerialism might mean that

> [m]anagement is no longer the sole province of the most senior organizational tiers where men are generally to be found, but has cascaded down organizations to relatively low paid, service delivery functions, drawing more women into jobs with managerial titles and responsibilities
>
> (Clarke and Newman 1997: 69)

In terms of autonomy, power and status, the job of managing has changed. As Acker and Feuerverger (1996: 403) point out, it is now research which is the high-status activity in universities. Institutions that want to raise their status try to raise their research profile, and thus it is

> women in universities [who] do more teaching, more student advising and more service and that it is not a coincidence that these activities are rewarded less and that doing them diminishes the amount of time available for research work.

It is possible that males in teacher training are moving out of what is now seen as a low-status, stressful and demanding job which carries little power and an increased workload that combines managing and teaching. By opting out of a space they no longer desire, men may have inadvertently created a space for women to move into.

The Middle Women Managers: The Demands of the Job

Prichard and Deem (1999) sound a warning about the onerous workload involved for those women who take on management positions within new managerialist regimes, and Prichard (2000) also notes the heavy burden caused by combining teaching and administrative roles. Prichard and Deem, (*op. cit.*) also point out the potential for role conflict for some managers, where personal ethics may come into conflict with the sorts of corporate loyalty demanded by new managerialist institutions. In terms of heavy workloads, although the women managers in the ten institutions in the initial sample were, in some way, rewarded for their work, in that they had titles and either a promoted post or some financial remuneration, they all reported that they had very burdensome and time-consuming jobs.

Wilma's post (St. Crispin's) combined three major responsibilities: Acting Head of Primary Education and Childhood Studies and School Partnership Manager. Each one of these roles was a full-time commitment in itself and trying to handle all three meant that Wilma had to work very long hours (field notes). As well as a heavy teaching and marking commitment (Prichard and Deem 1999: 323), administration burdens meant that some, if not all of the, women frequently continued working well into their own time, what Maguire (2000: 160) refers to as the 'twilight zone' of teacher education. In order to 'get the job done', some of the women managers began their day at a very early hour and stayed in the office well into the evening. For example, Wendy, the Head of Primary Undergraduate Programmes at St. Bede's, was often in the office at 7.30 in the morning and frequently did not leave until 8 pm (field notes). Wendy's description of her workload was typical of these women managers:

> It's more what I don't do, there is the daily work of lecturing and marking, all the nitty gritty of a Senior Lecturer's job and on top of that there's the programme administration and the quality assurance work … and then there's admissions, although I have two tutors to help me, I'm ultimately responsible … and all the added extras because I'm a Principal Lecturer there is the development of new programmes and I end up getting roped in to all sorts of things. There is no official time given, or recognition for what

> I do. In the first year that I came here, I worked every single evening except Fridays and all day Sunday. The second year was an Ofsted year, I worked like a carthorse with very little recognition for what I did … in no year have I taken my full leave.

Wendy was not the only middle manager to talk about the intensification of her workload (Apple 1990) and the increased demands on her time made by senior management (Murray 2006). Gwen, who had been in charge of primary teacher training at St. Crispin's for many years, spoke of a changing culture where meetings were increasingly called by senior personnel in periods that had traditionally been reserved for leave or at weekends. Gwen said:

> Tania [the new Dean] has just called a team meeting and it's in the first week of August. I told her that many staff would be on leave and that had obviously not occurred to her. Mind you, she's here on Saturday mornings so she doesn't seem to consider weekends either.

It is important to note that these experienced women middle managers had always worked hard in their teaching and management roles and for their students. However, it was clear from what some of them said that much of their increased workload came from the bureaucratic demands of quality assurance and inspection regimes. As has been discussed in Chapter 5:

> Quality assurance, as part of new managerialism, involves the responsibilization of every organizational member … The quality agenda and the culture of continuous improvement … have resulted in the need for professionals to evaluate and represent their practice and organizations within new modes of description.
>
> (Morley 2003: 14)

Winifred, a route leader for the Postgraduate Programme at St. Peter's, spoke about the increasing amount and the changing nature of the meetings that she was required to attend. Winifred said:

> We have always had meetings about the modules that we teach and we still do, but there's more and more of these meetings about how we are going to 'improve' and how we are going to track this and that, and what will Ofsted be looking for … it never stops.

Analysis of my data showed that the bureaucratic demands of quality assurance regimes, which involved constant self- and institutional evaluation, caused anxiety and stress for some of the middle managers in my sample.

Quality for Whom? Unhealthy Work Culture and Occupational Stress

As Acker and Armenti (2004: 3) found in their study of Canadian women academics, 'anxieties about evaluation, and fatigue and stress shape the daily lives of women academics'. Similarly, in my sample, the relentless demands of quality assurance procedures impacted adversely on some middle managers, particularly those who had responsibility for teacher training programmes. For example, both Cynthia and Wendy, Primary Programme Heads at St. Bede's, found it difficult and sometimes impossible to take their annual and research leave because of the increased work caused by demands of regular programme re-approvals to meet additional quality assurance demands. Wendy and Cynthia said that they sometimes found themselves 'crying for no reason', and on one occasion, Wendy had told her husband that 'she was going into work to cancel her leave as there was too much to do' (field notes).

Morley (2003: 78) points out:

> The audit society has contributed to the long hours culture in Britain. Greedy institutions have been given the right to become even greedier, with sacrifices demanded for the sake of the greater good.

Sacrifices made by individual middle managers in my sample had far-reaching effects. For example, Wendy's cancelled leave meant that a family holiday could not be taken, which in turn caused domestic disputes and stress (field notes). Hannah, Deputy Undergraduate Programme Head at St. Bede's, had to cancel a family weekend break because Irene (senior manager at St. Bede's) insisted on her presence at a Saturday institutional event and Hannah felt powerless to refuse (field notes). For both Wendy and Hannah, feeling that they must respond to the demands of the workplace, even when these demands occurred outside what would traditionally be seen as 'office hours', caused stress to themselves and their families. Morley (2003: 93) refers to the guilt felt by academics if they are not carrying out university work. As she informs us:

> The workload has increased while the political and psychic strength to resist it has decreased. … One way in which to alleviate the guilt is to do yet more work.

Constant pressure to work all the time and the stress caused by quality assurance reviews were cited as two key stress factors by the women academics in Acker and Armenti's (2004) study, whereas for Cynthia, Head of the Postgraduate Programme at St. Bede's, a major cause of disquiet and anxiety was that she felt that the job of managing a teacher training programme had changed in terms of 'surveillance' by others. Cynthia said:

> There's always been a lot of work involved in running a major teacher training programme, but in the last three or four years it has really changed. It used to be 'our programme' and we took a pride in making it as good as we possibly could, but now we have to dance everyone else's tune. It's not only the demands of the TTA and Ofsted and all their last minute changes. It's that every breath that you take is monitored by somebody internally as well as externally. I may be Head of Programme, but really I'm just a minion, I have to do what everyone else tells me to do. It's the senior management who really decides what we should do and what they want gets passed down through Irene. That's sad in a way; because it takes the ownership out of the job … and this job's hard enough without feeling you're just a cog in a wheel.

Cynthia was referring to the effects upon her morale of the 'mechanisms of internal and external evaluations of performance and compliance' referred to by Clarke and Newman (1997: 80). She felt that the Programme that she was running was no longer 'her own' and that she had lost a degree of autonomy. As a result, Cynthia felt that a certain amount of satisfaction had gone out of the job. Low morale was also caused by the fact that both Wendy and Cynthia felt that they got very little recognition for what they did from their line manager. Wendy repeatedly said that she felt her work was not appreciated, and Cynthia felt that she was not recognised for the job she did. Although Cynthia had an honorarium, she had not been given a promoted post and felt that, in some way, her 'face no longer fitted' in the new corporate world of teacher training. She said:

> I think they feel I cannot be entirely trusted to deliver the corporate message come what may. Perhaps they think that I might rock the boat.

Moreover, Wendy said that the demands of the job were affecting her health. She said:

> This year I have found that it has impacted on my health, whereas I would normally be very fit I have found that I have had more illness, coughs and colds that I can't shake off.

The narratives of Cynthia and Wendy in particular reveal a world where some Primary ITT managers work very long hours, often while feeling reduced job satisfaction and battling against low morale and sometimes ill health. They believe that this is caused by lack of recognition for the job being done and feeling that they are 'no longer in control'. At the same time as teacher trainers face poorer working conditions, as Cynthia noted, their autonomy over what they teach, or in her case, manage, has been systematically eroded. There is also a certain reservation about the need to be always 'on side' in a corporate climate and a recognition of a discursive shift in the nature of the work itself where the need to handle paper outweighs the need to work successfully with the trainees.

Women in the Middle: Women on the Edge

A key finding from my data is that women have returned to the management of initial teacher training. However, in what appears to be at first sight a contradictory finding, my research also shows that while some women are moving into teacher training management, others are moving, or being moved, out. It is important that managers, male or female, should not be seen as a homogenous group as they may be divided by as many differences as united by any similarities (Reay 2001). There were differences between the women managers in the research, and some had achieved more success in the promotion stakes than others. Analysis of the interview data revealed that while some women managers were being appointed to senior positions, others, as a result of restructuring of education departments, were being demoted or 'sidelined' in some way. The women managers in the sample embraced a variety of different management discourses, some of which sat more comfortably than others with the dominant market-driven discourse of 'expediency, productivity and cost' (Blackmore 1999: 207). For example, from what was said in interview, Hillary, Gwen, Winifred, Maggie, Diane, Debbie and, to some extent, Cynthia, all endorsed what might be termed 'people-centred' discourses. On the other hand, senior women Irene and Tania, in particular, seemed to operate within the discourses of new managerialism, which prioritised meeting targets, seeking new initiatives and balancing the books. It became apparent from the research that some of those managers who embraced a 'people-centred' discourse seemed to be marginalised in new management structures.

Clearly, it is not the case that all women managers who enjoy teaching and offer support to colleagues and students are being removed from their

positions of responsibility. However, the women managers in the sample who had been demoted, or in some way 'sidelined', in the restructuring of their departments, all seemed to share similar discourses which espoused what Blackmore (*ibid.*: 205) refers to as 'student-focused organizations …and people-centred management'. Women managers such as Hillary, Winifred, Gwen, Diane, Debbie and Maggie were dedicated to teaching, to supporting their colleagues and, in particular, to supporting their students.

Hillary, who had been in charge of a major teacher training programme at Prince's University, described her feelings for the students. She said:

> I love them all … absolutely … they can see I will give everything for them and they will always tease me … they will say, I came back from the theatre at eleven and I saw your light on [in the office] … and then they will ring me in the evening … so all the students know I'm very dedicated … they say they feel I inspire them.

Hillary saw the ability to support students and colleagues as fundamental to her role. She continued:

> I've become more aware … about how to support trainees when they're teetering on the edge of leaving schools … when they're upset about something … and … the colleagues that have really difficult problems, I have been able to support them.

However, after some years of managing the programme, Hilary was still on a temporary contract. She had been told by her Head of Department that

> the professors have decided that they didn't want a permanent post for the PGCE. I mean what a thankless task, who would wish that on anyone?

Different perceptions of the role of a head of a major teacher training programme are starkly illustrated here. On the one hand, the incumbent is a dedicated and extremely hard-working woman who thinks constantly of the best interests of her students. She is, however, not recognised for this because her line managers appear to see teacher training as a 'thankless task' not even worthy of a permanent position. Hillary had not developed a research profile. In her particular institution, this appeared to count more than the ability to run a successful teacher training programme (field notes).

Like Hillary, Winifred, who until recently had been the leader of one of the major teacher training programmes at St. Peter's College, felt that teaching was the most important aspect of her job. Despite having a management responsibility, she disapproved of those managers who had, as she said, 'utter contempt for teaching'. Winifred tried to avoid anything that interrupted her teaching (field notes). She had briefly considered applying for one of the new management posts, that of Head of Postgraduate ITT full-time Programmes, created as a result of restructuring. However, she felt that the new role, with its increased administrative burden, would force her into being something that she did not wish to be. As she said:

> I did consider it, but no … because it would change my job into one of administration and I'm not an administrator.

Although it could be argued that Winifred had made her own choices and decided not to enter the promotion stakes, she was nonetheless distraught when her role of leader of a PGCE programme was downgraded to that of route leader, a less prestigious role. She felt that years of successful programme leadership and commitment to her teaching and her students counted for nothing in the new educational restructuring at St. Peter's. She elected to opt out of what was effectively a demoted role, and returned solely to teaching (field notes).

Maggie, another former programme leader at St. Peters, was dedicated to her students and considered herself first and foremost to be a teacher. Maggie was also sidelined in the restructuring of the School of Education. Her position as programme leader was also demoted to that of route leader. Maggie was so distressed by what she perceived as a lack of appreciation of what she had achieved for her students over the years that she handed in her resignation (field notes).

Theresa, the new senior manager in the School of Education at St. Peter's, was seen by Winifred to embrace a different kind of managerial discourse from herself and Maggie. Although she and Maggie had a long experience of managing PGCE programmes, they prioritised teaching above a management role. Winifred felt that there was a danger in management of

> [getting] suckered into leaving the teaching behind and going into role play with somebody with a briefcase and a posh grey suit

Although Theresa would be responsible for the overall running of all the postgraduate full-time programmes, a combination of both Winifred and

Maggie's roles, Winifred did not feel that Theresa had been appointed for either her ability to teach or her ability to work with students. She said:

> She's never even run a programme before and now she's got this big job. She's got no experience, but of course she's got a PhD. They think she can do the paperwork.

The necessity to handle burdensome amounts of paperwork and to meet tight deadlines are part of what Casey (1995: 74) refers to as the new work order. Brooks and Mackinnon (2001: 56) in their study of gender and the restructuring of universities refer to the comments of Bellemy, a university tutor, who talks about her paper workload. Bellemy says:

> There is a kind of imperative now … a shift towards deadlines and a workload that is unbelievable … after you finish a conference paper you think 'Oh God desperately must whip round and convert this into an article', or I have to do a research report, and I have to sit for three hours at the computer to get all the paperwork done for committees … it is endless.

Hillary, Winifred and Maggie believe there has been a value shift in educational leadership from an emphasis on good teaching and relationships to what appears to be an emphasis on more managerialist imperatives. These changes are described by Blackmore (1999: 214):

> The change … away from the core work of teaching and learning in educational leadership to financial management, image promotion and industrial relations in an hierarchically organized market-orientated [organization], represents not only just a shift in emphasis as much as a shift in values.

Blackmore (*ibid.*: 165) also refers to the dilemma felt by some women who undertake leadership roles:

> In moving into leadership, many women have felt they must reject, sublimate or marginalize what bound them to their work as teachers – the interpersonal relationships with other teachers and [students].

As has been explained in the introduction of this study, my research was undertaken at a time when discourses related to educational reform meant that 'professional identities were in flux'. Morley (2003: 68) argues that the introduction of neoliberal practices, such as quality assurance mechanisms, to academic work has had

> a profound impact on reconstructing academic conditions of work and academic identities. The academic *habitus* has been challenged. Academics have to be simultaneously self-managing and manageable workers who are able to make themselves auditable within prescribed taxonomies of effectiveness.

At St. Crispin's, Gwen, who had been in charge of Primary Initial Teacher Education for many years, was known for her hard work, dedication to her job and care for her students. She had expected to be promoted into the role of Head of ITT in a round of restructuring. The job, however, had been given to Wilma. In addition, a woman from another institution, Tania, had also recently been appointed as Dean. Gwen was demoralised and felt that that her past efforts had gone unrecognised. Although she had not actually been demoted, she had not gained what she felt to be a well-deserved promotion. She felt the senior management of the institution were now looking to promote people who endorsed a management discourse which was more in tune with the tenets of new managerialism. She said:

> We have a new regime here … what is important now is money and the ability to balance the books. People don't count. (Field notes).

Just as Winifred felt that Theresa had been promoted because of her ability to handle paper, Gwen felt this attribute, combined with the ability to handle finance, had been an important factor in Tania's appointment. Brookes and Mackinnon (2001: 54–55) note that

> radical reform … produces fundamental changes not only in structures, but also in cultures and social relationships. There are periods of transition when these challenges are particularly intense. It is at these moments that new values become embedded in work practices, cultures and structures. For example academic work is increasingly shaped by management accountancy and new funding mechanisms driven by accountability back to the centre.

Senior management at St. Peter's, St. Crispin's and St. Bede's had recently appointed women, namely Theresa, Tania and Irene, to senior positions in teacher training, possibly because of their administrative and financial abilities. In contrast, their predecessors, Winifred, Maggie and Gwen, who had been successfully managing teacher education in these institutions for a long time, were known not as 'balancers of books' but as 'people centred', with a real care for teaching, for their colleagues and for their

students. They, unlike Theresa, Tania and Irene, had all failed to gain promotion or had, they believed, in some way, been marginalised when their Schools or Departments were restructured. As Diane, a programme coordinator at St. Bede's said, 'They're getting rid of the "people" people' (field notes).

There is a danger here of making universal claims which always position 'carer managers' with 'old jobs' and 'non-people–centred' managers with 'new jobs'. How the senior women managers, in the institutions in the sample, made sense of their working lives has, as yet, not been investigated. There are also dilemmas involved in positioning women managers into the essentialist roles of universal carers and nurturers. As Blackmore (1999: 56) pointed out:

> The ethics of care has provided a powerful discourse for women, collectively and individually, because it offers an alternative image of organisation and leadership premised upon ethical and moral positions … which revalues women's experiences.

She also noted (*ibid*.: 58–59):

> the problem is that discourses about women's styles of leadership, in reifying care, can position women as self-sacrificing and are prone to idealize women's oppression [moreover]. … The ethics of care's adequacy as a moral theory may derive out of women's experience, but is not confined to women

Discourses about good leadership do however embrace notions of shared visions, bottom-up change and working from a network of social relations; however, contemporary economic and competitive practices tend not to lend themselves to this stance.

Analysis of my data suggests that, in the institutions in this sample, those managers who prioritise a discourse of care and collegiality may not thrive in, or even survive, the restructuring of their schools or departments. There is a certain irony here in that women teachers, and arguably managers, have been traditionally equated with a 'caring script', although not necessarily rewarded for it (Acker and Feuerverger 1996). It now seems that, in the market-driven world of teacher training, there is a possibility that the reward given to those endorsing a 'caring script' may be one of marginalisation or redundancy. It may be that, in neoliberal times, the 'greedy' institution (Morley 2003) demands far more of its staff than qualities such as good teaching and good relationships with students,

qualities for which they may have originally been appointed. In a recent study of women leaders, Blackmore and Sachs (2007: 15) found that most of the women in their study

> recognized that the shifts in values produced through policy texts, funding mechanisms, labor market relations, organizational cultures and the lived experiences of people working within educational institutions all affected their orientation to work (see Brooking 2005)we found women positioned themselves variably within this changing discursive space.

Just as in the case of the women in Blackmore and Sachs' (2007) study, the women managers in my study also 'responded variably' to the demands of managing in 'new hard times'. As will be seen in the following section of the chapter, for some middle managers, one response was to step away from the management of ITT.

Women Managers: 'Choosing' to Step Back?

Some women managers in my sample had decided to reduce their role in the management of teacher training. This was for a variety of reasons, one being that the demands of working in teacher training were now so onerous that they could no longer balance the demands of work and family. Hannah, who had been Deputy Head of the Undergraduate Teacher Training Programme at St. Bede's, had decided to reduce her contract in order to enable her to cope with the demands of work and home. The tensions faced by women facing the dual commitments imposed by home and family are well-documented (Oram 1989; Lyons 1997; Boulton and Coldron 1998; Acker 2004). For example, Hall (1996) found that many women have to make lifestyle choices that combine work and family commitments. Hannah had been working in teacher training for over ten years and was only now finding it impossible to give enough time to both family and work due to the increased work demands, which had finally made her unable to juggle the demands on her time. Hannah was not happy about the decision that she had been forced to come to. She said, 'I am really upset, I suppose that that's my career over' (field notes).

The reason why some women managers had chosen to reduce their role is powerfully illustrated by the narrative provided by Diane, who managed an education programme at St. Bede's and who had also initially decided to go part time and finally resigned. She found the workload pressures

exhausting and had decided to reduce her load partly for the sake of her health and partly because she no longer enjoyed working in the newly reconstituted School of Education. As she said, 'I need a break, I'm really tired, and I've had enough.' However, Diane also spoke of a dislike of new managerial approaches. She talked about being disturbed by what she saw as a new management style, with different value systems from her own. She referred to a lack of interest in colleagues from senior management that she perceived to be concerned primarily with issues other than supporting their personnel. She said:

> They don't appear interested in what you do … their value systems in terms of what is right is about getting bums on seats … and keeping them there come hell or high water and bringing the money in.

Diane was clear about what she felt constituted good management. She continued:

> I've certainly worked with people who I have thought were good managers and I suppose what I would feel was a good manager was somebody who had time for people, but I know that isn't always possible, but appear to have time for people and are genuinely interested in what they are doing.

Diane spoke about what had happened at her previous institution, Queen Catherine's, and what appeared, to her, to be happening at St. Bede's. She emphasised that

> a good manager would appear to have time for people … not the current climate … some who got into management at Queen Catherine's had poor interpersonal skills … I don't see here a sense of inclusion … I have been deeply hurt about the way management is changing here as well.

Diane was distressed by her perception that new managerialist regimes at both Queen Catherine's and St. Bede's did not appear to prioritise their staff. Senior managers did not take time to discuss things with their juniors and did not engage with them in positive ways. Diane felt that things were now 'dictated from on high' rather than being discussed with the relevant teams. For example, at St. Bede's, a new initiative had been introduced which involved Diane's team. However, neither she nor the team had had any say in whether the initiative should go ahead. When Diane protested to senior management about the lack of consultation, she was formally

rebuked in writing (field notes). Diane reflected on what she saw as a negative and punitive style of management, saying 'you just seem to get smacked when you don't do things right'.

The lack of management consultation experienced by Diane and her team is referred to by Blackmore (2005: 185), who notes:

> performativity encourages managing at a distance, an emphasis on efficiency as a bottom line to the exclusion of emotional and ethical values.

Another thing that had affected Diane deeply was the round of redundancies which had been made while she had been at Queen Catherine's and the recent redundancies at St. Bede's. She spoke first about how she had been affected by what had happened at Queen Catherine's and what had caused her to come to St. Bede's. She explained:

> I moved partly because Queen Catherine's became so hateful really and intolerable to be in, particularly with the redundancies that they made … it was anything to get out of there.

Now, however, the same things were happening at St. Bede's. Diane continued:

> we have had redundancies made of people who were working very effectively and I feel that that's completely hurtful to them … and I think it has an enormous effect on the people who are the survivors … you then feel very resentful to the institution who isn't able to explain adequately to you, or anybody else why that might need to happen…

Diane had left Queen Catherine's in order to escape from a regime that she hated and the misery of redundancies caused by institutional restructuring. However, indicative of the root and branch reforms in the sector, she found that history was repeating itself at St. Bede's. What caused her even more distress was that she could see no logical explanation for many of the redundancies. From her perception, these redundancies had happened to hard-working colleagues for reasons that she could not understand and no one had bothered to explain. Her anger was exacerbated by 'survivor guilt'. Diane felt that the whole situation was intolerable and she too eventually resigned.

Diane was not the only one who saw the attitude of senior management as negative and punitive. Debbie, who had had some management

responsibility for ITT at St. Bede's, had also decided to leave higher education altogether, solely as a result of what she saw as a changed harsher attitude from the new senior management in the School of Education. Debbie was very angry and said:

> why does everything have to be so negative? Why can't they appreciate what we do and support colleagues … we all work really hard and are treated like shit … (Field notes)

The 'choice' made by Debbie endorses the claim made by Munford and Rumball (1999: 4), that some academic women are

> choosing to move out of…management positions, rather than work for and with people who do not share their vision of how things should be done.

It could be said that that Hannah, Debbie and Diane had all individually 'chosen' to change their lifestyle. They had either reduced their commitment to the management of teacher training or had left the institution. Hakim (2000) and Sanders (2002) both refer to the fact that many women freely 'choose' to prioritise other lifestyles than career. As Sanders (*ibid.*: 133) points out:

> there is strong evidence suggesting that women do make different choices in life, and aspire for different things.

However, ideologies of individual choice can also be contested. From analysis of the data in this research, it was evident that Hannah, Diane and Debbie, all 'chose' to reduce their management commitments. None of them however were happy with a 'choice' that, they claimed, had been forced on them by the changing working conditions within teacher training, in particular the intensification of work and a harsh and more distanced management style. Blackmore (2005: 186) argues:

> The corporate leader is still modelled on particular hegemonic male images of being strong, able to make the hard decisions, being independent, taking unilateral action and so on. … This is not to argue that all men fit this image, or that all women do not, as there are instances of women who work well in such environments.

Diana and Debbie had referred to a particularly harsh style of management employed by one of the new senior managers in the School of Education

at St. Bede's. The new senior manager was female. As has been mentioned earlier (Blackmore 1999: 58–59), there are dangers in positioning all women managers as sharing a managerial discourse that reifies caring. There are also dangers in making generalised assumptions from the particular discourses employed by one manager. However, although the other new 'top women' appointees in my sample had not been described by their colleagues as 'harsh', they had been described as not being very 'people centred'. Chapters 2 and 3 of this book have explored ways in which management styles may change according to circumstances. The different managerial discourses employed by some of the new 'top women' may have been a result of significant changes in 'circumstances':

> the introduction of the market form, has had the effect of legitimising and encouraging assertive, instrumental and competitive behaviour [and] … that in order to obtain professional success many women at, or near the top of, institutional hierarchies have had to modify some, if not all, of the qualities traditionally associated with femininity.
>
> (Reay and Ball 2000: 147–148)

Analysis of my data has shown that the behaviour of some of the 'middle' women in my sample had become 'more assertive and instrumental' over time. Both Wilma and Cynthia had changed their management styles in order to meet the new demands of the job and to ensure that their colleagues met institutional targets. Cynthia had been told by a colleague, 'you are becoming like Irene … you are demanding that people do things where you would once have asked them' (field notes). What has been absent in my data is any evidence of senior women managers supporting and empowering other women. In fact, the comments made by Diane, Debbie and Winifred indicate that the reverse is the case. As Reay and Ball (*ibid.*: 152) point out, the issue of women oppressing other women still remains relatively under-explored in the literature and they note:

> The possibility that domination and instrumentalism can shape women's relationships with other women has long been a silence in feminist writing and research.

The range of management discourses employed by the new 'top women' managers in teacher training and the question to what extent individualism and agency shapes their actions will be explored later.

Troubled Women Managers … Waiting to See

Analysis of my data from interviews and field notes revealed that not all of the women managers who had recently been promoted into more senior roles in teacher training were happy with the new regimes in which they had to operate. For example, Wilma, who was Acting Head of ITT at St. Crispin's, was 'biding her time', albeit uneasily. Wilma reported experiencing some internal conflict about what was happening in teacher training and about her role within it. She had accepted a temporary promotion and was 'waiting to see' how things developed. In her new role, she had had to make some changes to her own way of operating. When asked whether she had changed her management style, she replied:

> Yes, but only because the nature of the role that I now have is different … it's situationally determined and there are times when, yes, it is appropriate to be directive, although I personally find that very uncomfortable.

Wilma's decision to change the way that she managed is an example of contingency management theory (Middlehurst 1997) discussed in Chapter 2. The demands of the job had changed and Wilma had adapted to meet them. Her changed managerial discourses were not lost on her colleagues. Marion noted, '[S]he's reinvented herself as a manager' (field notes).

Wilma believed that, certainly in management roles senior to hers, there had been a significant change in style. She continued:

> I think they [changes in management style], already have come. I think they have come at higher levels than those at which I operate, or wish to. I want to stay in connection with the students directly, with schools directly … and indirectly therefore with the children because that's where I feel I am rooted. If I look for instance at the role of a dean, or the role of an assistant principal, I do think there have been significant changes, I think there is a much stronger tendency to managerialism.

Wilma had reservations about what she thought it now meant to be a manager in higher education, and was not sure how long she would remain within the sector. She commented that she was

> '[s]lightly cynical', [and continued] I don't envisage myself working in higher education up to my retirement age

It could be said that Wilma was operating with what Blackmore (1999: 206) described as conflicting discourses:

> 'outsiders inside' cultural discourses that were often alienating and antagonistic. They experienced the full range of emotions – guilt, rage, anxiety, pleasure and excitement arising from leadership in a period of radical change

Developing a 'Shape-Shifting Portfolio' (Gee 1999)

As has been discussed earlier, the skills for which people had originally been appointed to posts in educational institutions may no longer be seen to be important or necessary as the values related to what makes a successful tutor, manager or leader undergo a sea change. As Morley (2003: 68) points out:

> Academics are being asked to re-invent themselves, their courses, their cultural capital and their research as marketable commodities.

Walkerdine and Ringrose (2006: 35) argue that in contemporary neoliberal times where work is characterised by constant change and uncertainty, what is required in order to cope

> is the flexible and autonomous subject who must be able to cope with constant change in work, income and with constant insecurity … It is argued that these times demand a subject who is capable of constant re-invention.

A key theme to emerge from my data was that some of the middle managers discussed in this chapter sought constantly to find ways of surviving in their roles while finding better spaces for themselves in new hard times. Wilma, Wendy and Cynthia, in particular, exemplified middle women managers who were troubled by the regimes in which they now had to work but who simultaneously reinvented themselves in ways that meant that they would be able to meet the increased quality assurance demands of the contemporary academy. As has been seen, Wilma had changed her management style 'because the job had changed'. Cynthia reported making a concerted effort to improve her handling of paperwork. As she said:

> I suppose my real skills are with the students … although of course I can and do handle the paperwork and I increasingly have to focus on that side

> of the job. … I am a 'person person' rather than a 'paperwork person'. I am becoming more and more uneasy in this paper driven world.

Although, on the one hand, Wilma, Cynthia and Wendy were consciously trying to make themselves more 'marketable', all three women were also considering shifting to other areas of work. For example, Cynthia and Wendy had a keen interest in research and were trying to get more work on research programmes, and Wilma was toying with the idea of returning to her subject, for which she had a great love (field notes).

The discussion of the analysis of the data in this chapter has shown that many of the middle-ranking women managers were struggling in some way with the dilemmas and contradictions posed by the demands of managing teacher training in new hard times. Some women, particularly those who had held management positions for some time and who were immersed in specific discourses about the value of teaching and caring, believed that they were being marginalised in new educational structures within their institutions. For example, Gwen, Winifred and Maggie had been passed over for promotion and had had their roles reduced from ones that held a strategic function to ones that were purely operational. As has been noted, Maggie retired from the institution as a result of feeling unwanted in the new market-led climate. Winifred refused the more junior management position offered and returned to teaching, and Gwen accepted a lower-status position but felt angry and resentful that the values that had underpinned her work over the years no longer seemed to be valued by the 'corporate university' (field notes). These three middle women no longer seemed to have a substantial role in a climate where, as Tomlinson (2005: 220) has it:

> Universities [have] lost their critical functions and [are] required to market themselves to students and business [and where] the notion that educational institutions [have] any purpose other than an economic function [has] almost completely disappeared from policy making discourse.

Shifts to a harsher management style were the cause of Diane's and Debbie's resignation. Diane and Debbie felt that people were no longer valued in new managerialist regimes and they could not, or would not, incorporate discourses of audit, accountability and targets into their own professional identities. Intensification of work caused Hannah to step down from her management role as she was, for the first time in ten years, unable to balance the demands of home and family.

Other middle women in my sample, despite experiencing conflict at having to work within neoliberal regimes, had nonetheless accepted promotion but were unsure whether they would be able to come to terms with an increased management role in new regimes. At the same time as trying to reinvent themselves to accommodate work within the 'corporate institution', some middle women were also seeking spaces where they would experience less dissonance between personal and institutional values and be able to employ at least a degree of autonomy in their working lives.

In many ways, my findings echo those of Acker (2005: 113), who, in a study of women in faculties of education in Australia, Britain and Canada, found:

> The women interviewed for my project have progressed at least part way up the career ladder and are strong and assertive. Yet sympathetic in-depth interviewing elicits ample evidence of conflicted emotions. The unhappiest people tend to be those in stressful … middle management, where few adjustments tend to have been made in their workloads or promotion requirements while they take on huge responsibilities.

The middle women in my sample group had all been rewarded in some way for increased responsibilities, but, as has been discussed in this chapter, most of them were engaged in some sort of a struggle with changing management discourses within the corporate university. So far, it is the voices of middle-ranked women that have been heard in this study. Although the senior women have frequently been the focus of discussion by their more junior colleagues, how the 'top women' themselves interpret their working lives has not yet been explored and it is to them that the discussion now turns.

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CHAPTER 8

Extraordinary Women: Senior Women Managers and Leaders

So far, this book has explored the dilemmas and challenges faced by women managers in initial teacher training, working within the current context of neoliberal, new managerialist and market-led discourses. It has been argued that, at least in the institutions in the sample, women once more manage teacher training at all levels; however, it is also clear that women managers are not a homogeneous group and some have been more successful in gaining recognition and reward than others. The voices that have been heard so far in the study belong to the middle managers, those women who have management responsibility, such as heads of particular programmes or routes into teacher training, but who operate below the rank of head of school or department. Analysis of my data suggests that, whereas some women are moving into positions of authority, other women managers, particularly those who position themselves primarily within discourses of caring and collegiality, are being marginalised within new institutional structures. Other middle managers, although still in post, are troubled by having to operate within the discourses of the marketplace. They are struggling with excessive workloads, increased surveillance and limited autonomy and the feeling that in many ways, although they carry management titles and are in some way remunerated for their responsibilities, their work as middle managers in new managerial times is more akin to 'doing the housework' for others (Acker and Feuerverger 1996). These middle managers perceive that, in general, the new senior women who are taking up positions of authority in teacher training operate within discourses more related to those of the

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Table 8.1 Senior women in the sample

Institution	*Person*	*Job title*
St. Crispin's College	Tania	Dean of Education
St. Bede's College	Irene	Director of Department of Education
Prince's University	Erica	Head of Initial Teacher Training
St. Augusta's College	Rachel	Head of Teacher Education
Fallowfield University	Rosalyn	Professor of Education
Lakeside University	Hermione	Professor of Education
St. Edward's University	Linda	Professor of Education

marketplace than did their predecessors. There seems to have been a value shift in the management of initial teacher training away from a 'hands-on' practice–informed version of leadership towards an economist-business–driven approach that concentrates on systems and structures rather than on people and processes. This, in many ways, is not surprising in a climate of 'economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Clarke and Newman 1997: 59). How the senior women themselves make sense of their working lives is as yet unexplored, and it is to them that this chapter turns. The following table provides the detail of the seven senior women in the sample (see Table 8.1).

Becoming a 'Top Woman': Early Lives

As was discussed in Chapter 2 of this book, it is apparent that, for some women, tensions between the demands of family and work may mean that career paths are either unplanned or disrupted (Adler et al. 1993; White, Cox and Cooper 1997) As White, Cox and Cooper (*ibid.*: 31) found in their study of 48 women who had gained success in corporate, professional and public life, 'the majority of successful women had not planned their careers in a structured way'. There is no wish here to essentialise the career aspirations or opportunities afforded to women; however, unplanned or disrupted career patterns were an issue for many of the 'top women' in my sample. For example, Erica said:

> I didn't intend to come into higher education really … I got into it almost by accident; it wasn't a deliberate career move.

Similarly, Hermione, referring to women of her generation, said, '[O]ur career paths are more serendipitous … so what happened to me is, I kind of fell into higher education…'

One reason why women's careers may be disrupted is as a result of stereotypical expectations that position them primarily as carers. Court (1997: 20) points out:

> For women brought up in the post-war years, within the dominance of the cult of domesticity, there were strong expectations that they would give priority to their nurturing roles within marriage and family.

This is borne out by the experience of Linda, who had had to abandon A levels and support her family through a period of difficulty. As she said:

> I did not complete A levels at school. I left school halfway through lower sixth because there was illness in the family. I hadn't particularly got any ambition to go into Higher Education. I'd got a vague notion that I might like to be a teacher but that's all. My father had had a heart attack and my mother was in hospital and there were two other children younger than me so I got a job … then things got better and I decided to do my A levels at night school … I trained to be a primary school teacher.

Rosalyn also found herself positioned in ways that required her, at least initially, to put her husband's career before her own in that she followed him to another country. Rosalyn described her early career:

> I did a teachers' certificate, I taught for two years … I applied to do a degree … After which I did what good wives in those days did and followed my husband abroad and had my children.

Another stereotype often attached to successful career women is that they do not marry, or if they do, they will be childless (Coffey and Delamont 2000). This was not the case for the majority of the women in the sample in that six were, or had been, married and four had children (field notes). In most cases, their situations fitted those described by many of the women in White, Cox and Cooper's (1997: 33) study, where 'marriage did not appear to preclude success'. Only Erica, who was the major breadwinner in her household, raised marriage and children as an issue in her career development. Successful as she was, Erica felt that her career had been hindered by domestic responsibilities. Although she and her husband had had what she described as 'not exactly a "role reversal"', Erica still felt that the burden of family responsibilities lay on her shoulders. She said:

> it has never been a role reversal in that he doesn't do what I would do had I been a mum at home. As a consequence I pick up all the things that a mum at home should have done as well as work. I am conscious … of what the kids are doing in a way that I don't think that he would be … I think that one of the biggest differences is that women can't rid themselves … of family responsibilities and be single minded.

Whether the other senior women felt this way is unclear as none of them, including those who had children, mentioned their families at all.

One biographical detail that did apply to all the women in the sample was that they had begun their careers as school teachers, the majority of them in the primary-age phase. The teaching of young children has always been linked with women's domestic role within the family (Sinclair and Heward 1995); however, none of them had remained in the classroom for very long. As Hermione remarked, 'I was a school teacher for quite a short while … I did three years in two schools.' For some of the women, being a school teacher was not sufficiently intellectually challenging and, as will be discussed in the next part of this chapter, they actively sought out new horizons. Others, although enjoying teaching, were 'headhunted' by colleagues in higher education and readily took the opportunity to move into the academy. One thing that marked out the 'top women' in the sample was that they constantly sought or accepted new challenges. This is demonstrated by the narratives of Rosalyn, Linda, Hermione and Tania.

Becoming a 'Top Woman': New Challenges

Although she had followed her husband to another country for the sake of his job, Rosalyn was already dissatisfied with her job as a teacher and was seeking more intellectual stimulation. She had acquired higher qualifications and explained:

> I was dissatisfied with the lack of intellectual challenge in teaching … I got a grant to go back and do a three year degree. I arrived in the United States with a first class honours degree … and I'd got a United States scholarship to do a PhD but I got pregnant and so that was goodbye to that … Then came lots of family sickness, we decided to come back and the deal was that whoever got the job first would work and the other stay at home with the kids. And I happened to get the job…

Rosalyn got a job in the college where she had trained to be a teacher and from there, as will be seen later, her career accelerated.

Having trained as a teacher, Linda worked in primary and secondary schools for a while. She steadily increased her qualifications and some of her work was published. She took her Master's degree and finally left school teaching, again because of what she described as a lack of intellectual stimulation. She explained:

> I wanted to do something more intellectually demanding than teaching in a school. I enjoyed teaching and I enjoyed certain classes … I enjoyed secondary school … the reason I didn't like primary school … it was the staff room, you know the knitting brigade and I just knew I didn't do small talk very much.

Linda applied for a job in higher education, and once there, as in the case of Rosalyn, she was quickly promoted. Hermione also left school teaching after three years and described doing her MA as 'a transformation' which eventually led her into the academy. As she said:

> I did an MA…and I suppose that was my transformation … doing the MA made all the difference because I never actually went back into school…

Tania received rapid promotion during her brief time in school and, while she was still in the classroom, accumulated extra academic qualifications. As the data reveal, even at an early stage, she was marked out by rapid career progression and was constantly looking for opportunities to widen her horizons. As Tania explained:

> I'd taught in different schools, primary and secondary, mainly secondary. I reached deputy head and whilst I was deputy, I completed a doctorate. My doctorate was in educational management and at that stage I could have moved into headship, or into an LEA or higher education. In the end I opted for the job that had the least security because it gave me the biggest opening.

Irene had been a secondary school teacher and had entered higher education as a researcher, and Rachel and Erica had both been invited to apply for jobs in higher education in the colleges where they had trained. Of the seven 'top women' in the sample, they were perhaps more dedicated to the job of teaching in schools but were quickly 'headhunted' by their former colleges. Rachel explained:

> I went to my own college; I was invited there when I was a teacher to make an application … the Head of Education asked me to have tea with her … and they outlined what they wanted and really it was a sponsored way in.

Erica too had been approached by her former college to apply for a post and was seconded from school to work in higher education. She explained:

> I went into local schools and thoroughly enjoyed teaching in primary schools, quickly got promoted to deputy head and at that time, a colleague who was here said there was a post and he wanted me to apply so I applied.

The point of interrogating the early lives and careers of these senior women is to illustrate that, in their different ways, they all demonstrated qualities from an early stage that would fit them for future success. Although their careers began traditionally by teaching in classrooms, none of these 'top women' were satisfied with the status quo. Some of them overcame difficulties in personal circumstances which had temporarily interrupted their careers. All of these women gained higher qualifications very speedily and, in the occupational setting of teaching, were very well qualified. All sought, or were quick to rise to, challenges and opportunities that were offered to them and some were sponsored, that is, picked out for promotion. As will be explored in the next section of this chapter, having got into higher education, they quickly marked themselves out for success.

Becoming a 'Top Woman': Leading, Managing and Blazing a Trail

Visionaries and Entrepreneurs

All seven top women quickly attained senior leadership and management positions within the academy. As has been discussed in Chapter 2, the qualities of managers and leaders can be distinguished from one another. For example, Kotter (1990: 6) argued that managers are more concerned with planning and budgeting, organising and staffing, and controlling and problem-solving. Managers produce 'a degree of predictability and order' and 'consistently produce key results expected by various stakeholders'. Leaders, on the other hand, establish direction, align people, motivate, inspire and produce change which is sometimes dramatic and has the potential

> of producing extremely useful change (e.g. new products that customers want, new approaches to labour relations that help to make a firm more competitive), (Kotter *ibid.*: 6).

Leadership often involves entrepreneurship, although precisely what this entails is subject to much debate (Dubrin 1995). However, as Dubrin (*ibid.*: 111) argued:

> Entrepreneurs have stronger achievement motives than most managers … [their] enthusiasm makes them persuasive … [they] are noted for seizing the opportunity … at their best they are visionaries. They see opportunities others fail to observe. Specifically, they have the ability to identify a problem and arrive at a solution.

Although the qualities of leadership and management are in some ways different, they are not mutually exclusive and the senior women in my sample were able to demonstrate their ability both to lead and to manage, although to different degrees.

Promotion for some of the women was more meteoric than for others. For example, Linda had only been in higher education for a year when she achieved promotion to Principal Lecturer. This quick promotion caused some resentment among her colleagues, as she recognised. As Linda said:

> It was quick, it caused a lot of rumpus … it was pretty hard … I took responsibility for developing the MEd … there was a team doing it and they weren't getting anywhere, they were all squabbling … so I sort of got it to validation.

It is clear that Linda is a leader and an entrepreneur. She has a passion and a vision for what she wants to achieve. She is able to establish institutional direction and effect change very quickly. These are qualities also shared by Tania, who described her rise up the career ladder in the following way:

> after three terms I was promoted to Deputy Head of Teacher Education, then Deputy Head of an HEI … and then while I was in post I was head-hunted by a headhunting company and I am now Dean.

Like Linda, Tania instigated major changes in her institution and introduced reforms that would help to reposition her institution in line with the dominant discourses of the marketplace. She constantly engaged with new projects and initiatives and sought new funding streams (field notes). This ability, in a climate of budget cuts and 'an emphasis on what can be measured and has monetary exchange value' (Blackmore and Sachs 2001: 46), was fundamental to her success.

Rosalyn, who eventually became Head of Department, was another innovator who was able to effect change quickly and to take risks. As she explained:

> I was given responsibility for course development … it was regarded as real progressive state of the art stuff … we developed all sorts of innovative programmes and ended up a whisker away from the Daily Mail…

Rachel also believed that to be a leader, you had to take risks. She said:

> you've got to be prepared to take risks, to live with the consequences and to find your way out if anything does go wrong.

A risk taker and entrepreneur in her own way, Rachel also described herself as a visionary who could see where the institution should go. She commented, 'I would say I'm a person with quite a lot of vision, I can see the end product very easily.' A clear vision of what she wanted enabled Rachel to establish a clear direction for her department in her own terms. As Munford and Rumball (2001: 142) argue:

> We believe that change strategies must be based on a vision about what it is that we would wish to change in restructured environments and the structures that we would wish to create.

Tania, Linda, Rosalyn and Rachel, in different ways, demonstrate clearly that they have leadership qualities. They are entrepreneurs, innovators, risk takers and visionaries who have a passion for the job of educating. All these senior women are highly motivated to seize opportunities and to succeed, which may have made them difficult to work for in that they expected their teams to endorse the same discourses as they did. For example, Tania's staff complained bitterly when they were asked to contribute to a new course that was running at a time usually dedicated to annual leave (field notes). It is not surprising that there was sometimes a dissonance between what some senior women demanded and the reactions of their subordinates. For some time, many leadership texts have highlighted the ability to achieve change as a necessary skill in effective leadership (Goleman et al. 2002; Cole 2004). Thus, it is not surprising that these senior women were able to reproduce these dominant discourses. However, while there may be a rhetorical allegiance to

team building and 'followership', the practice of this may be differently perceived by those on the receiving end of these tactics, particularly in a climate of intensification of workload.

The Paper Power Princesses

As has been reported in the previous chapter, the ability to 'manage paper' was seen by many of the middle women as a key factor in the promotion of their newly appointed senior colleagues. When asked what managerial qualities she thought were particularly favoured in the current climate, Susie replied without hesitation, 'paper power, paper power I would say … paper not people'. Irene also was perceived by junior colleagues to have been promoted into the post of Director of the School of Teacher Education to handle the increased administration engendered by new managerialist and marketplace reforms such as the 'audit explosion' (Power 1994) and growth of internal and external regulation. As Diane had commented:

> they've got her in to balance the books and she's very good at that, that's all they care about.

The 'top women' themselves recognised the importance of the ability to organise, manage and administrate. For example, Rachel recognised the importance of administrative support and had fought to ensure that people would be in place to undertake key administrative functions. If not a 'Paper Power Princess' herself, she ensured that effective administrative systems were in place. As Rachel said:

> I'm very lucky that I have people who love doing the bits in between and it allows me to move on to the next thing. I think you have to have very good administrative support and I've had to fight for that, from almost nothing to a whole team.

Erica put her promotion down to the fact that she herself was a very good administrator and very good at managing Ofsted inspections. Erica said:

> I think I am good at admin and I think it was sort of inevitable that gradually I'd take on more admin posts and it then became more managerial. I suppose three or four years into it I found myself being route leader on the

> primary undergraduate course and then got very heavily involved in Ofsted when they came along and proved to be good at doing that sort of thing. And it was sort of gradual, I found myself taking on more initially admin, but then managerial roles and finding that I was stepped up to the next one without noticing really … and so I got to Head of Initial Teacher Training … it was quite a big shift because it was across primary and secondary and we've got very wide ranging provision.

It could be argued that Irene and Erica, in particular, endorse discourses more in tune with management rather than with leadership in that they are both said to be very good at organisation and, as analysis of the data shows, are seen to have been promoted specifically to manage the explosion of bureaucracy and paperwork which are now part and parcel of new managerialist policies and practices in teacher training. They may not be visionaries, but by being very able administrators, they are able to lead their institutions in ways that make them more competitive in the marketplace by ensuring compliance and success in inspection regimes.

Whether predominantly leaders or predominantly managers, it is clear that the 'top women' in their various ways combine both sets of skills. This could, in some part, account for their success in holding newly repositioned senior positions in 'new hard times' for, as Kotter (1996: 6) argued:

> in this era which is high on complexity and rate of change, there is need for significant levels of leadership and management.

As Blackmore and Sachs (2007: 264) point out:

> Womanagers get caught up in [a] web of interlocked and seamless performativities … Women as managers are the subjects and objects of managerial and market reform, as managers and leaders, agents of the psychosocial management of obligatory achievement.

Nonetheless, all the senior women had very firm views as to what they thought was entailed in being a good leader and manager.

Being a 'Good' Leader/Manager

As has been discussed in Chapter 2, there is much debate about what makes an effective leader or manager and some of this discussion is related to whether women managers endorse different management discourses to

their male colleagues (Ozga 1993; David and Woodward 1998). Although later studies have problematised the notion of 'women's ways of working' (Reay and Ball 2001; Shakeshaft 2006; Coleman 2011; Fitzgerald 2014) and pointed out that women managers in any case do not constitute a homogeneous group (Fitzgerald 2003), six of the women in the sample did refer to what has been seen as a stereotypically female management style. They believed that communication and teamwork were important if you were to be a 'good manager', and Linda thought that this was a style particularly employed by women managers. She said:

> Well I try hard on communication … I've always got a weekly news bulletin that goes out that's a mix of notices, information, bit of humour, bit of gossip. And I do meet regularly; I think male managers don't put themselves about as much as female managers … I think they [female managers] try and talk to people.

What Linda is saying chimes with a finding where, according to an early study by Shakeshaft (1987), women endorse management discourses that are more inclusive and participatory than those of men. Blackmore (1999: 15) also points out that 'women leaders have been typified … as being more democratic, collegial, caring, curriculum and student focused'. Although these essentialist claims have since been discounted by commentators such as Court (1998), who argues that there is little substance to any claims to a distinctive female leadership style, the top women in the sample all reported that they regarded traditionally female discourses such as communication and participation as important. In addition, Rachel believed that when communicating with teams, it was important to be sensitive. She explained:

> I think if you are a manager of a big unit, you have got to have sensitivity. I believe in walkabout. I think the majority of staff should be visited each day. I make sure that everybody has been spoken to in the week … you really have to work on doing that.

Rosalyn also recognised the importance of teamwork and communication to facilitate the innovations that she wanted to put into place. She reported, 'I'd taken the staff away on a weekend to work out different ways of working…' Rosalyn also talked about a more senior colleague she admired who had created an effective team around her. Rosalyn described her colleague:

> She's very personable … she's created a team round her of people who know what they are doing … she doesn't get tied up with detail, she's got people who are doing all that, she's got a good structure which she has put in place, she seems to me to be perfect.

Erica commented that she had learnt the hard way about working with people:

> I think looking back that I probably made quite a lot of mistakes when I was younger and more naïve, thinking you could lead by saying, 'well I've thought this through, so you go with it because I've thought it through more than other people' … what I'd find myself doing was spending hours on how we could manage this and structure this … and then I'd present it and people would start saying, 'oh, but what if we did it this way' and I'd feel like saying, 'I've been there, I've done that, you don't need to worry about it because I've already thought it through' and realising that that isn't the way to take a team through at all. You've got to take them with you and go with them … And so I think I've learned to be more diplomatic.

Good teamwork was also of importance to Erica and Irene. Irene said, '[I]t is all about teams' (field notes), and Tania described herself as a very effective team player, pointing out:

> the comments that people say about me is that as a leader I'm a very effective team player and what I engender in people is followership … they follow me … my previous boss, he was always amazed that I could get people to do things that perhaps they didn't really want to, but in a positive way so I engender that sort of followership … I'm a very open leader … it is the team element that I'm strong in … people can come and talk to me…

It is open to debate whether Tania's 'followers' would recognise the leader that Tania describes because some of her more junior colleagues described her as 'very scary' and having a closed-door policy where people were given prescribed amounts of time and were then dismissed (field notes). Irene too, despite her views on the importance of teams, was described by her subordinates as 'being awful with people' (field notes). It is also interesting that, as was revealed in Chapter 7, some of the middle managers had pointed out that what marked out the new senior women from their predecessors was that they faced towards their own managers rather than their teams. It is interesting that subordinates sometimes do not see

their leaders in the same ways that the leaders see themselves; however, it is also possible that senior leaders and managers are faced with tensions and dilemmas that may be hidden from their more junior colleagues. As Munford and Rumball (2001: 142) point out:

> The goals associated with being an efficient manager can place us in difficult positions with colleagues. We continually find ourselves saying 'no' to requests for additional resources, yet requesting colleagues to increase their workload.

It is not easy to be a top woman, or man, in the current climate. As the data reveal, it is sometimes necessary for senior people to 'be tough'.

Reinventing Oneself as 'Tough'

A key theme that emerged from the transcripts of all the senior women in my sample was that managing at a senior level sometimes meant dealing with difficult situations and people. This they handled in a variety of ways. For example, Tania managed 'difficult people' on her teams by directing them away from areas where they were a problem to her. She explained how she had handled a difficult person who was very senior:

> A very high profile person and part of his profile was that he'd been incredibly problematic … by listening to him, changing his career direction … it took six months of negotiations, moving him out of a relatively senior post … into something else which was what he really wanted to do…

Most of the women in the sample group said that their jobs necessitated them being 'tough' at times. As Rachel explained:

> I've become a lot tougher over the years but that comes through my own confidence and understanding. One is understanding about budgets, but also about being tougher about throwing things back to people rather than trying to resolve the problem for them … but I do have one member of staff where I have to say 'sorry, that is enough of it, you do it, this is no longer open to option' … but I would think I was a benevolent despot anyway.

It must be remembered that the senior women were responsible for making decisions that could impact on the survival of their institutions. Whereas once they might have led from the centre and shared the tasks

with their teams, in new managerialist times, a more directive stance was sometimes necessary to meet the demands of major policy shifts that were non-negotiable (Jones 2003). Being a 'benevolent despot' might be necessary if those in senior roles are to ensure that these goals are met.

Irene was quite clear that what really mattered in management was the ability to 'make tough decisions' (field notes), and Linda said that she had had to become tougher as she moved from smaller institutions to larger ones. Linda had found the ethos of the bigger institutions 'quite brutal' and continued, 'I found the new university sector very tough, much more hard-nosed than anything I had experienced before' Possibly as a result of 'being tough', Linda, Irene and Hermione had all had accusations of bullying made against them. Linda told her story:

> A couple of blokes took out grievances against me because of what I'd said at appraisals. I sort of said 'this is what I'm expecting of you and you are not doing it, and one was a professor and I said, 'to call yourself a Professor you have got to do a, b and c. … You are currently underperforming' and he took great umbrage at that. Obviously no-one had ever said that to him before but I was saying this in the interests of the faculty … And there was another guy who I said more or less in the end, 'it's either you or me and I'm not going, so you either conform to what I expect of you or you go' … eventually he went.

Hermione also said that, at one stage, she had had to be very forceful, admitting, 'I suppose I was bullying … I spoke to someone and they said I'd bullied them. It became very unpleasant.' Linda, Irene and Hermione had had to endorse ways of managing more traditionally associated with male management. As Court (2005: 5) reminds us, historically, masculine leadership was presented as 'competitive, hierarchical, rational, unemotional, analytic, strategic and controlling'. However, a more recent and persuasive argument is that specific contexts … helped to differentiate leadership approaches both between and within genders (Collard 2005: 76). It is important to remind ourselves that the educational climate in which these senior women were and are leading and managing has changed radically. As has been explored in Chapter 5, the introduction of the marketplace into the public sector from the mid-1970s onwards means that educational institutions are struggling to survive in a market-led, target- and accountability-driven environment and forced into competition with each other for an ever-diminishing crock of gold. Failure to 'perform'

in these times would be likely to mean the closure of institutions, and it is incumbent upon managers to see that this does not happen. As Linda continued:

> the people who run things … have got one agenda which is financial viability and success according to external key performance indicators.

As Linda said, she was rebuking her colleague, 'in the interests of the Faculty', in order to improve its performance, for as Blackmore (1999: 144) argues:

> Survival in the market era was not about caring, consultation, collegiality and delegation but about image, performance and making tough decisions.

If Irene, Linda and Hermione had been senior men, it is, of course, questionable as to whether they would have been accused of bullying at all. Powney (1997: 54) argued:

> Whereas terms of approval such as 'go-ahead', 'on the fast-track' and 'ambitious' may be used of men … negative terms are used of women … 'assertive', 'aggressive', 'strident', 'pushy' are examples of terms used disapprovingly.

Linda made it clear that in order to get departments to work efficiently, it was sometimes necessary to employ tougher managerial discourses and explained that she, along with other women managers, had had to reinvent themselves. She also added:

> What I think we all did, we all start out being caring and sharing and warm and fluffy … but after a while there is so much to do, you haven't time … so you haven't got time to start persuading people that 'will you do this job?' I don't think I was rude I think it was just that the times had moved on and in education, a lot of people hadn't … people have always thought that they could set their own jobs, and in one time they could and you can't now.

Linda's comments reveal one of the key dilemmas faced by these senior women and indeed all who carry positions of responsibility in education in new managerialist times. The job of managing education has changed and the discourses employed by many of those who work within it have not. As Blackmore and Sachs (2001: 51) point out:

> With restructuring, the notion of the academic has been problematized both in terms of who are now termed the academics … and also in terms of how restructuring has itself redefined the nature of academic work.

The senior women in the sample had to face the challenge of getting some of their colleagues to change their working practices to those more in tune with the discourses of new hard times. They also had to manage difficult situations as institutions were forced to restructure. The next section of the chapter explores the dilemmas and conflicts inherent within these demands.

Being a 'Top Woman' in New Managerialist Times: Dilemmas, Conflicts, Stress and Triumphs

A recurring theme in the data was that some of the senior women found themselves positioned in ways which were uncomfortable for them. As Smith (1990: 2) put it, these are 'the discrepancies and … strangeness as we come to work inside the discourse which is not of our own making'. One of the most distressing results of the drive to make teacher training more 'efficient' was that senior managers had to manage the fall out caused by institutional restructuring and downsizing. The narrative of Rosalyn describes starkly the personal cost that institutional restructuring had for her. This was made all the more difficult because of the culture clash between her own political views and the discourses of the marketplace. Rosalyn explained that, for her, 'the rot set in' when she had to take responsibility for course development as, under restructuring, there were fewer jobs available for education tutors. Responsibility for the development of courses meant that she was positioned in a way that she was forced to do things that she did not want to do. As she said:

> there were staff redundancies to manage which was not what I came into education to do … the redundancies, the constant inspection, the constant Ofsted on your back, the constant you name it it's got to be audited. So there was the external climate that was becoming increasingly regulatory … there was the regional environment which was incredibly competitive and it doesn't take a mathematician to work out that the more you pay to schools, the less money you've got and the more you've got to make staff redundant.

The effect of making staff redundant had a traumatic effect upon Rosalyn. She continued:

> I did feel scarred for years, I contacted the Union and said I don't want to do this, I don't want to make staff redundant, I don't want to collude in this process.

Rosalyn did her uttermost to ensure that her team survived the round of redundancies by 'doing things which I knew would mean that their redundancies wouldn't stick'. However, another thing that caused her a great deal of personal anguish was that she felt let down by the team that she had striven to create. She explained:

> One of the first things that I'd done was create a management team to make it more democratic and some of these people I'd worked with, they were my friends. I had close personal relationships with them … and come this job [it was] 'you're the Head of Department, you're paid to do this … We are behind you', but about twenty million miles.

Rosalyn was deeply hurt by the fact that the supportive team she thought she had created withdrew their support when times got hard. As Eggins (1997: 57) pointed out, many women managers report feelings of isolation, made worse because there is less likely to be a network of other women in similar senior positions.

Hermione too had been damaged by the effects of educational reform. She had been appointed to an institution in order to raise its research profile. She described her appointment as a 'poisoned chalice'. As Hermione said:

> Basically the department was a mess, it wasn't really dealing with the future; it was one of these kinds of departments that had done what it liked for years and years and years and new public management was coming in … the crisis came when we failed an inspection. We failed for all sorts of reasons but basically we failed because we didn't know the game … and the staff hadn't really taken notice of anything … they hadn't really been engaged with the current discourses … the Vice Chancellor was threatening to close us down.

The effect of having to manage institutional survival caused damage to the relationship that Hermione had with her team and caused her personal

distress. Like Rosalyn, she too had to operate with new systems that did not mesh with her own political standpoint. As she said:

> I tried very hard, but I got into real ethical, I mean I was just distraught because of where I was positioned … because I was on the left and feminist.

However, in Hermione's case, conflict was caused not only by having to impose different ways of working but also by feeling that, in terms of good practice, some tutors needed to revitalise their practice. As Hermione continued:

> it's not only that you are pulled in a management position where you have different allegiances to the university and to the department, but I also felt that there were real problems in the department anyway and that it wasn't only new public management. … In some senses I felt that new public management identified real deficiencies that hadn't been picked up before … basically [they] needed to change radically if they were going to do a service to their students.

Hermione was not the only one of the senior managers in the sample who felt that the introduction of the marketplace into teacher education had been instrumental in achieving a much needed review. As Linda said, '[I]t shook us up … there was a lot of dead wood'. For these women managers, one of the most difficult issues that they had to deal with was trying to get their staff to adapt rapidly to the discourses of the marketplace. As Linda had said, times had changed but a lot of people working in education had not. Hermione partially blamed her institution's failure in inspection on the fact that staff were resisting the new discourses necessary to ensure success in new regimes. Hermione explained that, despite consulting with her team:

> [t]here was resentment about Ofsted; coming in in the summer to get ready … the whole thing blew up. People were fraudulently completing checks of their visits into schools.

Partially, this resentment from the staff may have been caused by the fact that, as educational practitioners, they were used to a degree of autonomy to, as Linda put it, 'set their own job'. Now, under a system of external and internal regulation, this was no longer possible (Blackmore and Sachs 2001).

Rachel complained that her teams found it very difficult to accept that education was now a business, that institutions were financially accountable and that there was a limited budget, which may have meant that there was less money to fund teaching. As she pointed out:

> They like teaching and they will take every opportunity to teach, so you say cut your sessions and they can't do it. I think they are coming to terms with the fact that we are in a business role and that education is a business … they can't understand money … they're devils. They can't see that you get money for heads and if you are paying schools to be in partnership that leaves a very small amount left and you can only operate within that budget. That's very hard for everyone to take on board and I've found that hard too.

Rachel's comments chime with the arguments advanced by Blackmore and Sachs (*ibid*.: 52), who note:

> Individuals work in new entrepreneurial environments that put their sense of professional identity at risk … but they are pressured to make pedagogies 'leaner' to look outwards to industry and to change.

The senior women in the sample were charged with changing the culture of their institutions to take account of market-driven imperatives such as financial accountability and external and internal regulation. However, what became clear from analysis of the data was that they all demonstrated the ability to adapt to and manipulate challenging situations. This is demonstrated by Rachel's comment:

> at first I resented the amount of meetings I went to and then one day it suddenly struck me that that was what my life was. That if you weren't there you had no say and you were actually very disadvantaged.

Rachel was able to turn something negative into a positive. She believed that education is a dynamic project which must not be allowed to atrophy. As such, she used the changes enforced upon educational institutions as an opportunity for revitalisation. As she explained:

> I believe that if I did two years the same here I probably would give up because I would think I was going stale. I think that education is about leading onto new things and if we are not doing that then there is something seriously wrong.

Erica demonstrated a similar view. She had come to the opinion that inspection regimes, introduced as a mechanism for external regulation, acted as a public validation for institutions that were good at what they did. She felt that inspection had initially served as a means for institutions to become aware of their deficiencies and this was, in some cases, necessary. Now, however, successful institutions had forged a positive and confident relationship with their assessors. Erica said:

> We foolishly, I think, thought that we were the experts and we would show them how good we were and discovered that to some things, they were saying 'no'. I think we then went through a period of having to bow to Ofsted's every whim, I now feel that we have come out of that partly with self-assessment, self-evaluation being the most important … I feel the climate has changed and that provided that we can justify things and we have evidence to show that what we are doing is right, that there is a bit more freedom again.

Tania positively embraced the opportunities that were offered to her by education reform. She enthusiastically engaged with all the new projects initiated by the Teacher Training Agency, arguing:

> The changes are for the good … one thing that I've done since I've been here is that we now work truly collaboratively with the Teacher Training Agency and we have a very good relationship with them, not just myself but across the Faculty … we were involved in a project which is very high profile, because it was a cutting edge project … and I worked with the Teacher Training Agency and we now have business both in additional students across a whole range of projects.

Tania was very successful in carving out a high profile for herself and her institution which would help to ensure its prestige and survival. She felt that the reform of education had provided opportunities for people, in particular women, to progress which had been much more limited under older management regimes (Niddifer and Bashaw 2001). As she pointed out:

> I got my Chair in Education with just five years in higher education … the possibilities for women to progress particularly were unheard of and the women that did progress, without being too generalist about it, were the women who were of the Margaret Thatcher ilk, who trod on other women to get there and I still think that there are a number of those women around. I do feel that my open style and my followership style would not

> have been one that would have been celebrated ten years ago … the ability to get people to work in teams, the ability to get people to be task focused and to actually finish the task and get on with it. The whole context of Initial Teacher Education was about status … it was about being rather than doing and I am a being and doing person

It could be said that, in describing herself as a successful builder of teams and followers, Tania sees herself as embodying managerial and leadership discourses of relational skills which are frequently claimed, somewhat stereotypically, to be possessed predominantly by women. Like Niddifer and Bashaw (2001), Tania believed that educational reform offered opportunities for women who have historically had limited access to the higher levels of university management. On the other hand, it could be that Tania is also operating on a principle of performativity, which Blackmore and Sachs (2001: 46) define as:

> as much a focus on 'being seen to perform' as on the performance itself. It is about responding to the accountability demands of market forces and new managerialism in ways that are redefining academic work identity. At the same time, the performativity principle relies increasingly on the exploitation of the emotional, intellectual and physical work of academics and their desire to be academics and to do well, but in ways that many academics and educational leaders find alienating.

This viewpoint was certainly upheld by the middle managers who worked at St. Crispin's and who found Tania's constant drive to engage with new TTA initiatives stressful and exhausting (field notes).

As well as jumping on the bandwagon of new projects, an emergent theme from the data, which was explored in Chapter 7 reveals that many new senior women were perceived by their more junior colleagues to face towards the goals of the university, rather than towards their staff teams. They were seen to be endorsing different management discourses from those of their predecessors. Linda admitted that that was what she had done. As she said:

> You start to really adapt to a different agenda because what you have to do is to shift sides so that you're not defending the status quo all the time.

It is an interesting, if troubling, finding that none of the senior women in the sample mentioned their more junior colleagues, including their middle

managers, in positive ways. A dominant theme related to these middle management colleagues showed that most of them were experiencing difficulties in trying to deal with increased workloads and regulation caused by the introduction of market-led discourses. However, it appears that the struggles of others seemed to be lost on the 'top women' and, as analysis of the data showed, they spoke almost entirely about their own tribulations and triumphs. This is in contrast to the findings of Blackmore and Sachs (2001: 50), who found, in their research on women leaders in the restructured university, that most of the women 'talked about themselves … always in relation to others: their partners, children, wider family, co-workers and so on'. In a new culture of individualism (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), the central focus of the senior women in my sample seemed to relate mainly to personal triumph and personal career.

When other colleagues were mentioned, it was mostly in the context of the obstacles that they were perceived to place in the path of their senior managers. A recurring theme in the data was that these tensions arose largely as a result of staff resistance to 'reshaping academic work to corporate goals' (Blackmore and Sachs, *ibid.*: 46) and to the restructuring of the academy to be 'leaner and fitter'. For example, Rachel was irritated because colleagues 'did not understand money', and Hermione complained that staff 'hadn't really been engaged with current discourses'. Linda spoke quite scathingly about her colleagues and commented that 'staff will make every which way excuse for not doing something new or in a different way'. Linda seemed to have quite a jaundiced view of her colleagues, referring to some of them as 'dead wood'. She said:

> in the first year that I arrived … there was clearly such a big job to do. Just a lot of dead wood and there were eight departments all underperforming and I'd reduced it to four and all of them doing not too badly.

Linda was clearly pleased with what she had managed to achieve, but, unlike Rosalyn, she made no reference to what had happened to those who were displaced in the slimming down of her departments.

Both Hermione and Linda felt that staff in teacher training had formerly exercised a high degree of autonomy and that reform was necessary. Linda, in particular, felt that these changes should also relate to the content of the curriculum offered to students. She said:

> Students are customers and they pay a lot of money to come so they have got to expect certain levels of service and certain levels of behaviour and certain attitudes to them. In other words we are there for the students not the staff … so we don't just teach what we feel like teaching, we teach what they need. For years in teacher training we taught what we fancied not what they needed and I did feel strongly about that … some twaddle went on. I daresay I did some of it at times, but there was some self-indulgent teaching.

What Linda meant by 'self-indulgent teaching' referred to courses on gender, race and class, which she did not seem to feel had much currency in the new world of the marketplace (field notes). As Morley (1999: 40) pointed out:

> The ideology of new managerialism, with its emphasis on efficiency and elimination of waste, has facilitated the targeting of Equal Opportunities policies for reform. Arnot (1995: 169) indicates how feminist demands for educational equality have been perceived as ideological extravagances.

What happens to 'top women' who are also feminist academics with a particular interest in issues of social justice will be returned to later in this chapter.

It is clear that leading and managing the battle to ensure institutional survival in new hard times is challenging and demanding. The narratives of the senior women in the sample reveal a mixture of triumphs and tensions. Tania and Erica, in particular, seemed to have fitted well into the new contemporary institution. Rachel, Irene and Linda were also engaging, with varying degrees of acceptance, with the managerialist discourses necessary to ensure institutional survival. However, all the 'top women' had experienced conflict and stress as a result of carrying out their management roles. Referring to the accusations of bullying which had been made against her, Linda said, '[I]t was very very stressful, I mean, just sleepless nights'. Hermione too felt that she was the target for the anger that staff felt about reforms such as inspection regimes and redundancies, and that 'a lot of staff directed their bitterness at me'. As a result, Hermione had 'gained a much higher respect for management' and felt that 'people in management now need a lot of support'. Hermione was not alone in this view; Rachel explained that she had sought help. She explained:

> I did eventually talk with my line manager and said that I was going to need more support and that I needed management counselling on a regular basis and that I wouldn't continue in the role without it.

It is clear that, even for the most successful senior women, the job of managing teacher training in new managerialist times brings with it a high degree of conflict and anxiety. Given that this is the case, it is interesting to explore why these senior women did not relinquish their roles in the management and leadership in initial teacher training, particularly as some of them were in a financial position to be able to do so.

Staying at the Top: Personal Values and Having a Passion for the Job

For many of the senior women, it was personal value systems and the wish to 'make things better' that kept them committed to a very challenging and, in many ways, punishing job. Just as Wyn, Acker and Richards (2000: 436) found in their comparative study of women in education faculties in Canada and Australia, 'making a difference' was the way in which the women often described their contribution. In Wyn et al.'s (*ibid.*) study, making a difference took the form of 'challenging discriminatory practices' and by being 'proactive and creative in their approach to leadership'. However difficult the challenges, Linda's passion for changing education and her belief in the marketplace, and in what she had to do for her institution to survive in that marketplace, kept her in post. Linda explained that her political beliefs had shifted to encompass this recognition that success in the marketplace was fundamental to lifting people out of poverty. As she put it:

> I think there are other ways of running capitalism, but the market is the only way that would create wealth, and take people out of poverty. And that's a fundamental political shift on my part. I'm still very left and I'm still a democrat … I still believe in fundamental labour values but I do believe that the market is the only way that true accountability now exists. What I think you've got to do is just, you've got to believe in what you are doing, no matter what people are doing to you and I do think you've got to have a set of values that drive you … I just think that I will go when I am ready because I believe in what I am doing and when the job is finished.

Rachel and Erica also believed in what they were doing and said that, despite the pressures, they loved their jobs. Erica pointed out that she was being kept in the job by the fact that she thoroughly enjoyed it, got a lot of satisfaction out of it and was fascinated by it. Erica said:

> If I'm working on something that I thoroughly enjoy doing I don't actually feel it's work so I can sometimes take something home to do and I would rather do that than watch television or go out with friends if I'm fascinated by it.

In Rachel's case, it was the job of management itself that she found fascinating. She said:

> I constantly learn something new about management, it's become more and more interesting and I have become more and more interested in it.

Being fascinated by, or being passionate about, the job seemed to act as compensation for the very long hours worked by these senior women. However, Erica did admit that she 'worked very silly hours' and never took her holidays. This she put down to the fact that she 'couldn't bear to party' unless she had done the work and the work was never done. She believed that engaging in excessively hard work was part of an unhealthy work ethic held by primary teachers, particularly women teachers who expect to work every evening and every weekend and do their very best all the time. She still did it because, as she said:

> It's a sort of ethos and it's also that I know I wouldn't cope unless I was on top of my job. I never feel quite on top of it so I've also got to work a bit harder so I can feel on top of it … I think I enjoy it because I think I do a good job and I don't think I could do a good job without working ridiculously hard … and I wouldn't be very good at being managed by somebody who wasn't managing well.

Excessively hard work was something that all the senior women managers undertook and all of them endorsed a very pronounced work ethic. Tania was frequently in her institution on Saturdays, and Irene made it clear that what mattered was to get the job finished no matter how long it took (field notes).

The debates related to whether new managerialism has offered new opportunities for women have been explored in Chapter 5 of this book.

Prichard and Deem (1999: 323) argued that women are being used in new managerialist times to drive forward 'terrible changes' and do not always recognise a poisoned chalice when it is offered to them. However, analysis of the data in this chapter shows that, for five of the seven senior women in the sample, this does not seem to be the case. For example, Tania is firmly of the belief that the contemporary university offers opportunities which were thin on the ground in former more patriarchal systems, and Linda, Rachel and Erica love their jobs. However, for the two of the senior women who described themselves as 'feminist' and who were committed to social justice, the tensions and conflict resulting from managing teacher training in new managerialist times proved to be too high a price to pay and so they left their posts.

Moving Out: A Clash of Value Systems

Of the seven women in the sample, Rosalyn and Hermione found it most problematic to work within discourses which were not of their making and which were alien to their political and educational ethos. Although Hermione believed that educational pedagogy needed revitalising, she still struggled to align these views with her left-wing principles. As has been discussed earlier, for Hermione and particularly for Rosalyn, there had been a lack of congruence between the discourses of reform and their own political standpoint. Munford and Rumball (1999) claimed that women, and no doubt men, experience particular discomfort if they are forced to operate in situations that are contrary to their philosophy. Whether or not this is the case, as feminists, Rosalyn and Hermione found themselves positioned in what Hermione described as 'a terrible dilemma, being on the left and a feminist'. As Rosalyn added:

> I think there is one thing to be a feminist, I think there's quite another to be in a position where you can enact feminist values. I don't know, given the hugely competitive environment within which we are trying to survive, I don't know where the spaces are to massively reconstruct the cultures … you can't say 'right folks, I'm not having you under this stress'. You can, but you go down the pan. … My response was, of course, to leave.

Rosalyn was talking about her response, as one committed to issues of social justice, to the stress that educational reform was causing to her colleagues. However, she was also struggling with the fact that, in the restructured university, knowledge was being redefined in terms of economic

value rather than in terms of scholarship, and personal and intellectual growth. What was valued as knowledge in the contemporary university had changed from the worth of knowledge for its own sake, or for the sake of social justice, to that which has economic value to the organisation (Mackinnon and Brooks 2001: 9). As Parker and Jary (1995: 321) put it, this leaves little room for 'critical scholarship or challenging teaching'. Rosalyn and Hermione found themselves positioned negatively in a situation that chimes with the situation described by Blackmore and Sachs (2001: 64):

> For those who were feminists and seeking to maintain their sense of feminism as a collective practice, professional identity as a performative academic competed with their sense of academic feminism.

Having to work in ways that sat uneasily with their personal value systems caused Rosalyn and Hermione to move away from the job of managing initial teacher training and to return to the academy as feminist scholars.

This chapter has interrogated the challenges and dilemmas faced by seven senior women who lead and manage teacher training in the context of market-driven and new managerialist hard times. The data reveal that the 'top women' in the sample are, in many ways, 'extraordinary'. They are driven to do their jobs by a passion for education and an interest and fascination in what they do. They appear to be helped to resist and overcome the challenges and tensions in their work by strong personal value systems and a firm belief that what they are doing is 'right'. They also demonstrate the ability to adapt to change and reinvent themselves in line with the dominant discourses of the marketplace and to face difficult challenges in positive ways. It may be that it is the combination of leadership and management qualities, the ability to recast situations, aligned with very strong belief systems, that enable these senior women to survive and even thrive within a climate of educational reform. However, a key issue that emerged from analysis of the data was that those managers who hold pronounced views related to social justice and equity practices find it harder, or even impossible, to operate within current discourses. This dissonance may cause them to stop being managers in initial teacher training.

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CHAPTER 9

Managing to Survive in Risky Times?

The focus of this book is on an under-researched group of women who have returned to positions of authority and influence in initial teacher training. These women have a formative role in shaping the teaching profession of the future at a time when initial teacher training has been, and remains, a main focus of government reforms.

This chapter reminds the reader of the reasons why this study was undertaken. It then explores the main findings of the study and assesses their contribution to our knowledge of how these women make sense of leading and managing in the education marketplace.

Origins of the Study

I became a female manager in initial teacher training at a time when, as Coffey and Delamont (2000: 49) put it, 'men effectively manage[d] teacher education'. I was aware of gender inequalities in the task of management. For example, from observations in my own institution, I noted that sometimes decisions were made by male managers behind closed doors (Thompson 2001), and that much of the pastoral care for students was carried out predominantly by female staff, often in their own time (Maguire 1993). However, I also began to be aware that there seemed to be a gradual gendered change in new appointments to the management of initial teacher training in that, over time, male managers were replaced by women. This I found intriguing. As I began initial explorations into

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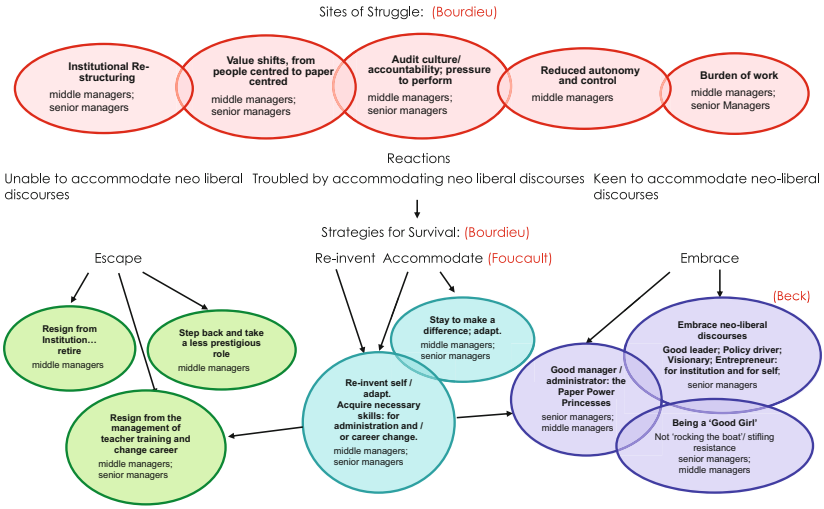

Fig. 9.1 A model of sites of struggle and strategies for survival within a theoretical framework

the literature related to gender, management and initial teacher education, I became aware that, with the exception of a few studies such as Maguire's (1993) research at 'Sacred Heart' and Murray's (2002) study on teacher educators and professionalism, teacher educators are, as Jean Murray (2008) put it, 'an under researched group; we don't know about the lives of this group'.

I set out to shed some light into the occupational experiences of women who held positions of responsibility in initial teacher training.

Women in the Ascendancy

Analysis of my data revealed that recently in England, women have become successful in obtaining managerial responsibilities in the field of teacher training and are once again in the ascendancy (Heward 1993). The women managers and leaders in the study hold positions ranging from pro vice-chancellor, dean of education and director or head of department: the 'top women', to heads or route leaders of initial teacher training programmes: the middle women. All these women are rewarded for their work and hold either promoted posts or have some kind of financial

honorarium. In initial teacher training at least, it could be argued that the glass ceiling (David and Woodward 1998) that kept women in lower-paid and lower-status positions has been broken. However, as had been discussed in Chapter 2, more recent interpretations of the 'glass ceiling' (Altman et al. 2005; Bendle and Schmidt 2010) point to the possibility that barriers to women in management and leadership positions have become more diverse and the category of 'women managers' in teacher training is complex and internally differentiated. Even though the gender composition of those who manage teacher training is changing, 'working beyond the glass ceiling' (Thompson 2007) may offer different challenges and rewards to different women. This is an issue that will be returned to later in this chapter.

Another related finding is that, in this sample, male middle or senior managers are conspicuous by their absence. Maguire (2000) and Furlong et al. (2000) refer to the growing demands made upon those who work in and manage teacher training in the current climate of marketplace policies and practices. The introduction of market forces and the move towards school-based training means that schools and departments of education have been slimmed down, leaving a shrinking core of tutors to teach large groups of students, with a resultant increase in workload, some of which has to be done in tutors' own time (Maguire 2000: 160). It may be that many men have moved out of the management of initial training because what is valued in universities has changed. As Acker and Feuerverger (1996: 403) point out, research is *the* high-status activity in universities. Institutions that want to raise their status try to raise their research profile and thus, as Acker and Feuerverger found, it is frequently 'women in universities [who] do more service [which] diminishes the time available for research work'. It could be the case that many men have moved out of management in initial teacher training, leaving, by default, a space for women to move into. As Acker and Dillabough (2007: 313) put it:

> A…cynical view would be that women's numbers increase when jobs become less desirable, and certainly academic work has lost much of the allure and autonomy of the past.

However, since the introduction of new managerialist practices in the UK and elsewhere, more layers of management have been created and, in consequence, more women have acquired management titles. With a massive upswing in bureaucratic regulations and a pressure on outcome-driven

targets, the job of being a manager has changed. The next section of this chapter explores some of the main challenges and tensions faced by those who manage and lead in the current teacher training climate.

Women Managers and Leaders in New Hard Times: Sites of Struggle

The construct of 'struggle' (Bourdieu 2000) has emerged as a key theme in this study. Briefly, Bourdieu has argued that social agents (individuals) are frequently engaged in a struggle with the constraints of what he termed the 'field' within which they operate. The women managers and leaders in my study were all involved in some kind of struggle as they tried to accommodate the demands of leading and managing initial teacher training in the current climate, or as Bourdieu would have it, 'the field' of neoliberal policies and practices. A fuller discussion of the ethos and implications of neoliberal philosophy (George 1999) and new managerialist policies and practices (Clarke and Newman 1997; Kogan and Hanney 2000) was developed in Chapter 5. Those who manage and lead teacher training now do so against a background of job insecurity, excessive workloads and accountability to, and surveillance by, others. Never before have education professionals been subject to such a system of control, regulation and audit (Power 1994; Bottery 1998; Davies 2003). However, the notion of 'struggle' is complex and multidimensional, and for some of the women in my sample, it is differentiated not only by whether they are middle or senior managers, but also by the extent to which their own personal values allow them to work in systems which may be alien to them.

Struggling to Survive: Institutional Restructuring…Trying to Keep a Job…Making People Redundant

As I have discussed in Chapter 5, as higher education institutions have struggled to attain the 'virtuous three E's: economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Pollitt 1993: 59), many departments of education have been downsized in institutional restructurings. Analysis of my data showed that the first 'site of struggle' encountered by some of the women initial teacher training managers and leaders was the struggle to keep a job. This struggle seemed to impact mainly, although not exclusively, upon the middle managers, some of whom perceived that they were being demoted or sidelined in some way as the workplace was restructured. These women embraced

discourses in tune with what Blackmore (1999: 205) referred to as '… student-focused organizations…and people centred management'. Of the middle managers, Hillary, Gwen, Maggie and Winifred, all endorsed what might be termed 'people-centred' discourses and all had had their management roles eroded in some way. Hillary and Gwen claimed that they had repeatedly been passed over for promotion, and Maggie and Winifred believed that they had been demoted to less prestigious positions in the university. These women perceived that there had been a value shift in educational leadership from an emphasis on good teaching and relationships to what appeared to be an emphasis on more mechanistic imperatives. These changes were described by Blackmore (1999: 214), who pointed out:

> The change…away from the core work of teaching and learning in educational leadership to financial management, image promotion and industrial relations in an hierarchically organized market-orientated [organization], represents not just a shift in emphasis as much as a shift in values.

The impact of this sort of 'value shift' upon some of the women managers will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter. The point being made here is that, in the contemporary initial teacher training marketplace, with money flowing increasingly from universities into schools to fund locally negotiated partnership arrangements (Mahony 1997), job insecurity, particularly for the more long-established middle women who endorsed an older management discourse, was an ever-present threat.

In my sample group, the only case of a 'top woman' who had faced redundancy was Irene, a 'top woman' at St. Bede's who had lost her position as Dean when this management layer was disbanded as a result of organisational change. In order to 'survive' as a senior manager, Irene had had to apply for the position of Director of the School of Teacher Education, a post to which she was appointed because, as some of her more junior colleagues believed, 'she was good at the paperwork' and the School of Teacher Education needed to be made more financially efficient (field notes). For some of the other 'top women', their struggle was not about facing redundancy themselves but to do with making colleagues redundant. For Rosalyn, a Head of Department, carrying out redundancy proceedings was damaging. As she said at interview:

> The redundancies had an extremely bad effect on the staff…I've never… I wouldn't say I've been scarred for life… but that experience marks people.

Rachel, a senior woman at St. Augusta's, also found having to implement redundancy procedures, on a number of occasions, destructive. As she commented:

> I've had redundancies and I think we've been re-shaped in the time I've been here I think five or six times now…and I think that was the most destructive…there is a bereavement of the people, it was very difficult. I did eventually talk with my line manager and said that I was going to need more support and that would need management counselling on a regular basis and I wouldn't continue in the role without weekly management counselling.

It is clear from the accounts of these two senior women managers that the effects of the imposition of neoliberal policies and practices, specifically institutional restructuring, meant that they had had to manage within discourses that some of them found to be troubling. The experiences of Rosalyn and Rachel reflected the 'value shift' referred to by Hilary, Gwen, Winifred and Maggie. There was a likelihood that people could be regarded as commodities in the teacher training marketplace, and that 'narrow assessments of their worth [were] based on contributions to performativity' (Ball 1994: 146).

Struggling to Accommodate Value Shifts in Initial Teacher Training: From People Centred to Paper Centred

Many of the women managers in my sample who were marginalised in institutional restructuring were replaced by those who seemed more ready to embrace a management discourse that prioritised meeting targets, seeking new initiatives and balancing the books. The point being made here is that discourses that value relationships do not chime well with the discourses of new managerialism. People are not of prime importance in the brave new world of market-led imperatives. As I discussed in Chapter 7, for many of the women managers, coming to terms with managing within discourses that were alien to them was painful (Blackmore 1999). Diane, middle manager at St. Bede's, was distressed as she had left her previous institution because of the introduction of a new management regime which, she believed, did not value people. Diane now saw history repeating itself in the new management system that was being established at St. Bede's.

Some of the other women managers, at both middle and senior level, said in their interviews that they had become more authoritarian in their dealings

with their colleagues in their struggle to accommodate a value shift that prioritised internally and externally imposed targets. Adopting a changed management style is an issue that will be returned to later in this chapter, because having to reinvent oneself can be both a 'site of struggle' and a survival mechanism. The women managers were held accountable for meeting institutional targets and they, in their turn, had to ensure that their more junior colleagues assisted in that process. In doing so, some women felt that they needed to adopt a more authoritarian style. Wilma, a middle manager at St. Crispin's, admitted at interview to 'feeling uncomfortable' about the changed management style that she had had to adopt as it was 'more directive' than her former approach (field notes). Cynthia, a middle manager at St. Bede's, had also changed her management style from being 'quite consultative' to being more directional, as had Linda, a senior manager, at St. Edward's University.

Struggling to Perform: Under Surveillance in the Audit Culture

For many of the women managers in this sample, dealing with colleagues in a more authoritarian way was uncomfortable and was caused, they believed, by having to comply with the increasing number of bureaucratic demands imposed as universities were forced to meet targets and 'perform' in the teacher training marketplace. Not least of these bureaucratic demands was the plethora of quality assurance techniques introduced as part of new managerialist discourses. As Morley (2003: 47–49) points out:

> Quality assurance is a variety of technology transfer from public to private sectors. It is inextricably linked to new managerialism…A learning organization develops via feedback. Feedback, audit trails and information loops are central to the assessment of quality in teaching and learning.

The demands of having to comply with the relentless demands of 'audit' placed great demands upon many of the managers in my sample. As Randle and Brady (1997: 15) remind us, new managerialism is defined as a 'generic package of management techniques' which includes an emphasis on productivity and output. As Morley (2003: 72) argues, 'new managerialism has reinforced performance discourses' and has brought with it a pressure for all managers to perform and represent their own particular area of responsibility as favourably as possible, for example, in self-assessment documents (Cameron 2001). What Power (1994) described as the 'audit explosion' has been discussed more fully in Chapter 5. In my

sample group, it was clear that the burden of work created by the audit culture was felt by some managers to be both onerous and alienating. As Cynthia said:

> I know that we need to know what we are good at, and what we need to improve, but it is becoming crazy. Everything is scrutinised and audited and action planned and we spend all our time on paperwork. I am sick to death by having my every breath monitored by someone or other and having to jump through endless quality assurance hoops.

As part of the drive to ensure that departments are performing as well as possible, Shore and Wright (2000: 77) noted that 'each individual is made acutely aware that their conduct is under constant scrutiny', a result of which is that, in some settings, a climate of fear, suspicion and distrust can arise. As Morley (2003: 69) argues:

> Accountability, audit and the relentless pursuit of evidence of professional competence are challenges to relationships of trust…Trust, accountability and competence have been discursively linked.

As part of the pursuit for improved 'quality', some institutions in my sample had appointed Quality Assurance managers whose specific job was to monitor performance and report back to senior management. For example, at St. Bede's, Margaret was Head of Quality Assurance and part of her role was to introduce and scrutinise quality procedures across the School of Education. This resulted in a greatly increased workload for all the Heads of Programmes as documentation had to be constantly rewritten according to Margaret's direction. For Wendy and Cynthia, the pressure to 'perform' to someone else's directives caused feelings of resentment as they felt they were no longer trusted to do a good job (field notes). Power (1994) pointed out that audit is introduced when trust has broken down, yet the introduction of these mechanisms creates an increased climate of distrust. The following comment from Wendy indicated that she was now very wary of trusting her colleagues and did not dare to talk freely about any programme issues that were troubling her. Wendy said:

> I don't feel that I have anyone to turn to. I wouldn't trust any of them not to stab me in the back and make out that I couldn't do my job. I am very careful what I say to people…I know that anything I say to Margaret goes straight back to Irene.

For some of the middle managers, the stress of struggling with an onerous workload in a climate of distrust was exacerbated even further if those required to 'perform' questioned the purpose of such mechanisms, particularly when their departments had always performed well. An academic in Morley's (2003: 61) research described quality assurance procedures as 'a very heavy sledgehammer to crack a relatively small nut'. In my study, Cynthia felt that excessive quality assurance procedures achieved very little gain in terms of the performance of her Programme. As she said:

> In the first inspections, we were 'good' with elements of 'very good'. We still are…and yet my work, in order to 'prove' this has grown out of all proportion. I have to say I don't know what all this monitoring and auditing has actually improved for us.

For some middle managers in my sample, trying to accommodate neoliberal discourses related to performance, when they considered them to be an unnecessary and counterproductive mechanism, created tensions and alienation (Gerwirz 1995).

Struggling to Keep Control: Reduced Autonomy…from Strategist to Functionary

A particular 'site of struggle' for some of the middle managers was that they felt their work now carried little strategic importance and that their management role had diminished. They considered that, whereas once their roles had carried a degree of autonomy and strategic importance, they now had a great deal of accountability but virtually no autonomy. This was exemplified by the case of Gwen, who had been in charge of the day-to-day functioning of the School of Education at St. Crispin's. As part of her responsibilities, Gwen used to chair her own Board of Examiners, a role that encompassed a high degree of autonomy and decision-making. Latterly however, Gwen had seen her role dwindle to being that of a functionary, held to account for missing marks. Her Board of Examiners was now chaired by another more senior colleague, who held a more strategic position. Gwen's title had changed from Director of Initial Teacher Education to Director of Initial Teacher Education (operational) and the strategic decision-making function had been removed from her role, which, to her dismay, was now largely administrative.

Wendy, Head of the Undergraduate Programme at St. Bede's, was adamant that the authority of her management role was, increasingly, being eroded. Wendy said:

> My role has really diminished. I have no power anymore; I am not allowed to make my own decisions. I don't choose the staff on my programme anymore. I can't decide what to put in my Programme documentation. Everything is decided by others…I really don't know why I am here… except to run around doing the housework.

The experiences of Gwen and Wendy were typical of my sample of middle managers. It was evident that being a middle manager now meant, for many, a heavy workload, which carried little strategic importance, but was perhaps in many ways more akin to women's domestic work in servicing others in their departments of education (Acker and Feuerverger 1996). This was reinforced by the comments of Cynthia, Head of the Postgraduate Programme at St. Bede's, who also felt that she had lost control over aspects of her work. As Cynthia said:

> Once, to a certain extent, the management group could steer the programme in whatever way we felt best…and there was certain pride in doing that. Now I am accountable for everything but have no autonomy whatsoever. Now every tiny thing that I and others do is decided upon, scrutinised and picked over by some sort of quality assurance group. It wouldn't be so bad if they were our decisions. What we spend our lives doing is being held accountable for the decisions of others; it is just sheer donkey work meeting everyone else's whims and deadlines.

The data in my research demonstrate that the struggle to manage within neoliberalist discourses has impacted adversely upon women at both middle and senior level. However, a key finding was that 'the struggle' seemed to be more acute for more women at the middle rather than at 'top' level of management. It is the case that middle managers, by virtue of their position in the hierarchy, are required to respond to the dual demands of line managers and of those they manage. As Terrell et al. (1996: 14) inform us:

> Middle managers occupy the central role in the organisation. They have to look to senior managers for guidance and are accountable to them and they in their turn have to provide guidance to members of their department and be responsible to them.

Middle managers have always been forced into a double bind. However, from what Gwen, Wendy and Cynthia said, what caused them particular pain was the erosion of autonomy in, and reduction of the strategic importance of, their roles. Gwen, Wendy and Cynthia were experiencing dissonance as their professional autonomy as managers was threatened by the explosion of audit and quality assurance mechanisms 'inextricably linked to new managerialism' (Morley 2003: 47). These now dominate and regulate the working lives of academics and academic managers, and are, as Morley (2003: 68) has it, 'a threat to professional autonomy, [in the] sense of invasion and powerlessness to control one's time, priorities and objectives'. My findings mirror those of Acker (2005: 111), who, in her interviews with women administrators in education faculties in three countries, found that 'evident in most of the interviews was a struggle to maintain a level of agency and control'. It is not surprising that many middle managers, under surveillance from those above and responsible for the compliance of those below, felt particularly controlled and powerless.

It is, of course, arguable as to how much real autonomy the 'top' women had in a climate of 'top-down' goal-orientated directives (Reay and Ball 2000), but an important issue to emerge from analysis of the data is that, unlike some of the middle managers in the sample, most of the top women seemed to feel that they had at least some control over their managerial destiny and could 'make a difference' (Wyn et al. 2000) to the future of their institutions. As will be explored in more detail later, the majority of the senior women seemed to be able to operate at least a degree of agency in their roles and seemed to be less conflicted by having to manage in 'new hard times'.

Struggling to Keep Going: Burden of Work… Working All Hours

Morley (2003: 93) has suggested:

> The audit society has contributed to the 'long hours' culture in Britain. Greedy institutions have been given the right to be even greedier with sacrifices for the sake of the greater good.

Managing initial teacher training in the reformed university meant struggling to cope with an excessive workload, much of which overspilt into the women managers' own time. Discussing her onerous workload, Hannah, deputy undergraduate Programme Coordinator at St. Bede's, made the following comment:

> Sometimes I go home at 5.00ish for a quick break and come back to work in the evening. When the pressure is really on I get up at four or five in the morning. The problem is there is a minimum requirement for what we have to do, but no maximum requirement. It would be quite possible to work all the time.

This remark summed up the burden of work imposed on many of the women managers, much of which was carried out in what Maguire (2000) calls the 'twilight zone'. My analysis of the data revealed that not only did the women managers have an excessive daily workload, but there was also an expectation from some senior women line managers that institutional work would continue into periods traditionally set aside for leave. This additional work included preparation for Ofsted inspections, preparation for annual audit, the devising and rewriting of courses, and teaching on programmes that took place during July and August. For example, Wendy and Cynthia, at St. Bede's, worked every day during one August in preparation for an Ofsted inspection, and Gwen, at St. Crispin's, was called to meetings by her female line manager in the traditional mid-August leave period. Other women middle managers at St. Crispin's, such as Wilma, had pressure put on them to teach on 'fast-track' teacher training courses which took place in the summer vacation. Wilma complied with this request, but, at interview, described herself as 'exhausted' (field notes).

None of the middle managers interviewed had been able to take their full leave entitlement for some long time, and some now reported experiencing illness (field notes). For example, Wendy suffered from fatigue, and Cynthia had insomnia and high blood pressure. It is, of course, possible that these conditions may have arisen as a matter of course, but it is difficult not to link them with the onerous demands made by their roles and responsibilities. Acker and Armenti (2004: 14) refer to the toll exacted upon academic women by trying to cope with a relentless workload combined with the 'pressure to perform'. Acker and Armenti report:

> …some women had experienced serious illnesses or breakdown…a common theme in many of the responses is fatigue and burnout…most of the participants found it difficult to separate 'illness' from 'stress'.

Onerous workloads were not reserved exclusively for the 'middle women' as some of the senior managers also spoke of the need to work 'silly hours'. For example, Erica, Head of School at Prince's University, admitted to never taking her holidays and going to the university at weekends,

and Tania, the 'top woman' at St. Crispin's, was frequently at work on a Saturday (field notes). However, just as the senior women in the sample group seemed less troubled than the middle managers by a lack of autonomy in their work, they also seemed to be more accepting of the 'crazy hours' that they worked. It is possible that these issues are linked and that long hours are less problematic if there is an element of self-direction and agency in the work that is carried out. The ability to act on one's circumstances emerged as a key theme in this study and will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

Women Managers in New Hard Times: Strategies for Survival

As has been discussed in Chapter 6, Ulrich Beck (1992; 2002) argued that the change from a first to a second modernity, that is, from an industrial to a global society, has produced the 'individualised individual', a result of the demise of 'the classic institutions' such as social class, the family and traditional unequal gender roles (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: ix). Central to Beck's (1992: 135) thesis is that

> [i]n the individualized society, the individual must learn…to conceive of himself or herself as the center of action, as the planning office with respect to his/her biography , abilities…and so on.

In order to survive in individualistic, market-led times, the women managers in this sample employed a range of strategies for survival, for themselves and for their institutions. What these strategies are, and whether they are as 'liberatory' for all individuals as Beck suggests, is explored in the next section of this chapter.

Escaping: Survival of Personal and Political Integrity…Leaving or Stepping Back

Skelton (2004: 2) argues that Beck's notion that 'transformations in the nature of work' contribute positively to the development of an 'individualised individual' is overly optimistic. In my sample, some middle and senior managers reported that in order to survive, they had no choice but to leave the management of teacher training. This decision was taken as a result of a conflict between their personal values and the necessity of working

within discourses that were alien and antagonistic (Blackmore 1999). In the cases of Diane and Debbie, both middle managers at St. Bede's, value conflicts were related to the perceived de-valuing of colleagues in new harsh management discourses. Both Diane and Debbie claimed that they were 'deeply troubled' by what they saw as a new management style, with different value systems from their own. As Diane said:

> They don't appear interested in what you do…their value systems in terms of what is right is about getting bums on seats…and keeping them there come hell or high water and bringing the money in.

Neither Diane nor Debbie could reconcile the way in which, that from their perspectives, people were no longer seen as important in reformed teacher training management structures, and thus, both women resigned from teacher training to pursue other careers.

Rosalyn and Hermione, senior women in two other institutions, equated their discomfort at working within new managerialist regimes specifically to a conflict with their political standpoints. For both women, their disquiet was linked to their inability to reconcile the discourses of social justice with a new political agenda. Both women described themselves as 'on the left and feminists' and found the way that they were now positioned, as senior managers in the educational marketplace, to be intolerable. Rosalyn, in particular, had tried to employ what she described as 'democratic' ways of working and reported being 'very damaged' by the fact that she had had to make colleagues redundant as a result of the downsizing of the department. She was also disillusioned by the fact that she felt she was not supported by close colleagues when it came to challenging institutional directives in order to try to prevent redundancies. As Rosalyn commented, 'They said that they were behind me…yeah, about half a mile.' Both Rosalyn and Hermione left the management of teacher training to pursue their careers as researchers and writers. As Morley (2003: 50) argues, the audit university does not encourage resistance to centrally imposed discourses and 'skills in dealing with resistance are now seen as essential components of management repertoires'. As Davies (2003: 91) puts it, the imposition of new managerialist discourses has led to a 'death to critique and dissent', which sits hard with those who seek to empower and give voice to others.

Diane, Debbie, Rosalyn and Hermione found working within neoliberal policies and practices unacceptable, and either moved out of the

academy altogether or found a space which sat more comfortably with their personal values and political positions. This is not to argue that all women managers who had an interest in social justice left teacher training; as will be discussed later, some women remained and tried to work within the system. There is also no wish to suggest that the world of research is free from the impositions of directive and control. As Skelton (2004: 14) informs us, some women academics distinguish between 'proper research' and doing research which is imposed and which they regard as 'quick and dirty'. However, as Beck (1992: 136) has argued, the notion of 'choice' in determining one's work-life options is important. The 'choice' for some of the women managers in my sample was to 'exit' from teacher training and engage with the tensions and challenges of the RAE (now re-titled the Research Exercise Framework [REF]), which offered at least some opportunity for their voices to be heard.

If one way of surviving was to exit from the 'site of struggle', another way was to comply with dominant discourses. As Davies (2003: 93) argues, new managerialism works by encouraging compliance relying on a form of morality which is driven by 'obedience to a heteronomous code which we must accept, and to which we are bound by fear and guilt' (Rose 1999: 97). As I explored in more depth in Chapters 7 and 8, some women managers and leaders accommodated the discourses of new managerialism more readily than others.

Survival by Reinvention: Accommodation and Shifting Shape

Some women managers and leaders, although troubled by the regimes in which they had to work, had to continue to struggle to survive in their existing roles. In order to do so, they needed the ability to reinvent themselves to meet the new demands of the job. As has been discussed in Chapter 6, and as Walkerdine and Ringrose (2006: 35) remind us:

> Qualities of reinvention and making over oneself…are core characteristics for the adaptation to market forces required by neo-liberalism [which] contribute to the individualization…of both work and upward mobility.

Reinvention was necessary, because in 'risky' times (Fitzgerald 2014), some of the skills which were once valued in initial teacher education, for example, being a good teacher or being good with students, may no longer be seen to be as necessary in new managerialist regimes (Taylor 1999: 49).

In order to survive, it is therefore incumbent upon academics and managers to be able to reinvent themselves to fit the demands of the new 'audit institution'. It may be crucial for managers and leaders to become Gee's (1999) 'shape-shifting portfolio person' or du Gay's (1996) 'entrepreneur of the self' if they are to survive 'new hard times'.

Both middle and top women managers and leaders spoke about the necessity of reinvention. Wilma, a middle manager at St. Crispin's who was interested in further promotion, said that she had changed her management style in order meet the demands of her management role, but doing so caused her some disquiet. Wilma explained:

> My own view about management and leadership is that it's situationally determined and there are times when it is appropriate to be directive, although I personally find that very uncomfortable.

Wendy and Cynthia, at St. Bede's, also struggled with accommodating the demands of their role in the reformed teacher training university. As has been noted earlier in this chapter, both women felt that, as heads of teacher training programmes, they no longer had any autonomy but, at the same time, were under tremendous pressure to 'perform'. Both Wendy and Cynthia were trying to build a career as researchers in areas related to social justice and move away from the management of initial teacher training. However, they were forced simultaneously to inhabit the discourses of new managerialism in order to carry out their jobs. Wendy and Cynthia were perceived by some colleagues to have changed their management style in their interactions with staff. Cynthia had been told by a member of her team, 'Irene's style is permeating down…you are becoming like her' (field notes). Cynthia and Wendy were perceived as being less consultative and more directive than once they were, but, arguably, they had little choice if they wanted to remain in their posts.

There is no wish to make essentialist claims that all women managers reinvent themselves as 'harsh' or to position 'carer managers' with 'old jobs' and 'non-people–centred' managers with 'new jobs'. There are also difficulties involved in positioning women managers into essentialist roles as universal carers and nurturers. However, as Blackmore (1999: 165) pointed out:

> …in moving into leadership, many women have felt they must reject, sublimate or marginalise…the interpersonal relationships with other teachers…

Many of the women managers in my sample admitted to repositioning themselves as 'tougher' and others were perceived, by their colleagues, to have reinvented themselves in less 'people-friendly' ways. It appears that if women managers want to move upwards, or simply stay in their posts in the management of teacher training, they may have to take up different and harsher discourses than once would have been the case.

Surviving to Make a Difference

Although new managerialist policies and practices encourage a focus on the self through encouraging workers to become 'self-engaging' by having to reflect constantly on their own performance through audit accountability and surveillance, Beck (2000: 151) argues that 'work for oneself always implies both work in itself and work for others'. For some of the women managers and leaders in this sample, work in initial teacher training encompassed a personal investment in trying to make a difference to the lives of others. As has been noted in the previous chapter, for some women managers and leaders, 'making a difference' (Wyn et al. 2000; Forrester 2005) was important. In my study, when asked at interview whether she would give up her management role if she could, Hannah replied:

> No…I want to make a difference; I want to help teaching assistants who are coming into teaching…I want to help them to succeed.

Although some women managers with an interest in social justice felt that they had no choice but to leave the management of teacher training because they could not reconcile the discourses of new managerialism with their political beliefs, Hannah channelled her interest in social justice into devising new routes into teaching for women from non-traditional backgrounds. Wendy and Cynthia, despite struggling with what they perceived to be the diminution of their management role, feeling that they were reduced to being 'handmaidens for others' and trying to establish a career as researchers and writers, both strove to ensure that issues of social justice were foregrounded in their courses by, for example, insisting that issues of race, class and gender were included in Professional Studies modules. For them, 'making a difference' resided in 'working from within' to raise student teachers' awareness of issues of inequality. Linda also had a personal investment in doing her job and did not wish to leave her senior position until she felt ready to do so. She thought that teacher education had to

change and that the marketplace was 'the way forward' for her students. Linda felt that she 'had a job to do…to make a difference' (field notes). She said:

> I just think I feel I will go when I am ready because I believe in what I am doing and I will go when the job is sort of finished.

For these women, trying to 'make a difference' for others was a reason to try to survive as managers in reformed schools and departments of education.

Surviving by Being the Right Woman for the Job: the Paper Power Princesses

As has been discussed throughout this study, analysis of my data showed that, in risky times, discourses related to the importance of paperwork and balancing the books seemed to be more in evidence than those related to valuing people. A massive upswing in bureaucratic regulation had meant a vastly increased administrative burden for those who managed teacher training. It was therefore unsurprising that managers who described themselves as 'good at administration' could survive in a custom-made niche in the 'audit university'. Theresa's appointment at St. Peter's was felt to be related to her skills at administration as, although she had no experience of running a major teacher training Programme, she did have a PhD and was said to be a good administrator (field notes). Erica, a senior manager at Regent's University, said of herself:

> I think I'm good at admin…[I] got very heavily involved in Ofsted when they came along and proved to be good at doing that sort of thing…I began to get known…as a sort of Mrs Ofsted…I've got quite a track record in quality assurance of 'she always produces the goods'.

The argument is not that managers do not need to be good at paperwork, but that the ability to balance the books and benchmark is now what counts.

Being 'Mrs Ofsted' involved Erica in what she calls 'working crazy hours' and going to the institution on at least one day during the weekend (field notes). However, like many of the senior women in the sample, Erica did not seem to resent the demands of the role. As my data show,

although some middle women managers complained about excessive workloads, other, senior women, did not and, on the contrary, seemed to accommodate readily the demands made upon them.

Surviving by Being Good Girls: Working Hard and Not Letting People Down

In my sample group, it was mainly the senior managers who seemed to 'get on with the job' without complaint. This may have been because they felt that they had some autonomy in their role and believed that they were able to 'make a difference'. On the other hand, Hey (2001) relates the willingness of some women to comply with the unrealistic demands of the 'audit university' to traditional narratives of being a 'good girl', working hard and 'doing as you are told'. Hey points out the preponderance of 'workaholic female academics and "good–girl" professional responses in preparation for Ofsted'.

In my sample, Erica thought that her willingness to work 'crazy hours' was linked both to her gender and to the fact that she had her roots in primary education. She said:

> I think there may be some traits that I recognise in myself that may be connected to being a woman. One is never wanting to let any of your colleagues down and perhaps being a bit of a workaholic, now men are workaholics too, but I know I couldn't do my job if I wasn't a bit of a workaholic…
>
> I think it's also to do with primary schooling…in primary schools there was that unhealthy work ethic that teachers, but particularly female teachers, expect to work every evening and every weekend and to do their best all the time…if you go right back, in school [women] were married to the job…you dedicated your life, a bit like a nun, to your profession. With men it wasn't like that at all.

The point that Erica was making resonates with traditional arguments about the nature of women's work being equated with the 'caring professions' such as teaching, where people (usually women) working within them are supposed to care for and about others. This is what Acker and Feuerverger (1996: 401) describe as the 'caring script'. Similarly, Forrester (2005: 274) argues that in the new hard world of audit and inspection, teachers combine 'performing (doing your very best for the inspection regime) and caring (doing your very best for the children), [which]

arguably involves the total investment of the self in one's work'. Acker and Fuerverger (*op. cit.:* 402) point out that 'the nature of women's teaching work in schools can be extended to university contexts too'.

In their studies of gender and primary initial teacher training, both Thompson (1989) and Maguire (1993) noted the resistance of many of those engaged in the primary sector to engage with political issues, which Maguire (*ibid.*) linked to professional neutrality which some primary teachers bring with them into the university. In my sample, many, but not all, of the teacher trainer managers had their roots in the primary classroom, and it may be, as Erica believed, that discourses related to primary teaching may contribute to the 'good-girl' compliance (Hey, *op. cit.*). However, it is important to note that one of the middle managers, well known among her colleagues for a particularly caring and hard work ethic, trained secondary students, so the 'caring script' (Acker and Feuerverger, *op. cit.*) was not reserved exclusively for primary women managers.

Surviving by Stifling Resistance and Not Rocking the Boat

Arguably, another way to be a 'good girl' is to ensure that the bidding of more senior managers is done and that the goals of the university are met. A recurring theme to arise from analysis of my data is that there may have been a shift in loyalties. As I have argued elsewhere:

> …there had been a perceived shift in the loyalties of senior teacher training managers over time. Whereas former heads of teacher training were felt by their colleagues to offer support to their staff, the loyalty of some of the 'new' teacher trainer managers was seen to be to senior management and the institution, rather than to their colleagues. Diane said: 'you notice that there is a different style and the style is to do with facing towards senior management rather than towards students and staff'.
>
> (Thompson 2007: 350)

Irene, a 'top woman' at St. Bede's, was seen by some of her colleagues as an example of a 'new' senior manager who did the bidding of senior management rather than supporting her staff. As Wendy said: '[I]t's no good expecting her to fight our corner, she'll do anything that David [Irene's line manager] wants' (field notes). Irene was described by a colleague senior to her as 'the best of the deans, she doesn't rock the boat' (field notes). To some extent, for women and men, not 'rocking the boat' has always been regarded as an essential trait for success in the promotion

stakes in educational settings (Ball 1987: 114). The advisability of not challenging 'one's betters' is nothing new, and as Acker and Dillabough (2007: 313) point out:

> For women to survive and to be successful in any era, they had to 'become part of the personality' of the institution, whether as teacher educators, contract researchers or professors…

However, within the audit culture in new managerialist times, compliance takes on a whole new exalted dimension. Davies (2003; 93 and 94) reminds us:

> …the questioning of the system itself is silenced or trivialised. The system itself is characterised as both natural and inevitable. Resistance to it by individuals…is constituted as ignorance of what the 'real' (financial) 'bottom-line' issues are…The moral of the story…don't rock the boat…bend to the way things are.

As I noted in Chapter 8, one strategy used by some of the senior women in order to ensure that there was no resistance to their (and institutional) goals was to ensure that 'difficult people' were disempowered, what Ball (1987) refers to as an example of micropolitical manipulation. Tania, a 'top woman' at St. Crispin's, explained how she had moved a senior colleague who had been 'incredibly problematic' out of the faculty into a post elsewhere. Tania also explained how she had actively set out to get the union representative on her side so that he wouldn't be a focus for discontented staff (field notes).

As a head of department in Morley's (2003: 52) research puts it:

> …academic life is dominated by compliance in my view. And where it's not dominated by compliance in a very direct way…it's dominated by…the production and reproduction of authorized knowledge. And I mean it has to do with the control of the discourse.

The argument here is that, in order to survive, some senior women managers ensured the compliance of their junior colleagues and also made sure that they themselves were not seen to endorse discourses that were contrary to those advanced by the institution. In their turn, middle managers, although from a weaker power base, also tried to ensure the compliance of their teams. It became clear why some of those women managers who inhabited

discourses such as those related to social justice and empowering the voices of others may have felt that they had no choice but to move to more congenial spaces. It is important, however, to point out that the notion of 'choice' is problematic. Although some of the women discussed in the previous section of this chapter 'chose' to leave teacher training and others 'chose' to comply with 'good-girl' narratives in terms of professional responses to new managerialist demands such as audit and inspection, this did not mean that the decisions that they made were unproblematic. Even in the case of the women most conflicted by the clash with their own political standpoint, there was a recognition, by some, that the imposition of new managerialist practices had brought with it a necessary 'shake up' of professional practice. This conflict was exemplified by Hermione, a senior manager, who said:

> In some senses I felt that the new public management identified real deficiencies that hadn't been picked up before and hadn't been noticed…I felt that there was a terrible dilemma, because I was a trade unionist and a feminist…but how do you deal with people who are going to have to change radically…

Surviving and Thriving…the Change Agents and Entrepreneurs: The Question of Agency

One unexpected theme to emerge from analysis of my data is that some of the 'top women' in this sample were not only surviving but thriving in challenging times. In general, those women who thrived as 'top women' not only managed their departments they *led* them. As I discussed in Chapter 2 and revisited in Chapter 8, the qualities of leadership and management can be distinguished from one another. As Kotter (1990: 6) put it, managers are primarily concerned with planning, budgeting, organising and staffing, whereas leaders can align, motivate and inspire people. As I argued, these abilities are not mutually exclusive and all the women managers in this sample demonstrated both the ability to manage and to lead, although, for different individuals, different discourses were predominant.

I have argued earlier that in a regime where management is seen to be 'the way forward' (Clarke and Newman 1997: 77), to be able to accommodate the discourses of new managerialist policies and practices, or to be able to reinvent oneself in order to do so, was essential for survival (Walkerdine and Ringrose 2006). However, one issue to emerge from

analysis of my data was that, for some of the 'top women', having vision and being able to employ a degree of agency was a critical element in how they constructed their identity, not only as managers but also as leaders. Rachel, a senior woman at St. Augusta's, described herself as 'a person with quite a lot of vision' and could see clearly the path down which she thought her institution should go. Although Rachel's vision was constrained by the discourses of new managerialism, she demonstrated agency in shaping institutional direction.

Debates related to the tensions between agency and structure will be explored in the third section of this chapter. For the moment, it is important to note that, in this study, many of the senior women who not only survived but thrived in their roles were change agents and entrepreneurs in that they shaped not only the future of their institutions, but also, in some cases, the future of their own success. These senior women endorsed discourses related to leadership and were policy drivers within their institutions. As Morley (2003: 68) noted in her study, '[T]here is an imperative to be entrepreneurial, innovative and to add value to one's own organisation'. Tania, a 'top woman' at St. Crispin's, exemplified the entrepreneurial leader who constantly sought to jump on the bandwagon of new initiatives and who expected that her staff would 'perform' for the greater good of all (Morley 2003). Tania inhabited the discourses of the 'entrepreneur of the self' (du Gay 1996; Beck and Beck-Germsheim 2002) and promoted herself along with her institution. Tania said:

> One thing that I have done…is that we now work collaboratively with the Teacher Training Agency and we have a very good relationship with them, not just with myself but across the faculty. We were involved in a project, which was very high profile…a cutting edge project.

It is debatable whether 'the faculty' saw the benefits of being involved in 'the project' in quite the way that Tania did. The staff team were exhausted (field notes), but being involved in 'cutting edge' projects was good for Tania's reputation as she sought 'a more senior position…Vice Chancellor or whatever remains to be seen'. As Bagilhole and Goode (2001: 167) point out:

> Self-promotion is essential to an academic career. In a system which rewards the manipulation and presentation of the individualistic achievement record, self-confidence…and self-advertisement are crucial in establishing a reputation.

Tania is the high-profile, entrepreneurial business leader, go-getting and where the action is, and, according to Leonard (2000) and Hey (2001), what is required by new managerialism. Some women leaders not only survived but embraced the discourses of new managerialism with enthusiasm. In doing so, their careers flourished in the educational marketplace.

In this section of the chapter, I have explored the complex and nuanced strategies employed by the women managers and leaders in this study as they tried to survive personally and professionally within the teacher training marketplace. Analysis of my data showed that survival is a multidimensional project and different survival strategies were used simultaneously by different women at different times. These strategies did not seem to be linked specifically either to the type of institution or to the age phase within which the women managed. Although many of the women managers in this study had their roots in primary teaching, 'good-girl professional responses' (Hey 2001) were not reserved specifically for primary sector initial teacher training managers and leaders.

What did seem to be critical in order to survive in positions of authority in initial teacher training, was the degree to which the women were able to accommodate the discourses of neoliberalism or, if necessary, the degree to which they were able to reinvent themselves to fit with institutional demands. However, a dominant issue to emerge from analysis of my data was that key to surviving, and particularly to thriving in new hard times, was the ability of managers to be able to act on their circumstance and to have, or at least feel that they had, some agency within their role. Although I have argued that survival strategies were not dependent upon the level of management, seniority was an important factor in being able to create a space within which to operate actively as managers and leaders. The tension between structure and agency is important for my study and, along with other theoretical and interpretational issues, is revisited in the next section of the chapter.

Revisiting Theoretical and Interpretational Issues

Chapter 6 explored the theoretical and interpretational issues that framed this study. In this section of the chapter, I revisit some key theoretical issues in the light of analysis of my data. As discussed in Chapter 6, I draw particularly upon the insights offered by feminist poststructuralism and on Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field'. My theoretical position is also located in Foucault's discourse in relation to the policies and practices of

neoliberalism and, fundamentally, to Bourdieu's thesis, as it relates both to the struggle of social agents within externally imposed fields and to the tensions between structure and agency (Reed-Danahay 2005: 35). I also explore key interpretational issues such as whether men and women manage differently or whether the discourses of new managerialism position both female and male managers similarly. Finally, as this study is written from a feminist perspective, I consider the implications of its findings for feminist managers in initial teacher training.

Bourdieu: Struggle, Habitus and Field

Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (2000: 41), Reed-Danahay (2005: 11) argues:

> …social fields…are sites of struggle over 'symbolic capital' that are organised around such interests as education…Social agents (Bourdieu's term for individuals) interact with social fields through their habitus (inculcated dispositions and cultural capital – including values, beliefs etc.…).

In Chapter 6, I have explored Bourdieu's notion of 'field' and 'habitus' in more detail. Habitus is what Bourdieu and Wacquant (2002: 126) refer to as 'socialised subjectivity' or Bourdieu's way of 'theorising a self which is socially produced' (Lawler 2004: 111). In my study, 'field', or the organised site of 'force and struggle' (Bourdieu, op.cit: 41), is defined as the contemporary world of initial teacher training as it operates within the policies and practices of neoliberalism. As my findings have shown, the women in my sample are engaged in a struggle to survive as managers and leaders in new hard times in teacher training. Struggle impacts on the women managers in ways that are nuanced and complex in that, although there are similarities, for example, they all have to struggle with the pressures of internal and external accountability mechanisms, there are differences. A key example is in the ways that the women managers accommodate, or are able to reinvent themselves to accommodate, new managerialist discourses. As Bourdieu (1998: 32) explains, any 'field' is

> a field of forces whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and…a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated meaning and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces.

As I have argued earlier, the degree to which the women managers struggled to survive was not linked essentially to their position within the management hierarchy. Both middle managers (Margaret) and senior women (Erica, Irene and, to some extent, Rachel) had found a niche in the teacher training marketplace by being good administrators, 'workaholic academics' and 'good girls' (Hey 2001). This is not to say that these women did not face dilemmas and challenges, but from what they said in their interviews, they seemed to be experiencing less conflict in their role than did some others. Apart from the 'good-girl' administrators, the other women who seemed to be able to accommodate to the discourses of neoliberalism were senior women such as Tania and Linda, who exemplified du Gay's (1996) notion of the 'entrepreneur of the self'. Tania and Linda were policy drivers and change agents, and they, and their institutions, thrived. The ability to operate a degree of agency seemed more available to senior women. However, for some other women, operating within market-led discourses was harder, and their struggle was located in the necessity to reinvent themselves, which, as Walkerdine and Ringrose (2006: 35) point out, is a 'core characteristic' for 'adaptation to market forces required by neo-liberalism'.

Shifting Subjectivities

Bourdieu (1998) and Foucault (1980) have argued that social actors are both 'producers' of culture and constrained by what Bourdieu described as 'the habitus' and what Foucault referred to as discourses (Reed-Danahay 2005: 60).

The theoretical positions of Bourdieu and Foucault chime with contingency theories of leadership and management, which have been more fully explored in Chapter 2 (Middlehurst 1997). Contingency theory argues that leaders and managers adapt what they do to fit in the situational factors such as the external environment within which they have to operate. As has been shown in my study, many women, at both a middle and a senior level, reported having 'changed their style'. For example, middle managers (Wilma, Wendy and Cynthia) and senior women (Linda and Rachel), all said that they had reinvented themselves as 'tougher' in order to drive their programmes or departments forward. This they saw as necessary in order to make their teams 'perform', and this change was 'situationally driven' (field notes). Analysis of the data showed that the process of reinventing oneself was complex and, sometimes, operated on a number of levels at once. For example Cynthia, while reinventing herself as 'tougher' was also trying to reinvent herself as a better administrator

in order to cope with the increased bureaucratic demands of her job. Simultaneously however, both she and Wendy were also trying to establish a career as researchers in an attempt to find a more congenial space within which to operate. In this way, Cynthia and Wendy were actively 'working on themselves' in order to achieve change (Davies and Saltmarsh 2007).

Tensions Between Structure and Agency: Ability to Act on Circumstance…the Social Entrepreneurs

The theoretical tensions between feminism and poststructuralism and between structure and agency have been explored more thoroughly in Chapter 6. As Francis (1999: 8) has pointed out:

> …while we may agree that theoretically the self is constituted through discourse, we still feel ourselves to have agency, moral obligation, and preferences for different kinds of discourses; and that creating narratives to structure or describe our lives, is part of being a human subject.

Davies (1997: 4) also argued that she does not find the possibility of retaining agency as a concept in poststructuralist theory problematic. She argues (Davies 2000; Davies and Saltmarsh 2007: 6) that we negotiate subjectivities in positions in relation to the subject positions made available to us in particular discursive locations. However:

> This is not to say that subjects are entirely without agency. They can and do work on themselves, as they must, to bring about change.

In my study, the issue of agency emerged as pivotal to survival for some of the women. It was a lack of agency in their management roles caused by erosion of professional autonomy and the fact that they felt controlled and powerless which impacted adversely upon middle managers such as Wendy and Cynthia. These two women exemplified the complex nature of the ways in which some managers were positioned by the discourses of neoliberalism but simultaneously, in order to survive or to survive better, attempted to act on their circumstances as active social agents to position themselves differently. Cynthia and Wendy demonstrated what Bourdieu would describe as

> the social agent's ability to 'play the game' or 'play the hand' [s/he] was dealt (the social capital of his habitus…in the 'space of possibilities' available…).
> (Reed-Danahay 2005: 35)

In his individualisation thesis, Ulrich Beck paints an optimistic picture of an autonomous individual who is free to make his or her own free choices about work and relationships (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 202–213) and who is, in many ways, the agent of his or her own destiny. Beck (2000: 151) argues that there has been a transformation of work culture, from the capitalist employer and the wage-earning employee to a situation where 'people are working for themselves', on the one hand, and are 'social entrepreneurs', on the other. In terms of leadership, it is argued that institutions are no longer paternalistic because women, in many cases, are in positions of power. As Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (*op. cit.*:xi) put it:

> It has to do with the individual not the paternalist charisma of firm leaders. These are not so to speak 'leaders of men', but risk takers and innovators.

Analysis of my data has shown that working within neoliberal discourses clearly does not allow for unlimited 'free choice' and, as this chapter has explored, many women managers were engaged in struggles for survival in very challenging times. However, for some of the women in 'positions of power', it was easier 'to play the game' because the discourses within which they had to play were not necessarily alien. With the exception of Hermione and Rosalyn, the senior women in my sample (Erica, Irene and, to some extent, Rachel) were, to a greater or lesser degree, 'women of the corporation' in that they were good managers and administrators. The women who 'survived' best (Linda and Tania) exemplified Beck's (2000) notion of 'risk takers and innovators' and were leaders, policy drivers and entrepreneurs who operated as active social agents in leading and shaping their institutions. Linda and Tania inhabited the discourses of the 'entrepreneur of the self' (du Gay 1996; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) and survived well where there was little tension between agency and the field within which they operated.

Ways of Managing

This book is about women managers and leaders in initial teacher training and one of the recurring issues that I have considered is whether women and men manage and lead differently. In Chapters 2 and 3, I explored the lengthy and complex debates related to management and leadership and to gender and management. Some time ago, commentators such as Shakeshaft (1987), Noddings (1992) and Ozga (1993) documented differences in

men's and women's styles of leadership, positing that a female management style is characterised by ethics of relationships with and care for others. Many early analyses of leadership promote what Court (2005: 4–5) refers to as

> an oppositional discourse of masculine versus feminine leadership [which] presented masculine leadership as competitive, hierarchical, rational, unemotional, strategic and controlling, and feminine leadership as cooperative, team working, intuitive/rational, focused on high performance, empathetic and collaborative.

Reay and Ball (2000: 147) are somewhat critical of this view and argue that there are doubts as to whether a 'feminized management style, if it ever existed, was very far reaching'. There are dilemmas involved in positioning women managers into essentialist roles of universal carers and nurturers (Blackmore 1999).

More recently, Shakeshaft (2006: 508) has argued:

> The literature on gender differences in leadership style is mixed, with one set of literature documenting differences and another reporting no differences. Whether they are different from male administrative approaches, women's leadership styles often include a focus on communication, collaboration, teamwork, inclusiveness, and attention to instructional issues.

However, poststructuralist theorists (Davies 1993; Court 1995, 2005; Weedon 1997) argue that 'discursively shaped subjectivity replaces universalising and essentialist notions of identity' (Court 2005: 5). Court argues that how women, and men, shape their identities as managers is fluid and contextualised in the light of their subjective realities and how they experience new discourses. Commentators such as Pritchard (1996), Reay and Ball (2000), Priola (2007) and Fitzgerald (2014) point out that there may be as many differences as similarities between and among women managers, as well as similarities between male and female managers. As I have argued in the previous section of this chapter, the women managers in my sample employed a range of different strategies in order to survive in the education marketplace. However, if they remained in initial teacher training, they had to manage and lead in ways that ensured that institutional demands were met. As managers and leaders, the prime objective was to ensure institutional survival in precarious times.

In my study, it was clear that current market-led managerial discourses did not lend themselves to collaborative ways of working or to care for

others. It may be unsurprising that, at least in this sample group, those women managers in the sample who were equated with an older management discourse related to a 'caring script' (Acker and Feuerverger 1996) did not thrive in a climate that 'shifts [institutions] away from the "culture of welfare" towards the culture of profit and production' (Ball 1994: 71). Many of the women managers and leaders said that they valued collegiate working practices; however, despite this, in some cases, some of them appeared to regard their colleagues as an impediment to meeting their goals. This was because, as some of the 'top women' said, education had changed, and many of the people who worked in it had not. This was a source of frustration for some senior women. Hermione said:

> …we failed [an inspection] because we didn't know the game…and the staff hadn't really taken notice of anything…they hadn't really been engaged with the current discourses.

Rachel complained:

> I think they [staff] are coming to come to terms with the fact that we are in a business role and that education is a business…they can't understand money…they're devils.

Linda was also very clear that what drove teacher training in the current climate was financial viability. As she argued, institutions are driven by economic imperatives and the people running them 'have one agenda, which is financial viability and success according to external key performance indicators…'.

Prichard (1996: 229) pointed out that institutions are businesses and their leaders are business managers. In the current market-led climate of the academy, so-called traditional 'masculine values' such as being 'cool, impassive or stern' (Cockburn 1991: 150) predominate. This is the case even when the institutions are run by women (Priola 2007). As was explored in Chapter 8, some of the 'new' senior women, such as Irene, were perceived by their teams to be 'dreadful with people' (field notes) and both Linda and Hermione had been charged with bullying. It may be that, as Reay and Ball (2000) suggest, the possibilities exist that some women oppress others; it may also be the case that in new hard times, managers and leaders have to ensure that colleagues 'perform' and thus have to adopt whatever measures are necessary in order to ensure both institutional and personal compliance and survival. They manage and lead to ensure survival at (sometimes) high costs to themselves and others.

In my study, 'successful' women managers inhabited discourses related to being 'tough', being driven by institutional targets, as well as being good administrators and/or entrepreneurs. It was apparent that, in a culture of massive bureaucratic demands and institutional dictates, neither middle nor top women had much time to devote to people. However, an interesting issue to arise from my analysis was that 'successful' managers and leaders seemed to *combine* traditionally masculine qualities such as toughness and leadership with traditionally feminine skills of being good at administration.

Implications for Feminist Women Managers and Leaders in Initial Teacher Training

This study is written from a feminist perspective and the question remains, '[W]hat happens to feminist managers in initial teacher training in current market led times?' As I argued in Chapter 4, some primary teachers, and following from that, some primary teacher trainers may sometimes have an uneasy relationship with feminism (Thompson 1989; Maguire 1993) because of some of the values of political neutrality that they may bring with them from school. In my study, which focussed both on secondary and, predominantly, primary teacher trainers, only three women called themselves feminists, and only two others declared an interest in issues of social justice in general. Another contributing factor may have been because, as Blackmore (1999: 188–189) argued:

> There is a 'silence around feminism' because many women leaders feel that a 'feminist' label is not strategic and closes promotion doors.

In new managerialist institutions that demand corporate loyalty and adherence to senior management decisions, it may not be wise to carry a label that hints of the possibility for disruption and transgression. As Fitzgerald (2014: 87) points out:

> Being a feminist in the academy presents women with equally unattractive options. Particularly at senior levels there are concomitant institutional expectations and obligations that may not sit easily with feminist principles, values and ways of working.

It is also possible that, in a field where, at least in my sample group, women are dominant in management and leadership, some of the issues of

feminism do not seem particularly relevant; at a cursory glance, the glass ceiling that kept women out of senior jobs seems to have been broken. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Thompson 2007: 351):

> …the job of being a manager has changed dramatically…many managers are struggling with the contradictions and demands of managing teacher training in new managerialist times.

Although the glass ceiling might have been broken in terms of positions and remuneration, working beyond it is not what it was.

Some time ago, Mahony (1997) noted that there was a gap in the literature related to feminism and initial teacher training which she related to the possibility that feminists may be too busy trying to survive educational reform to write about it. Recent years have seen an increase in studies related to a field that Murray (2007) still describes as 'under-researched' (Thompson 2001; Murray 2002; Acker 2005; Murray and Maguire 2007; Thompson 2007; Beauchamp et al. 2013). Two of the senior feminist teacher trainer managers in my sample (Rosalyn and Hermione) did decide to move out of teacher training in order to 'write about it' and three middle managers (Hannah, Wendy and Cynthia) tried simultaneously to 'work from within' to promote social justice discourses in their modules, while, at the same time, trying to reinvent themselves as researchers and writers in order to make their protest in print. Analysis of my data showed that women managers in initial teacher training who endorsed issues of feminism and social justice worked both from within and without the system in an attempt to ensure that these issues still retained a voice within the discourses of neoliberalism. It is to be hoped that, as Hermione said:

> Feminism is about feminist claws on cat's paws. It clings on…it inserts itself, amoeba like…it changes focus…feminists are pragmatic, we have to be… each set of new ideologies, we have to work with them…feminism is still an influential dynamic.

Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the main findings of the study and has interrogated key theoretical and interpretational issues to arise from analysis of my data. It has shown that, in my sample, women have once again returned to the management and leadership of initial teacher training but

are engaged, to a lesser or greater extent, with multiple 'sites of struggle' (Bourdieu 2000) in relation to the field of neoliberal policies and practices. The survival strategies adopted by the women managers are complex and contradictory, but what seems critical to their survival is the extent to which they can accommodate new managerialist discourses or, crucially, could reinvent themselves to do so. For the most part, it is the senior women who seem to struggle less than many of their more junior colleagues. This may be because middle managers have always had to face dual imperatives from above and below, but may also be the case that senior women were appointed to their roles because they inhabit the discourses that now 'count' in neoliberal times in that they are good administrators and/or entrepreneurs.

An important issue to arise from analysis of my data was that in order to survive, personally and professionally, the ability to act on circumstance is important. This was the case whether women had to act on circumstance in order to leave the management of teacher training or whether they remained to 'make a difference' to their students and their institutions. The women who not only survived but also thrived in new hard times not only managed but also *led* their institutions and were the policy drivers and change agents. It was, however, also clear that for some women managers, particularly those whose management discourses did not chime with the discourses of the marketplace and who endorsed an older management style that prioritised people rather than paperwork, the 'opportunities' offered by educational reforms were far from liberatory (Beck, & Beck-Gernsheim 2002), leading, in some cases, to marginalisation or even to redundancy. A disturbing issue to arise from analysis of my data was that women managers or leaders who endorsed discourses related to feminism and to social justice left, or sought to leave, the management of teacher training in order to find more congenial spaces within which to operate, although, in the interim, they worked from within to promote issues of diversity.

'Successful' managers and leaders of initial teacher training in neoliberal times utilised management styles which they perceived to be 'necessary' in order to ensure that their areas of responsibility 'performed well' and met institutional targets. In order to do so, they utilised a *combination* of traditionally male and female management and leadership styles in that they were tough, focused and driven but also skilled in administration. Currie et al. (2000) make the point that new managerial practices impact adversely on both men and women, but the point being made in my study

is that, in the management of teacher training, men are conspicuous by their absence. Analysis of my data showed that, for some, mainly senior 'women of the corporation', management, and more particularly leadership, roles offered opportunities for success and satisfaction. On the other hand, for other women managers, particularly those who privileged discourses related to people, feminism and social justice, working beyond the glass ceiling in initial teacher training might have been a very high price to pay.

The final section of this chapter sums up the contributions to the literature made by this study.

Women: Returning to Manage and Lead Teacher Training

The first contribution to the literature related to the field of women in initial teacher training is to bring the analysis of the gendered composition of the management and leadership up to date. Whereas some time ago, Coffey and Delamont (2000) were arguing that 'men manage teacher training', analysis of my data showed that, at least in the institutions in the sample, it was women who were now predominantly in positions of power. These women managers and leaders were rewarded for their work and held promoted posts; it seemed that, in initial teacher training, the glass ceiling had been cracked, if not completely broken. However, the experiences of the women managers were more complex than at first it appeared. Further analysis of the data revealed that, by and large, the women who were coming into the management of teacher training endorsed different management discourses than many of their predecessors; there was a shift from a discourse of care and professional development into a harder-edged discourse of standards and efficiency. Some experienced women managers who endorsed people- rather than paper-related discourses were not surviving institutional restructuring.

Managing and Leading Initial Teacher Training: The 'Sites of Struggle'

I argued earlier in this chapter that the job of management in initial teacher training has changed and demonstrated that many of the women in the sample were engaged in a struggle to survive in a job which was increasingly controlled and regulated and offered fewer opportunities for autonomy. The finding that the management of initial teacher training

was, for many women, particularly at middle but also at senior level, a 'site of struggle' (Reed-Danahay 2005) is my second contribution to the literature in the field. As was discussed, analysis of my data showed that the women in my sample group were, to a greater or lesser extent, engaged in 'struggle' on a number of broad fronts. The sites of struggle were: institutional restructuring; trying to come to terms with a management value shift that now prioritised the ability to manage paper and processes rather than people; trying to lead, manage and perform in a climate of increased bureaucracy with reduced power and autonomy, and related to these issues, trying to cope with a relentless workload. In order to survive personally and professionally, the women managers and leaders utilised a range of nuanced and complex survival strategies.

Survival Mechanisms: Accommodation and Reinvention

A third theme in my data was that the capacity to 'survive' in 'new hard times' was, in many ways, dependent on how well individuals were able to accommodate and work within new managerialist discourses or, failing that, on how well they were able to reinvent themselves to do so. As has been explored in Chapter 6, Foucault's theorisation of 'people as positioned in and produced by discourse' (Francis 2006), in this case, the dominant discourses of new managerialism, accounts for the fact that those women who were prepared, if necessary, to shape or reshape themselves in line with the discourses of the marketplace survived in their management roles.

Leading from the Top

However, further analysis of the data led to a key theme related particularly to the 'top' women. This was that many senior women were not only surviving but also thriving in their roles in their institutions. These women had to work within the same new managerialist policies and practices as their more junior colleagues, but, in general, they did not seem so troubled by having to lead and manage in 'new hard times'. This was particularly so in the case of women who were not only managers, but also predominantly leaders and entrepreneurs, both of their institutions and of themselves (du Gay 1996). These women not only accommodated new managerialist discourses, but also embraced them and, within institutional directives, operated as active agents in their quest for personal and institutional success.

The Importance of Agency

The fact that some senior women thrived in spaces that allowed them at least some opportunity to shape institutional and personal direction led me to explore another dominant theme which chimed with a complex theoretical position, namely that we are not *solely* responsive to, and positioned in, dominant discourses, but can be active social agents who can work on our positions in order to bring about change (Davies 1997; Francis 1998; Davies 2000; Davies and Saltmarsh 2007: 6). I endorse the views of McNay (2004: 177), who argues:

> It follows that the idea of agency is a key mediating category through which the inter-connections between cultural and economic forces, identity formations and social structures can be examined.

Middle managers Cynthia and Wendy exemplified cases where the necessity to act on their circumstances was crucial to their personal and professional survival. As has been discussed, Cynthia and Wendy reported feeling constrained by an increasing lack of autonomy in their management roles. At the same time as reinventing themselves in order to survive as managers, they also actively sought opportunities to find a 'better space' for themselves as researchers. For 'top' women leaders, in particular 'entrepreneurs' such as Linda and Tania, their agency in acting on their circumstances was key not only to surviving but also to thriving in the educational marketplace as they led their institutions forward.

Feminist Managers in Initial Teacher Training: Getting Out… Working Within

The study is written from a feminist perspective. As I explored in Chapter 6, the difficulties and complexities which arose in what is involved in feminist research has been widely debated and what 'counts' as feminist research today is related more to epistemological issues than to methods or technical concerns (Maynard and Purvis 1994). As has been noted, commentators such as Mahony (1997) and Blackmore (1999) argue that feminists may be too busy trying to survive educational changes to write about them, and that there may well be a 'silence in the data' related to feminism because of the negative label that is attached to it (Fitzgerald 2014). In her study of women academics, Skelton (2004) pointed out that those she termed 'vintage' women academics who endorsed the discourses of social justice were

more likely to leave the academy because of what they saw as irresolvable tensions caused by having to work within new managerial discourses which appeared to take little account of people. My sixth contribution to the literature is related to this issue in that analysis of my data revealed that women with an interest in social justice in my sample group worked both inside and outside the system. Two senior women, Rosalyn and Hermione, who described themselves as 'feminist' and 'on the left', moved away from the leadership of teacher training to pursue their interests in research. Other more junior women, Hannah, Cynthia and Wendy, endeavoured to keep social justice topics 'on the agenda in their institution' by introducing these issues into the modules that they taught. It is, however, salutary to note that they too were actively seeking to build their research profiles and to move sideways into Continuing Professional Development.

Performing Well…But No Time to Talk: Managing and Leading in New Hard Times

My seventh and final contribution to knowledge is concerned with the management and leadership discourses endorsed by middle and senior women in my sample. Related to that is the question of whether men and women manage in different ways. As I have explored throughout this book (Chapters 2, 7 and 8), there is a vast literature related to the existence, or not, of gendered management styles and I will not rehearse those arguments again here. However, as I made clear in Chapter 8, there was no evidence in my data that the women in my sample, who remained as managers and leaders of initial teacher training, endorsed management and leadership styles which were associated with collegiality and caring. There was evidence that some women managers who did endorse these approaches did not survive in institutional restructuring. Although some women (Linda, Tania and Irene) talked about the importance of a collegiate approach, the perceptions of their more junior colleagues was that their styles were more directional than consultative. It was apparent that most of the women managers and leaders had adapted their styles to meet the demands of managing and leading initial teacher training in difficult times as all of them spoke of 'reinventing themselves' as 'tougher'. In addition, all the 'top' women spoke about the necessity of being good administrators or having the wherewithal to build a good administrative team in order to cope with the massive bureaucratic upswing that has occurred in educational management. It seems that in order to thrive in

new hard times, a combination of traditionally stereotyped masculine and feminine traits, toughness and good administrative skills, is needed! It is worth reiterating Court's (2005) belief that women, and men, create their identities as managers in ways which are fluid and nuanced in the light of their subjective realities and contingent upon the ways in which they experience new discourses. What is clear is that the discourses of new managerialism do not encourage collaborative and caring ways of working. As Linda, a senior woman at King Edward's, said, '[O]nce we had time to be warm and fluffy and ask people "will you do this?" Now we don't.' It may also be the case that, as Jill Blackmore argued in a conversation at the American Educational Research Conference in March 2008, 'we have got to stop valorizing women as caring managers…they aren't…they can't be…that's no longer what's needed to survive'.

The final chapter of this book looks to the future and considers the implications for the women (and men) who manage and lead teacher training in increasingly risky times.

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CHAPTER 10

Looking to the Future: The Struggle for Teacher Education

This chapter considers the implications of the findings of my study for the women (and, for that matter, men) who lead and manage teacher education as they continue to '[navigate] their way through a succession of increasingly radical reforms' (McNamara and Menter 2011: 9). This chapter and the book conclude by considering ways forward for initial teacher education as the screw tightens.

Out of the Frying Pan…into the Fire?

Since the time when this study was carried out, policies directed at teacher education have become ever more radical and designed to further distance teacher education from higher education and to reconstruct it as a 'craft' rather than a research-based activity (Beauchamp 2013). McNamara and Menter (2011) warn that these continual and increasingly radical changes to initial teacher education are a threat both to the teacher education programmes themselves and, in the wider context, to educational research.

As was discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, successive UK governments to date have focused upon initial teacher training as the mechanism whereby the quality and training of teachers can be improved and the professional training of teachers can be transformed (Furlong 2005; Menter et al. 2010). In England, government reforms have been particularly hard hitting (see McNamara and Menter 2011), although Murray (2011) points to the inconsistencies of the data related to whether changes in teacher

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education have actually led to real improvements. Smithers and Robson (2011: 1), who collate evidence for databases related to ITT inspection results themselves, point out that the fast-increasing numbers of universities rated 'outstanding' in 2009–2010 are unlikely to be due to 'real improvement'. Whether or not this is the case, it is also ironic that the government's announcement of a radical shift from university to school-based ITT provision as detailed in the Schools White Paper (DfE 2010) came out, as Murray (2011: 15) informs us:

> …shortly after the publication of Ofsted results celebrating the fact that 47% of university-led programmes were judged 'outstanding' in 2009–10 compared to just 26% of school-based routes (Ofsted 2010).

This seems to have been overlooked, whether by accident or design.

The Continued Erosion of Professional Autonomy

McNamara and Menter (2011: 9) describe the ongoing erosion of professional control in initial teacher education. As they put it:

- First, a lack of professional control resulting from the increased level of centralised regulation has left the sector subject to short-termism and has resulted in vulnerability at programme level and instability within institutions.
- Second, the degree of the monitoring and accountability, together with the gravity of the penalties for perceived transgression, has engendered a 'technical rationalist' approach to outcomes and processes, restricted the nature of professional engagement and created a culture of compliance.

Analysis of my data also pointed to the fact that a lack of professional autonomy was one of the key 'sites of struggle' that demoralised many of the middle managers in the study. Conversely, a key motivator for many of the senior women was the feeling that they could operate with at least a degree of autonomy and shape the direction of their departments. Whether this was the case in reality is debatable, but what was important was that the senior women felt that they could operate with at least a degree of agency. This made a real difference to their professional well-being.

Sadly, as is discussed below, further government reforms mean that autonomy for teacher trainers looks likely to become increasingly eroded, which does not bode well for many initial teacher training managers and leaders.

The Carter Review: Further Tightening Control of Teacher Training?

The Carter Review of initial teacher training was published in January 2015 and it becomes apparent that teacher training is to be subject to even tighter controls.

It is clear that despite some evidence of what might be seen, at first sight, as encouraging rhetoric, particularly in relation to the importance of research and the necessity to link theory to practice, the recommendations of the Carter Review (2015) make it clear that teacher training is to become increasingly school based and increasingly controlled. Whereas it is not the intention to undertake a detailed analysis of the Review, it is important to draw attention to some contradictory and unexplained statements, particularly in relation to the perceived benefits of school-based training. For example, the Review (*ibid.*: 12) notes:

> Across the system, schools and providers have emphasized the importance of genuine partnerships, where schools play a leading role in the recruitment and selection of trainees, course design and delivery, assessment of trainees and the ongoing review of the programmes.

At best, this could be described as a rather one-sided partnership and the term 'genuine' could be questioned. Furthermore, the Review (*ibid.*: 6) states:

> We have found strengths across all routes. The findings from the Good Teacher Training Guide (Smithers and Robson 2013), the 2014 NQT [National Union of Teachers] survey (NCTL 2014) and a report by the Institute for Fiscal Studies (Allen et al. 2014) suggest that the move towards school-led ITT has had benefits.

However, no detail is provided as to the nature of these benefits.

In terms of the content of initial teacher training, the Review (2015: 23) lists ten elements that ITT 'should cover'. These are as follows:

- Subject knowledge development;
- Subject-specific pedagogy;

- Evidence-based teaching;
- Child and adolescent development;
- Behaviour management;
- Planning;
- Assessment;
- Differentiation;
- Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND);
- Professionalism.

A rationale is offered for each element and it is not the purpose to comment on the suitability of these choices but to emphasise the fact that the content of initial teacher training is to be effectively a National Curriculum. Recommendation 1 of the Review (2015: 67) states:

> DfE should commission a sector body…to develop a framework of core content for ITT. We believe that a framework of the essential elements of core content would build a stronger shared understanding of good ITT content meaning that trainees will have a more consistent experience.

Although the recommendation states that this framework is to be designed by the sector not the government, it is difficult to believe that government priorities will not be foregrounded.

The Development of Critical Voices?

Menter (2011) voiced a plea that teacher educator researchers must play a real part in maintaining the critical inquiry that he believes should underpin the policy and practice of initial teacher training and, as mentioned above, at first sight, it appears that the Carter Review is in tune with his thinking. On page 8, the Review states:

> We believe that it is critical that ITT should teach trainees why engaging with research is important and build an expectation and enthusiasm for teaching as an evidence-based profession. International evidence, including the RSA–BERA inquiry (2014), shows us that high-performing systems induct their teachers in the use, assessment and application of research findings.

A closer analysis however indicates that the emphasis is to be on the analysis of research which already exists, rather than on trainees carrying out their own small empirical studies. It is also suggested that, where trainees

do engage with empirical research, they are to be encouraged to 'choose an area of focus' (ideally linked to the school's development plan).

Whereas the emphasis on the importance of the linking of theory and practice is to be welcomed, the issue of control once again rears its head as trainees appear to be being 'channelled' into narrow areas of inquiry which are thought to be 'suitable'.

The Erosion of Issues of Social Justice

Another important finding from my study was that it was those women leaders and managers who had a commitment to issues of social justice who faced particular challenges as they tried to come to terms with carrying out their roles in the education marketplace. McNamara and Menter (2011) also name the erosion of issues of social justice as one of the 'threats' to initial teacher training in the contemporary marketplace. Many of the women in my study had witnessed the marginalisation of equality issues in the initial teacher training Standards over time and, as a consequence, the erosion of these issues in teaching sessions. Although some of the women had included the discussion of equality issues whenever they had the opportunity, this was dependent on the knowledge and commitment of individual staff rather than an official requirement. As such, diversity issues were subject to an increasing lack of status.

As Menter (2011) puts it:

> …the interest in national contexts and policy reminds us how much of teacher education is shaped by national governments and the powerful impact of their policy decisions during the recent past. Matters of equity and ethics may well have slipped down the research agenda since the late 20th Century and there seems to be a general dearth of work on the professional development of teacher educators themselves…

This study has gone some way to shedding light on how a group of women managers and leaders in initial teacher training made sense of their working lives in the current political context. As we know, teacher trainers in general and managers and leaders in teacher training in particular are an under-researched group (Murray 2008), and this study has allowed me to gain insights into the complex and nuanced ways in which these women struggle to survive (and in some cases thrive) in the onerous world of the education marketplace. A brief exploration of other work (Menter 2011;

Murray and Kosnik 2011; Beauchamp 2013; Murray 2013) endorses these findings and reveals a situation where teacher training is increasingly beleaguered and increasingly controlled and managed by government directives. The question must be asked whether there is any hope for a brighter future.

Reclaiming Teacher Education: the Impossible Dream?

In general, my study tells a story of low staff morale, disillusionment and struggle, mainly at middle management level. It is too simplistic to say that 'middle women managers do or feel this and "top" women leaders do or feel that'; the reality is far more complex and nuanced. However, analysis of my data shows that, by and large, many middle managers felt unappreciated and were engaged in a struggle to survive in their roles. Whereas some 'top women' who accommodated or embraced new managerialist discourses thrived, some did so by sometimes making unreasonable demands on their teams as they drove their staff forward in pursuit of individual and institutional targets.

It must, of course, be remembered that the women, and for that matter men, who run teacher training are not an homogenous group and some managers and leaders will continue their struggle against compliance and lack of professional autonomy. Nonetheless, Jackson (2011: 31) points out that the White Paper (2010) caused many teacher trainers to go through:

> …a 'grief cycle' following the initial suggestions concerning teacher education made in the Coalition Government White Paper issued in November 2010 (DfE 2010); 'shock, anger and depression' possibly giving rise to a great danger of negativity and acceptance.

In addition, with the demise of the Coalition government and the election of the new Conservative government in 2015, it is questionable whether teacher educators will have the freedom to engage in research that will allow for an open discussion of issues related to teaching and learning, let alone issues of social justice. It also has to be acknowledged that a new generation of managers and leaders, accustomed to working within a more corporatised system, may not see things in quite the same way as some of their predecessors and may be more accepting of a regimented system.

My study showed that the women managers and leaders in teacher training, many of them beleaguered, exhausted and disillusioned, adopted a number of nuanced strategies for survival. Some 'bought into the system' and thrived in the education marketplace. Others reinvented themselves and developed the skills necessary to exist in a corporate world while simultaneously seeking more congenial spaces within which to operate. Yet others, particularly those who endorsed feminist and other social justice principles, found that coming to terms with operating within new managerialist policies and practices was a struggle too far and they left teacher training.

It would therefore be only too easy to understand that, as the world of teacher training becomes ever more controlled and directed, teacher trainers will become overwhelmed by a situation where 'conformity and compliance become the norm' (Jackson 2011: 32). However, although, as Jackson (*ibid.*: 31) acknowledges, to be caught in a cycle of despair is understandable, she also is clear that what is needed is for those engaged in teacher training to revisit and be clear about the values that they want to promote and, in partnership with schools, 'focus on ITE (initial teacher education) rather than ITT (initial teacher training)'.

The first stage of reclaiming the future of initial teacher education, Jackson (*ibid.*: 32) argues, is to be proactive and recognise what higher education offers to the sector.

Blackmore and Sachs (2007: 271) argue that policy-makers need to be reminded that 'education…is central to a knowledge-based and democratic society', and as Ball (2007: 191) puts it, 'we need to struggle to think differently about education policy before it is too late'. The question is, how can the managers and leaders in initial teacher training who are troubled by the erosion of autonomy and marginalisation of social justice discourses make any impact on the globalised all-encompassing world of the education marketplace? This is a question that can be answered at both micro and macro levels.

My study has demonstrated that many managers and leaders had to struggle to reinvent themselves in order to accommodate the discourses of new managerialism. However, it also showed that they did not *just* respond to discourses, powerful though these were. However constrained, leaders and managers were able to work on their situations and operate on a degree of agency. At a macro level, it is crucial that managers and leaders with an interest in a different future for ITT make attempts to influence policy-makers in order to foreground these issues on the national

stage. Bringing debates to such organisations as the Teacher Education Advancement Network (TEAN) and the British Education Research Association (BERA) will be critical.

Developing partnerships with schools also provides opportunities to further professional dialogue and to encourage student teachers to engage with the 'bigger picture' of education, both in terms of theory and practice.

Along with Menter (2011), Struthers and Beckett (2011: 28) also support the following notion:

> Practitioner research is crucial to forging and mobilising the knowledge base of the teaching profession…[and developing] empowered teachers who can understand and articulate context and have the freedom and confidence to adapt their practice…This may require what Wrigley et al. (2011) called hard intellectual and emotional work against the odds, and often against prevailing policy trends.

Resistance can also be individual as well as collective, and it is important that 'like a cat: on cat's paws and always with claws' (Beck 1994: 26–27), feminist and pro-feminist managers and leaders in initial teacher training take any opportunity, individually or collectively, to make their voices heard and 'cling on' working pragmatically within new managerialist systems to counter them where they can.

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