

臺灣教育社會學研究 十五卷一期

2015年6月，頁1~42



## 小學職場的性別與權力：以臺灣女性教師 抗爭為例

李曉蓉

### 摘 要

本研究藉由臺灣小學職場超額教師情境，分析女教師抗拒男性權威的情形，探究女性的積極形象與職場上性別化的權力。研究資料來自臺灣南部某所小學，研究方法採用非參與者觀察及半結構式訪談。研究發現，女性沉默多數的形象是可以改變的；女教師因超額教師問題，展現她們的能力與熱忱，反抗男校長的權力。相較之下，男性教師參與抗爭是被動且不明確的。然而，女性教師認為男同事、男性特質的參與以及人際間的溝通、和諧有利於教師抗爭。研究結果顯示，職場性別與權力關係是複雜的：權力關係不僅存在於男、女性之間，也存在於男性之間，但是女性教師在職場遭受來自校長的負面經驗仍然可能多於男性，而男教師是支持校長、也是校長所信任的夥伴。

關鍵詞：性別化權力、男性間權力關係、小學職場、超額教師、沉默女性

- 本文作者：李曉蓉 Ph.D., School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies, University of Bristol, UK。

期刊徵稿：<http://www.edubook.com.tw/CallforPaper/TJSE/?f=oa>

高等教育出版：<http://www.edubook.com.tw/?f=oa>

高等教育知識庫：<http://www.ericdata.com/?f=oa>

## 2 臺灣教育社會學研究 十五卷一期

---

- 投稿日期：102年5月10日，修改日期：103年6月18日，接受刊登日期：103年7月21日
- DOI：10.3966/168020042015061501001

## *Gender and Power in the Primary Teaching Workplace: A Case of Women Teachers' Struggle in Taiwan*

Hsiao-Jung Li

Ph.D.

School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies

University of Bristol, UK

### Abstract

This article explores the image of women teachers as “proactive” and the manifestation of gendered power, with reference to the teacher surplus issue and an analysis of resistance to male power by female teachers in a campaign. The data presented were derived from an ethnographic study conducted at a Taiwanese primary school. Non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews were the main methods of data collection. The research suggests that the image of female teachers as a silent majority may be changing, with empirical illustrations of women displaying competence and dedication to challenge the power of the male principal. By contrast, the involvement of male teachers in this challenge seemed passive and obscure. However, the female teachers appeared to believe the participation of male teachers, their masculine presence as well as interpersonal communication and harmony were useful in facilitating their struggle. The findings expose the complexities of gender and power, which exist not only between women and men but also between men. It is argued that female teachers suffered more negative experiences than men as a result of the principal’s leadership and the structure of power relations, while male teachers were supportive and trusted allies of their principal.

期刊徵稿：<http://www.edubook.com.tw/CallforPaper/TJSE/?f=oa>

高等教育出版：<http://www.edubook.com.tw/?f=oa>

高等教育知識庫：<http://www.ericdata.com/?f=oa>

Keywords: Gendered Power, Power Relations between Men, Primary Teaching (Workplace), Teacher Surplus, Women's Silence

## Introduction

Great concerns have been raised regarding the feminisation of primary teaching and its association with more general, gendered implications for teachers, teaching work and the workplace (Addi-Racah, 2002; Cortina & San Roman, 2006; Griffiths, 2006; Li, 2014; Skelton, 2002). Some studies clearly point out that female teachers have no voice in educational policy and, moreover, seem unaware of their silence (Griffin, 1997; Llorens, 1994; Pagano, 1990). As Llorens (1994: 7) argues:

This should not be surprising given the predominance of women in teaching positions subordinate to a male-dominated administration. Even as these gender ratios change slightly, the established patterns of authority and deference may not. What seems important is a recognition of different voices, voices traditionally silenced or marginalised.

Another argument to come out of research is that in addition to lacking voices, women seem to be powerless despite their substantial presence in their workplace. As Cockburn (1991: 70) succinctly claims, in organisations ‘power and authority are defined as precisely masculine.’ Therefore, what makes this research distinct is its attention to women’s voices and pro-activity, and to the exploration of the relations between gender and power in Taiwanese feminised teaching workplace.<sup>1</sup> Davis (1991: 83) suggests that ‘power relations operate in

---

<sup>1</sup> According to official Taiwanese statistics, for the past two decades, over 68 per cent of primary school teachers are females (Ministry of Education ROC (Taiwan) [MOE ROC (Taiwan)], 2013a).

a specific context.’ In contrast to previous studies,<sup>2</sup> in this article the issues of teacher surplus provide an especially interesting context to understand the dynamics between gender and power within the Taiwanese primary teaching workplace.

Drawing on official statistics and data from an ethnographic study, this article aims to examine how gendered power manifests itself with reference to the situation of the teacher surplus issue and the responses of teachers, particularly female teachers, to it. The article begins with a brief discussion of theories on the relations between gender and power and proceeds to describe the research methods and the study context. Next, the study addresses these central issues: why female teachers appear as a silent majority, what women have done to actively challenge their male principal’s authoritarian leadership, and how this contrasts with women’s previously silent presence. Moreover, do women and men, when facing identical challenges from, and stressful conflicts with, their male principal, act differently? To gain a fuller understanding of gender and power in the teaching profession, this article also suggests that power relations exist not only between men and women, but between men. It is worth noting that this study is situated within the broader international field of research (including work conducted in the UK, and the US) focusing on the relations between gender and power, but specific discussions dealing with the situation in Taiwan will be presented later as the findings.

---

<sup>2</sup> Abundant research has pointed out the issues related to teacher surplus that include teachers’ increased workloads and negative feelings such as stress, anxiety (Hung, 2011), surplus teachers’ maladjustment (Tseng & Chang, 2010), tensions or conflicts that arose among teaching staff or those between teachers and the STA (Shih, 1998), reforms of teacher training (Fwu, 2000), the lessening of class numbers, even the number of schools (Li, 2007) as well as the hiring of substitute or part-time teachers affecting teaching quality, pupils’ learning, and school administration (Wang, 2012).

## Theories of the Dynamics of Gender and Power

Burris (1996: 61) notes that ‘workplaces are some of the most important arenas in which the drama of gender is staged.’ From a feminist perspective, Davis (1991: 66) argues that gender is ‘a central concept and an attempt’ to interpret social experience, including relations of power between men and women. She further argues that theories of power are required to understand the interactions between men and women. Importantly, access to and distribution of power resources is not equally shared, thereby creating the conditions of male domination. In analysing ‘three practical principles’, Bourdieu (2001: 94) points out:

A woman cannot have authority over men, and, other things being equal, therefore has very likelihood of being passed over in favour of a man for a position of authority and of being confined to subordinate and ancillary functions.

Gender implies, therefore, not only differences but power inequality which produces the domination of men and the subordination of women (Pringle, 1993). Thus, as Bradley (1999: 33) defines it, gendered power refers to ‘the capacity of one sex to control the behaviour of the other.’ It is men who wield control over material, ideological and political resources, and women are subject to it (Cockburn, 1991).

The process of male domination has been discussed in much research. As Connell (1987) claims, within workplaces, some men and women conform to typically traditional forms of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity.

Hegemonic masculine cultures are constructed in relation to women. He further points out that a crucial part of the power structure of gender is ‘the general connection of authority with masculinity’ (Connell, 1987: 109). Cockburn’s (1991) and others’ (e.g. Bourdieu, 2001; Connell, 1987; Halford & Leonard, 2001) studies identify the ways in which the relations of organisational power empower men but disadvantage women. Firstly, it is men who ‘generate a masculine culture in and around their work, whether technological or managerial,’ to make women the disadvantaged gender, competing with them or being blocked from authority positions (Cockburn, 1991: 65). The theory of homos-social behaviour has also been developed to address men’s preference for working with other men (Kanter, 1977) that perpetuates hegemonic masculinity (Broadbridge & Hearn, 2008) as structural explanations of male power. Bradley’s (1999: 211) study also confirms that managerial men can also use their positional work to buttress ‘the culture of homosociability’. Secondly, the dynamics between women and power seem problematic because women are regarded as not having authoritative capability (Cockburn, 1991: 69). If intending to compete with men, women need to take on masculine traits or to banish feminine signs such as their body or clothing (Bourdieu, 2001), and thus their success will be condemned on the basis of their ‘defeminising’ and ‘mannish’ authoritarian behaviour (Cockburn, 1991: 69). In other words, access to power can place women in a ‘double bind’: if women behave like men, they risk losing feminine attributes and challenging the natural right of men to power positions; if they behave like women, they appear incapable or unfit for the position of power (Bourdieu, 2001). Thirdly, although women are beginning to exercise power, ‘they are unlikely to be permitted to change the nature of the organisation’ (Cockburn, 1991: 73), where enacting masculinity asserts men’s superiority to women and thus men enhance their own power (Martin, 1996:



205). As also indicated by Cockburn (1991), women's success may cause men's resentment. Women in positions of power often become the objects of hostility or criticism. Fourthly, it is suggested that men in control of power is a result of women's endorsement. Women support men in taking power because men are seen as being able to negotiate significant power in organisations and as being 'natural' leaders (Cockburn, 1991). Martin (1996: 205) also indicates that in organisations men are able to 'mobilise power associated with their gender status' even challenging women in higher echelons. Briefly, the organisation of work facilitates men's legitimacy and prevalence in positions of power, while women remain subordinated (Halford & Leonard, 2001; Martin, 1996).

Power also emerges in the discussions of gender within the primary teaching context. Masculine power and privilege are sustained at school (Hasse, 2008) because masculine values are institutionalised and legitimised through educational power and authority (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). Examining the relationship between principals and teachers in Taiwanese primary schools, the findings of Fun's (2005) study also indicate that traditionally primary school leaders were expected to be directors maintaining authority and demanding unquestioning obedience. Nonetheless, some research has suggested that the 'variable relations' of gendered power may indicate that men and masculinity are not always dominant (Connell, 1987), or that women may be empowered to resist gender domination or to cause a shift in power relations by gaining greater access to some resources such as symbolic, collective or personal resources (Bradley, 1999). Repression produces its own resistance, as Foucault (1980: 142) also notes, as 'there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where the relations of power are exercised.' Based on the above arguments, this article suggests a way to analyse women's changing image and the way they

voice their presence, through their campaign against their male principal's power and authority within the context of teacher surplus. In addition, it attempts to argue that the way power is gendered in the workplace is explicit and complex.

## Research Methods

Data for this article were gathered from an ethnographic study conducted at a primary school located in southwest Taiwan between November 2008 and July 2009. It is worth noting that the school was chosen mainly because the school management system was typical of large-scale primary schools, in addition to my previous connection with the institution: it is where I received my primary education. The principal took up his post in 2004. Under the principal's superintendence, the school management structure had four sections: the Academic Affairs Section, the Student Affairs Section, the General Affairs Section and the Counselling Section. Their leaders, known as deans, are in charge of arrangements, decisions and implementations in their individual sections. Moreover, the four sections are each served by three or four subordinate units (subsections). It is also important to note that the school was highly feminised: 28 out of 41 teachers (the principal included) were females. However, male dominance in the managerial structure was evident at this female-dominated school: 10 out of 13 males (76.9%) held managerial posts, while only 25% of female teachers held similar positions.

Non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews were the main sources of data collection. As Gay and Airasian (2003: 199) remark, observation enables researchers to understand 'the natural environment as lived by the participants,' without the researchers' alteration or manipulation. Non-

participant observation included the shadowing six class teachers, four females and two males (see Appendix 1). They were mainly selected for the age range of pupils<sup>3</sup> they taught. Observations also covered occasions such as staff conferences, school events, and private gatherings among teachers. Due to the research period, I gained plenty of opportunities to discuss relevant issues with other teachers and managerial members. Some of their ideas and responses were also used for this study due to their insightfulness or to provide different viewpoints. Field notes were written throughout the duration of the research.

The interviewing process can reveal hidden data behind public behaviour, such as personal thoughts, motivations, and feelings, as noted by Lichtman (2006). At the end of the study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight teachers (including the class teachers shadowed, one male class teacher and one female subject teacher) and the male principal (also see Appendix 1) to ‘capture what is important in the minds of the subjects themselves’ (Bogoan & Biklen, 1998: 35). The interview questions focused on how the teachers elaborated their experiences and views about the teacher surplus issue and their involvement in the campaign. Interestingly, as Scott (1990: 111) emphasises, there are always ‘off-stage responses and rejoinders’, what he refers to as the ‘hidden manuscript’: a set of thoughts and actions hidden from or enacted in disguise in the public, particularly when the powerful agent(s) is in attendance. My research data also reveal differences between public speech and hidden manuscripts. For instance, when the teachers were interviewed, they seemed to express, willingly or unconsciously, thoughts or opinions that they did not express in public places or when their principal was present. Interviews lasted approximately 1.5 hours and were tape-recorded. After fully transcribed,

---

<sup>3</sup> This school has both male and female pupils aged between 6 and 12 (from Year 1 to Year 6).

interview data, along with fieldnote data, were analysed. With the analysis, key themes emerging from the data were developed into sub-topics for this article that will be discussed below.

In terms of context, to better understand the serious disequilibrium in supply and demand for teachers in Taiwan, interpretations derived from both observations and interview data were triangulated with data from official statistics and state publications (such as the Yearbooks of Teacher Education Statistics) to examine women's actions and changes in the contexts of teacher surplus. Pseudonyms are used to protect the anonymity of the informants.

## Contexts: Teacher Surplus in Taiwan and in the Fieldwork School

The term 'surplus teacher' is used for such reasons. Literally, it refers to those who are teaching in a primary school and subsequently become additional to what is needed. The surplus of Taiwanese primary school teachers has mainly resulted from a distinct decline in fertility rates, the composition of young teachers and low turnover rates of teachers (Li, 2013). State statistics show that the fertility rate has plummeted over the years: there were 326,547 new births in 1995 compared to 204,414 in 2007, and 191,310 babies in 2009 (Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior ROC (Taiwan), 2010). The phenomenon known as 'children-reducing' (shao tzu hua) and its impacts on the issues of teacher surplus have contributed to widespread concerns in Taiwanese society. Furthermore, the average current age of primary teachers is 38.56 years old (Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics ROC, 2007). Given the composition of young teachers, the turnover rates in the coming years will be plunging (Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics ROC, 2008). These facts all lead to a

corresponding drop in the demand for teachers. Pupil enrolment has considerably declined since 2004 (Department of Statistics, MOE, 2012). The MOE estimates that from 2006 to 2010, the number of primary school pupils saw a decrease by 282,542 (9,686 classes), which resulted in an oversupply of 14,782 teachers (Hsiao, Peng, & Lee, 2009). It is important to note that in Taiwan, employed public primary schoolteachers are positioned as civil servants with legal work rights and status. Teacher dismissal is quite a rare phenomenon, except in the case of those who break the law (Wang & Fwu, 2002: 44). So far, there have been no cases of teachers being made redundant or laid off. This ostensibly exacerbates the teacher surplus problem.

My fieldwork school represents a concrete example of a school suffering from teacher surplus difficulties; this situation and the teachers' responses to it form the topic of this article. To specify the seriousness of teacher surplus in this school, three interrelated sets of factors will be further considered: the decline in pupil enrolment, the difficulty of surplus teachers finding vacancies in other schools, and the leadership model of the male principal. Firstly, my fieldwork school was affected by the falling number of pupil enrolment accompanied by the dramatic decline in fertility rates noted above. This school was impacted more seriously than other primary schools, partially due to its situation. This school is situated on the outskirts of the city, adjoining the rural areas, so there was a tendency for some parents to choose an urban school for their child(ren) or to migrate to large cities for employment. It was estimated that in 2009 there would be three classes of new pupils enrolling, but the number of Year 6 children graduating was six classes. This meant that the gap was three classes. According to the official rules, nearly four teachers would be

required to leave due to reduced class/student number.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, the problem was compounded by the difficulty of surplus teachers finding vacancies in other schools. Regarding the county where my fieldwork was conducted in the 2008 academic year, it was estimated that there were approximately 100 surplus teachers. In previous years, the county government was capable of arranging for those teachers to teach in other schools. Yet over time it seems to have become increasingly difficult to negotiate the impact of the continuing decline of pupil enrolment as well as the lack of job vacancies for surplus teachers. In my fieldwork school, rumours also spread, suggesting that there were no job vacancies in the county due to similar problems elsewhere. The teachers on the surplus list began to worry about finding a vacancy. The worst case scenario, redundancy, was even discussed.

Thirdly, notwithstanding the impacts of the decreasing pupil enrolments and fewer job vacancies, the principal's attitude and insistence to dominate may have been the major problem, and this issue, rather than the ambiguity of the official document noted below, triggered serious tensions in the school. The principal's leadership style may be described as a 'masculine-strong leadership model' (Woods, Jeffrey, Troman, & Boyle, 1997: 117). During my research, it was noticed that the teachers, particularly those with managerial posts, did not reject or argue with the male principal in public contexts such as staff meetings. The following incidents illustrate how the teachers, particularly those with managerial posts, stressed the importance of not 'challenging' their principal's power and authority. Mr Sam remarked that 'the principal doesn't like his principal's authority and leadership power to be questioned or challenged in

---

<sup>4</sup> The official rules set up the 1.5 ratio, meaning that 1 class needs 1.5 teachers. If the class number is reduced to three, an equivalent of four teachers would be required to leave the school.

public.’ So, Mr Sam’s approach was ‘to talk and to negotiate in private and in a nice way.’ Others also bore a similar view. As a senior managerial member, Mrs Fenny, commented:

The principal had difficulty lowering the sense of privilege rooted in his authority and self-esteem in face of teachers’ questions and opinions. It’s a better way, as we realise, to communicate with him privately, and he seems friendly and willing to talk.

Mr James, a section dean, also stated:

The teachers at this school ought to be aware of informal ways when they need or attempt to communicate with the principal, through which many problems will be solved smoothly. This is because the principal seemed to be more friendly and willing to talk in private.

Among the teaching staff, a consensus was reached four years ago that seniority was the only criterion to decide who would leave.<sup>5</sup> Seniority, a long-established convention of state governmental policy, refers to the length of years in the teaching profession; those who enter the workplace last are the ones who leave first. Nonetheless, the process of obtaining this consensus at this primary school was tough, as serious conflicts between the teachers and the principal occurred. This was mainly due to the principal’s insistence on adopting the new guidelines, which took into account more items, such as teacher’s in-service

---

<sup>5</sup> In 2005, the county government authorised individual schools to let teachers have their options of making a collective decision regarding criteria or guidelines for teacher surpluses.

training and the principal's evaluation. Some teachers privately revealed that it was their principal who spared no effort in advocating and supporting the new multi-criteria guideline at the conferences of principals, and that in comparison, a nearby school facing this issue had no difficulty adopting the strategy of seniority that the teachers decided, as their principal did not interfere with the teachers' decisions.

At the start of May 2009, the local education authority issued an official document in relation to the guidelines of multi-criteria and seniority. The principal insisted that according to the document, the multi-criteria guidelines should be adopted, instead of seniority, to decide who should leave. He even confided to me that he had confidence in his decision of adopting the multi-criteria guidelines because he had, moreover, acquired confirmation of the implementation of the new guidelines from an officer in the local educational authority. For the teachers, it was clear that the local authority authorised teaching staff of individual schools to decide which criteria they would like to adopt.

Given that the Counselling Section would be abolished, the section dean decided to retire. Thus, there would be still three teachers who had no choice but to leave. Under such circumstances, if the teachers accepted the principal's insistence on the new rules, it meant that no one was certain which three teachers would leave instead of the three on the original list (the least senior staff). Though the disputes over the official document persisted, the principal ordered the teachers to calculate their scores based on the new guidelines in a very short time, which led to more anxiety and anger for the teachers. Regarding their disagreement, some teachers strongly expressed that seniority was the consensus reached several years ago, and that their opinions were ignored by the principal. As Mrs Fenny commented, 'It's the principal arousing a terrible



controversy, even making it worse.’ Some teachers expressed that the comprehensive assessment, constituting 10% of the multi-criteria guidelines, which will be undertaken by the principal explained why their principal was so insistent. The teachers at this school are almost all senior, so other criteria such as in-service training or merits will make no real difference. That is, the principal will be able to ‘dominate’ the decisions regarding redundancy owing to his authority from assessing teachers’ performance.

## Research Findings

### Female Teachers as the Silent Majority

Like the stereotypical portrayal of women in other workplaces or organisations, female teachers are thought of as apathetic, gentle, less aggressive, and less interested in school affairs (Griffin, 1997; Llorens, 1994). In my study, during staff meetings or school-affair conferences, women tended to remain silent and rarely became involved in school discussions. For example, Mrs Lily described herself thus: ‘A coward, deadly fearful of speaking out my opinions or doubt in my mind.’ The following excerpt from my fieldnotes confirms how interactions between the principal and women were rare:

Seeing the principal still sitting on his seat after the meeting, I wondered if he wanted to talk to or say something to someone as, meanwhile, some female teachers remained at their seats, saying something in a low voice. However, no interactions between them took place.

Not posing or clarifying their questions in public, women preferred exchanging

their opinions, grievances or criticism after the meetings or on their way back to their classrooms. Such an absence of women's voices suggests that female teachers seemed afraid of speaking out against, or criticising, men to their faces; this is despite the fact that women were opposed to some decisions and constituted the majority. As such, in addition to conforming to a 'public transcript/speech' in the presence of the principal, women have created a hidden manuscript when they felt they were in safe or private places (Scott, 1990).

The silence among the women was more evident when men's power and masculinity was present. Mrs Yvonne articulated her unwillingness to express her view, given her previously unpleasant experience:

Recalling my experience occurring four years ago as the one proposing adopting seniority made me shiver still even now. Although there were over 20 teachers there, the unreasonable reactions of the principal, shouting, throwing away the microphone, made me unable to sleep a wink for a whole week. My husband also told me that I shouldn't speak in the meeting concerning these kinds of matters.

Reflecting upon her experience as 'a nightmare' in the conflict when teachers disagreed with the way that the principal put forward the new guidelines, Mrs Lily's description of the incident helped to account for why Mrs Yvonne was also terrified:

I saw the principal throwing away the microphone angrily, and a senior male teacher who retired several years ago thumped the table, and he and the principal yelled at each other. Several women, including myself, couldn't help bursting into tears right there.

These incidents exemplify the contrast that while men openly displayed their anger and willingness for confrontation, female teachers seemed afraid of conflicts, so they wept openly but they chose to remain silent. We can also observe that, firstly, within this workplace, any rigorous questioning of or challenge to managerial authority and judgements was deemed unacceptable. Moreover, such differences of reactions to the principal may indicate that women not only have experienced authority differently from men, but they also suffered more negative or unpleasant experiences with the principal's leadership. Female teachers' silence reflects the recognition of the dominant form of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987) and the traditional ideology of gender in the workplace, through which women are socialised, perhaps even forced, to be obedient and to accept a silent role.

### How did Female Teachers Find their Voice?

In my fieldwork school, both female and male teachers were 'docile', as described by Mrs Yvonne. Yet when my fieldwork was approaching an end, a series of events associated with teacher surplus and the disagreement between the teachers and their principal propelled my analysis in a completely different direction. As Foucault (1978: 95) proposes, 'where there is power, there is resistance.' He further explains by stating that 'as soon as there's a relation of power there's a possibility of resistance. We're never trapped by power: it's always possible to modify its hold, in determined conditions and following a precise strategy.' Such a view suggests that individuals may choose how to act in their oppression (Blackmore, 1999). To maintain their rights and to fight for ideals of fairness and justice, women, despite finding themselves confronted with the principal's authoritative decisions, started displaying formidable awareness, competence, persistence, and moreover, their willingness to

challenge the principal.

On many occasions I witnessed women's affirmative participation and action that transcended their formerly silent stereotypes. As mentioned earlier, there were disputes regarding the implementation of multi-criteria. To further clarify the controversy, female teachers sacrificed their after-school and weekend time. They emailed the County Magistrate's Office, volunteered as school representatives to participate in the meeting with the County Magistrate, and attended conferences held by the County Teachers' Association (CTA). Through the following fieldnotes excerpt, we have a clear picture of their concern:

Mrs Angel, together with Mrs Tina, went to Mrs Lily's classroom to see this email from the Deputy Magistrate. Miss Fiona was there and told Mrs Angel to forward her the email. Upon viewing the government's reply, Mrs Angel pointed out something problematic: the distinct difference between what the principal declared during those previous staff meetings and the email.

By my observations, however, the teachers still lacked the courage to straightforwardly speak out about their distrust of the principal. Among them, Mrs Angel's motion during a staff meeting appeared more courageous and active, announcing the information that she and three other female teachers had acquired:

The information the principal passed on wasn't true, and it has caused not only confusion but also fear among us. He did it on purpose. Struggling for a long time, I decided to stand up, telling teachers the

latest news I'd heard from the Deputy Magistrate and the CTA.

Highlighting that what she hoped to convey was that the county government did not force schools to accept the new multi-criteria guideline, she also described the need to speak out:

Another critical point for me to speak in public, is that teachers' fears and anxiety are primarily derived from their not knowing what the reality is...Consequently, you know, what I said made the principal speechless on that occasion.

Such narratives can serve as a turning point for female teachers in that, at least for some women, there was a refusal to keep silent about what they were told and what they faced.

With the controversy over the implementation of seniority or the new guidelines, female teachers led the campaign for providing practical action during the process. Mrs Janice directly asked Mr Gary, the head of the School Teachers' Association (STA) of this school: 'Do we need to hold an STA conference as soon as possible?' She highlighted that the purpose of the meeting would be to 'sue' the principal who repeatedly said that he 'welcomes and accepts teachers' challenges and accusations' at the School-affair Conference. The fieldnotes taken at the STA conference also indicate that women appeared more active than men in arousing the teachers' collective consciousness and making efforts to find more ways to support their battle:

Several female teachers including Mrs Elisa as the chair of this conference, Mrs Janice, Mrs Angel and Mrs Mirada stood up, and spoke

enthusiastically to express their ideas to tackle this serious disagreement...Their suggested strategies included protest, making speeches in public, publicising teachers' opinions, seeking assistance from other organisations, such as the National Teachers' Association (NTA) and CTA, emailing their appeals to the local educational authority, and so on. Mrs Mirada plainly spoke that 'we have to unify because the teachers are treated unfairly by the principal who uses threatening words...We, the teachers, and the principal should be equal.'

More illustrations mirrored female teachers' courage and determination for their goals and practical steps. Mrs Tina emphasised that 'there were only two options for us. One is to accept oppression or subjugation. The other is to unify and fight together.' Mrs Elisa commented: 'People ought to fight like a tiger to get what they want, and that's what the principal's been doing. We should be tough when the principal is tough.' Mrs Angel described herself as 'a coward' as she used to remain quiet. Instead, she would change because the fight 'will get started like a military fight' and further suggested:

What we struggle for is a system, a legitimate system, isn't it?...It's necessary for us to divide into different teams. And then, we have to fight in succession. If one team fails, then a subsequent team will take over the struggle.

The conflicts led some women to express their beliefs and values to the principal, and why they insisted on what they did. Due to her abhorrence of this unpleasant atmosphere, Mrs May explicitly expressed: 'I long to leave this school.' Embracing thoughts comparable with those of Mrs May, Mrs Maggie

also stated: 'I'm not afraid of leaving this school, but what we want is fairness and justice.' To demonstrate their determination, they volunteered to leave. For example, despite the disagreement remaining unsolved, the principal demanded teachers to hand over the necessary certificates and papers to enact the multi-criteria rule, and he threatened that those refusing to do so would be considered volunteers for surplus status. Mrs Lily, who was horrified by the principal's order and Mrs Maggie's determination, not only gathered the form of calculating teachers' accumulation scores<sup>6</sup> for Mrs Maggie, but tried to persuade her: 'Ignoring the order is unwise. The deadline is this Friday afternoon. Only three days' time left.' However, Mrs Maggie elected to do nothing and instead construed this as a fighting declaration, letting the principal realise that not everyone in this school was fearful of leaving. She even plainly expressed her willingness to leave at the school-affair conference. This contrasted with Mr Ian who was on the surplus list but struggled to stay.

In analysing the women's participation and dedication in this campaign, it is important to register some points here. Firstly, the teachers' emphasis on 'oppression and subjugation' and 'a military fight' provides evidence of a consciousness cognizant of females lacking voices or being silenced. Secondly, these above excerpts seem to indicate that women considered their fight as a collective campaign, while their male colleagues seemed not to be as assertive as females as discussed below. Thirdly, the battle was seen as gender-neutral, rather than as a struggle for women's or individual advantages, at least in the following sense: it seemed that women were not conscious of or did not consider

---

<sup>6</sup> The form includes such items as teachers' educational qualifications, the hours of participation in in-service training, and being posted as a class or subject teacher to calculate the score that teachers acquire. Instead of seniority, these criteria are used as the new standard to assess who is considered as a surplus teacher (i.e. receiving the lowest scores).

the issue that the new guidelines would benefit male teachers yet place females at a disadvantage for the foreseeable future; according to the new guideline, more merit scores will be gained, for instance, by coaching ball teams or participating in sports events outside the schools. Compared to women, male teachers are more likely to join these events. Given that this campaign was not grounded on fighting for their gender, it is critical for us to ask: why did women compared to men display greater dissatisfaction? The answer may be that women suffered more negative or unpleasant experiences with the principal's leadership and interaction. Such an explanation also partially explains women's previous silence.

### Men's Passive Participation and Men's Alliance

The fight was a tough and distressing plight for female and male teachers alike. As Mrs Janice told me, 'In these days I awoke at 5 a.m. to pray for God's mercy.' Male teachers' comments also identified their worries. Mr Johnny noted that 'I don't lead an easy day since I've heard the news related to the new rules.' Mr Jimmy had sick leave for days because of the tremendous pressure and anxiety.

While the experience may have been similar for males and females, we may cast a different picture regarding men's participation in this campaign. According to the categories developed by Bradley (1994: 44), male teachers in my study would be described as 'passive members': despite taking part in workplace-based events, they are not active and seem to have little willingness for, or interest in, extensive involvement. Male teachers' silence and passivity on many occasions were evidenced. The following fieldnotes taken at the CTA conference is representative of male silence:



In stark contrast to women being active in expressing their opinions, the six male teachers there remained quiet. Mr Sam was the only man standing up, merely suggesting the significant role that the representatives of the Parents' Association<sup>7</sup> played.

I also witnessed an example of male wariness to speak out at the conference: apparently experiencing pressure from women's eager expectations, Mr Gary was eventually forced to contribute due to his position (head of the STA). To better understand why men tended to be quiet and what they thought about this silence, I asked Mr Boris about his speechlessness on that occasion. Male teachers' silent presence might be typified by him:

For me, it makes no difference to accept the old or new rules as they have no influence on my teaching at this school. But, I'm inclined to support the opinions held by the vast majority.

To some extent, his ideas were understandable because of his teaching seniority. Yet a look at the data shows that almost all the female teachers who were dedicated to this campaign, such as Mrs Angel and Mrs Maggie, also faced no danger of becoming surplus teachers. Moreover, men's passive participation, different from women's passionate involvement in this campaign, can also be reflected in the complaints made by Mrs Angel that Mr Gary, despite being the

---

<sup>7</sup> The members in the Parents' Association are elected by all the pupils' parents for renewable one-year terms. It is typical that the parents' representatives are mainly responsible for monetary donations for some school events. More recently, the MOE aimed to encourage parents' involvement in schooling. Those representatives have a right to present their opinions about some matters related to teachers and teaching.

head of the STA, claimed that he was too engaged in family events to join the CTA meeting. She stated:

Actually, I just met Mr Gary, hoping he would come with me to look at the content of this email from the CTA right now. But he replied he was engaged in something urgent and hurried away, and would have no time to attend this weekend's meeting.

Homosociality has been used to describe men's preference for working with or the company of other men and the relations between men in terms of gender and organisation studies (Holgerson, 2013). In his empirical research, Allan (1993) indicates that male principals seek 'gender alliances' and treat male teachers as supportive allies and assistants whom they can trust and rely upon in the feminised teaching workplace. My research points out that men's passivity might be linked to the relations between men. According to my observations, some male staff, particularly those working in the Student Affairs Section or with managerial posts where men constituted the great majority, never participated in private gatherings where the teachers congregated for discussions and information sharing. The male teacher, Mr Ian, struggling against his leaving represents another example of male allies. He provided a great deal of assistance on school affairs, including a greater share of coaching the ball teams, whose performances were what the principal was most proud of. At the conference, Mr Ian strongly expressed his complete support of the principal and the multi-criteria guidelines. Some teachers informed me that if the new guidelines that the principal insisted on were adopted, Mr Ian could stay on, rather than be a surplus teacher.

Additionally, research shows that male bonding such as this is a powerful

force which fosters the will and the ability to maintain the positions of power (Bradley, 1999). Mr Harry's story demonstrates that men's relations of sharing power might affect male involvement in this campaign. Mr Harry seemed to be committed to the fight; however, his dilemma was displayed in his taking part in teachers' private meetings: he always came to the gatherings, but hesitantly suggested something that he never expressed at public occasions, and left in a hurry. In line with Scott's (1990) view, the clear differences between what is said in private and the deference paid to power in public performance constitute resistant practice. However, it appeared that Mr Harry was struggling to join the teachers' collective action or to display his 'loyalty' linked with his relations with the principal. In fact, the other male dean, Mr James, never showed up to any of the teachers' private gatherings. Furthermore, the relations between the principal and the parents' representatives also help demonstrate the nature of men's alliance. The parents' representatives were all male. When coming to this school, they usually headed for the principal's office and had talks there. In other words, the principal had more opportunities than the teachers to form special relationships with the male parents, and as such he obtained more support from them. Although I could not directly uncover any agreements between them, there was clear evidence that one of those representatives seriously reproached and openly used rude words to humiliate the teachers at the conference due to the principal's embarrassment caused by the boycott of the vast majority of the teachers who refused to sign the attendance record as a protest against their principal.

Surprisingly, when the CTA publicised their support for the teachers' collective action, whereby they condemned what the principal had done as a breach of the rules and questioned his leadership qualities, Mr Gary requested the CTA to expunge these comments, characterising 'the unsuitability of such

aggressive support.’ Yet some women responded differently. Mrs Lily, a woman who always remained silent, thought that ‘the principal should be taught a lesson from this event’ to let him realise the consequence of his arbitrary behaviour. Again, such differences may suggest that within this gendered teaching environment, women might have experienced masculine norms and dominance differently from the way men did, even though women did not always feel it as gendered.

### Reliance on Men, Masculinity and Interpersonal Communication and Harmony

Some studies indicate that male teachers are expected to air their views and are considered better equipped to speak in public or to negotiate with the principal (Sargent, 2000; Simpson, 2004). The following citations taken from the interview transcripts cast light on female teacher’s reliance on men and their masculine presence, although women were aware of men’s disinterest and passivity in fighting and regarded their inactivity as a kind of deterrent in their fight. Mrs Maggie described her thoughts this way:

The silence among the teachers is because of disproportionately few male teachers at this school. So, it appears no one among us has the courage to get the fight started.

Likewise, Mrs Angel felt that ‘Mr Gary, as the STA head, isn’t tough enough. He’s too mild.’ Their comments also indicate their awareness that female teachers were less powerful compared to men.

Yet my research evidence suggests that, despite fighting for their goals, women supported the idea of maintaining harmony with men through

interpersonal communications as a useful way to benefit their fight. As Bradley (1999: 170) has argued:

Women appear to have a different style to approaching problems and to negotiation. They eschew the stereotypically macho table-thumping style associated with collective bargaining, favouring a less confrontational, more consultative style of industrial relations.

For example, by having phoned the principal's wife, Mrs Janice tried to persuade the principal. At the morning staff meeting, however, the principal interpreted her call as a threat that provoked worry about his family's security and as dissent towards his leadership rather than appreciating the way that Mrs Janice desired to communicate her concerns.

More examples abound to illustrate how women valued interpersonal communication and harmony to campaign for their cause. Among the three teachers (1 male and 2 females) on the surplus list, Mr Ian was the only one to express his opinions emotionally, and this caused unpleasant feelings between him and other teachers. Under such circumstances, some female teachers still made efforts to comfort him to maintain school harmony. Mrs. Elisa expressed her intention of inviting him to join the teachers' conference: 'By doing so, I can clarify the misunderstanding. Mr Ian was mistaken that other teachers thought of him as the culprit of this chaos.' More surprisingly, Mrs Tina also agreed to do so, even though she burst into tears at a staff meeting when Mr Ian accused her of 'having privilege' due to her husband maintaining good relationships with the County Government, so as to contrast her with his own perceived powerlessness.

Regarding the above-noted male representative's rudeness during the

conference, Mrs Janice stated she would protest. Different responses that were provoked among women also suggest that it seemed that more women tend to support the importance of personal harmony. Mrs Tina remarked:

We should treat those men as friends, rather than assuming them as our enemies or the supporters of the principal.

Mrs Rita also explicitly expressed her idea that teachers should utilise warm and tender attitudes so as to ‘move’ and win over parents, particularly males. As we can see, winning the support and understanding from those representatives, instead of combating men’s alliances, was espoused by some women who believed that interpersonal harmony or communication could be plausible ways for their campaign success.

## Discussion and Conclusion: Gendered Power

This study elaborates how gender is experienced and gendered power relations are shaped and perpetuated in the primary teaching workplace through an exploration of the teacher surplus context, in line with Bradley’s (2007: 76) argument:

I believe this is a necessity, not only to gain a full understanding of gender relations, but also if the radical quest for gender justice and equality, which was the original motivation for the academic study of gender, is to be maintained.

This article has explored the notion that the image of female teachers as the

silent majority in my fieldwork school may be changing. It has been suggested that resistant consciousness or action arising from teachers' awareness and intention to maintain their jobs and rights (Lin, 2001), coupled with women getting more access to resources (Bradley, 1999), can lead to a collective campaign for change. While confronting difficult challenges resulting from the teacher surplus issue, female teachers displayed their capabilities, enthusiasm and dedication to fight for their jobs, rights as well as ideals of fairness and justice. In this vein, my research seems to contrast with results from other studies (e.g. Lin, 2001; Su & Hwang, 2012) indicating that female teachers have lower resistant consciousness than men. Although it cannot be claimed that all women behaved alike, my research evidence contributes to an active image of female teachers. This does not mean that men ignored or disassociated themselves from the campaign, or that they did not suffer negatively during the process. While male teachers' attitudes and approaches were passive and obscure when compared to their female colleagues, methods by which women voiced their concerns about fairness and justice included working as a team and counting on men and their masculinity, with an emphasis on the significance of interpersonal communication and harmony. Nonetheless, the attitudes of female teachers featured a complicated mix of, firstly, an awareness of the necessity of women's positive action, and secondly, an expectation for males to participate in an aggressive masculine form. Such a mix unveils women's reliance on their male peers and their masculinity to strengthen female power. A gendered tension can be perceived, emerging from women's disappointment as a result of male teachers not using their masculinity to challenge the principal's authority.

More importantly, while offering an account of female teachers' transformation from more passive to more active agents, I also sought to articulate the link between gender and power, as a contribution to studies of

gendered power in a specific context. As Davis (1991: 83) highlights, power relations are ‘always and everywhere contextual.’ The teacher’s campaign process calls attention to not only gendered power within this workplace but reflects the complexities of gender and power: the power relations between male and female teachers, the relations between women and the principal, and the relations between men, as further discussed below.

Firstly, my study provides evidence of gendered power relations between female and male teachers. As I have argued, women were not in a position of equality of power. Women’s reliance on masculine involvement remained strong, and they seemed convinced that the rarity of male teachers and their passive involvement were disadvantageous for their struggle against the principal. Disappointment was also conveyed by women when their male colleagues did not voice their concerns and take action to the extent that they did. My findings seem to support the argument that if women rely on men to be their allies, they are less likely to protest about men’s power or to seek their own independent status (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Additionally, Ridgeway (1992) and others (Bourdieu, 2001; Glick & Fiske, 2001) remind us that when interacting with men, women’s communal traits, for example, helping, being warm, supportive and cooperative, which may be associated with deference, will reinforce women’s subordinate status. That is, there might emerge more barriers that were compounded by women’s appeals to interpersonal communication and harmony.

Secondly, what also emerges in my study is a gendered power relation between female teachers and the principal. Local Taiwanese research has suggested that for authoritarian school leaders ‘communication of a vision may not be something they consider to be part of their role’ (Hung, 2012: 1448). It may be suggested that at my fieldwork school, female teachers experienced comparatively more negative experiences from the principal’s leadership in their



workplace. This also helps to explain the research's account of women's expectations about male teachers and their masculinity to support their struggle. Again, it may reflect that female teachers were more disadvantaged with reference to power relations, and this accounts for the configuration of women's new and more active image roles.

Thirdly, what I suggest is that, behind men's passivity, there is a power relationship between men. Homosocial reproduction in organisations is suggested as one factor contributing to male domination in power by means of the interplay of formal systems, informal relations and homosocial practices (Holgerson, 2013). Male dominance in the managerial hierarchy of my fieldwork school noted earlier and in those of Taiwanese primary schools (MOE, 2013b, 2013c)<sup>8</sup> partially demonstrate power relations between men. When interviewed, Mrs Yvonne mentioned the preferential treatment of managerial posts her male colleagues received from their principal: 'The principal asks male teachers about their willingness... Generally, he requests male teachers to coordinate as he considers them to be coordinate better.' Another crucial view from Remy's (1990) study also signifies the significance of the relations between men. Remy (1990: 45) poses the idea of 'fratriarchy', which not only describes male bonding and how men associate with each other, but indicates that there are social arrangements based on 'the self interest of the association with men itself.' Although not all male teachers were supportive allies of their principal to share power and to trust each other because of their gender, my findings indicate that male teachers are more likely than females to 'form

---

<sup>8</sup> According to state statistical data, men outnumbered women working in leadership positions in Taiwanese primary schools in recent times. For example, in 2012 nearly 70% of principals (MOE, 2013b) and 55.9% of deans (MOE, 2013c) were male.

special relationships with male principals' (Allan, 1993: 117), and that the support from those male parents' representatives is also a case of male-male relations. Echoing Cockburn's (1991: 189) view that 'the daily business of organisations, their operation as male power bases, depending on men generating closeness between men,' male alliances foster power in the workplace.

In conclusion, this study has examined the changes in women's agency as a silent majority and the ways women were beginning to find their voice, as well as exploring complexities linking gender with power. Within workplaces, Bradley (1999) has argued power relations as complex and fluid. Women may not be the passive recipients or victims of male structural power as resistances do occur in the context of male power (Halford & Leonard, 2001). The suggestion here is that within this teaching workplace, women might take more active roles and be more assertive in school politics; yet it is a slow process, especially in relation to the challenge of gendered power. Of course, the present study has its limitations due to the context studied and the approach adopted. For example, the issue of teacher surplus was not resolved at the time my fieldwork ended. It seems too early to claim that this campaign signals a long-term trend for women becoming more active or as a one-off event, as the issue may or may not arise at this school in subsequent years. Moreover, data for this study is drawn from a single setting. This study hopes to urge more attention to gendered power relations and its link to women's silence that are largely absent from discussions, but makes no claim that all teachers in this school necessarily share the same views or that the findings can be generalised or applied to other Taiwanese primary schools. Finally, as aforementioned, Mr Ian thought that Mrs Tina was privileged owing to her family background, so power relations may be affected by such factors as individual's family status, social class, ethnicity that

have not been considered in the present work. Therefore, further research exploring more educational contexts and considering more factors is suggested in order to develop a deeper analysis of the complex gender patterns and power relations characterised in the Taiwanese teaching workplace.

## References

- Addi-Raccah, A. (2002). The feminisation of teaching and principalship in the Israeli educational system: A comparative study. *Sociology of Education*, 75, 231-248.
- Allan, J. (1993). Male elementary teachers: Experiences and perspectives. In C. L. Williams (Ed.), *Doing "women's work": Men in nontraditional occupations* (pp. 113-127). London: Sage.
- Blackmore, J. (1999). *Troubling women: Feminism, leadership and educational change*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Bogoan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Bradley, H. (1994). Divided we fall: Unions and their members. *Employee Relations*, 16(2), 41-52.
- Bradley, H. (1999). *Gender and power in the workplace: Analysing the impact of economic change*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Bradley, H. (2007). *Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Broadbridge, A., & Hearn, J. (2008). Gender and management: New directions in research and continuing patterns in practices. *British Journal of Management*, 19(1), 38-49.
- Burris, B. (1996). Technocracy, patriarchy and management. In D. Collinson & J. Hearn (Eds.), *Men as managers, managers as men* (pp. 61-77). London: Sage.
- Cockburn, C. (1991). *In the way of women: Men's resistance to sex equality in organisations*. London: Macmillan.

- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Cortina, R., & San Roman, S. (2006). Introduction. In R. Cortina & S. San Roman (Eds.), *Women and teaching: Global perspectives on the feminisation of a profession* (pp. 1-22). New York: Palgrave Macmillian.
- Davis, K. (1991). Critical sociology and gender relations. In K. Davis, M. Leijenaar & J. Oldersma (Eds.), *The gender of power* (pp. 65-86). London: Sage.
- Department of Statistics, Ministry of the Interior ROC (Taiwan) (2010). *Monthly bulletin of interior statistics, number and rates of birth, death, migration and divorce*. Retrieved August 16, 2010, from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/month/list.htm>
- Department of Statistics, Ministry of Education ROC (Taiwan) (2012). *Report of analysing pupil enrolment of primary education*. Retrieved July 9, 2012, from <https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/analysis/102basicstudent.pdf>
- Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality: An introduction* (R. Hurley Trans.). New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (C. Gordon Ed.). Brighton: Harvester.
- Fun, C.-W. (2005). A study of the relationship between principal's transformational leadership and teacher's organisational commitment in elementary schools. *Journal of National Taichung University: Education*, 19, 1-22.
- Fwu, B.-J. (2000). Taiwan. In P. Morris & J. Williamson (Eds.), *Teacher education in the Asia-Pacific region: A comparative study* (pp. 227-244). New York: Falmer Press.
- Gay, L. R., & Airasian, P. (2003). *Educational research: Competencies for*

- analysis and applications*. New Jersey: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). All ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychology*, 56(2), 109-118.
- Griffin, G. (1997). Teaching as a gendered experience. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 48(1), 7-18.
- Griffiths, M. (2006). The feminisation of teaching and the practice of teaching: Threat or opportunity?. *Educational Theory*, 56(4), 387-405.
- Halford, S., & Leonard, P. (2001). *Gender, power and organisations*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Hasse, M. (2008). 'I don't do the mothering role that lots of female teachers do': Male teachers, gender, power and social organisation. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(6), 597-608.
- Haywood, C., & Mac an Ghail, M. (2003). *Men and masculinities*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Holgersson, C. (2013). Recruiting managing directors: Doing homosociality. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 20(4), 454-466.
- Hsiao, C.-T., Peng, H.-L., & Lee, B.-C. Y. (2009). A dynamic demand-supply model for elementary school teachers in Taiwan. *International Journal of Electronic Business Management*, 7(3), 190-200.
- Hung, C.-L. (2011). Coping strategies of primary school teachers in Taiwan experiencing stress because of teacher surplus. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 39(9), 1161-1174.
- Hung, C.-L. (2012). Internal marketing, teacher job satisfaction, and effectiveness of central Taiwan primary schools. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 40(9), 1435-1450.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic

Books.

- Li, F.-J. (2007). Teacher education. In National Academy for Education Research (Ed.), *Education yearbook of the Republic of China* (pp. 225-274). Taipei, Taiwan: Centre for Educational Resources and Publishing.
- Li, H.-J. (2013). The oversupply of teachers in Taiwan: Causes and consequences. *Education Journal*, 41(1-2), 107-133.
- Li, H.-J. (2014). The feminisation of primary teaching in Taiwan. *Asian Women*, 30(1), 53-80.
- Lichtman, M. (2006). *Qualitative research in education: A user's guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lin, Y.-L. (2001). *A preliminary study of elementary school teachers' consciousness*. Unpublished master's thesis, National Taitung Normal College, Taiwan.
- Llorens, M. B. (1994). Action research: Are teachers finding their voice? *The Elementary School Journal*, 95(1), 3-10.
- Martin, P. Y. (1996). Gendering and evaluating dynamics: Men, masculinities and managements. In D. Collinson & J. Hearn (Eds.), *Men as managers, managers as men* (pp. 186-209). London: Sage.
- Ministry of Education ROC (Taiwan) (2013a). *Number of primary school teachers: By school and gender*. Retrieved March 15, 2014, from <http://www.edu.tw/pages/detail.aspx?Node=3973&Page=20272&WID=31d75a44-efff-4c44-a075-15a9eb7aecdf#c>
- Ministry of Education ROC (Taiwan) (2013b). *Number and proportion of female primary and secondary school principals*. Retrieved March 15, 2014, from <http://www.edu.tw/pages/detail.aspx?Node=3973&Page=20272&WID=31d75a44-efff-4c44-a075-15a9eb7aecdf#c>
- Ministry of Education ROC (Taiwan) (2013c). *Number and gender rates of*

- female junior high and primary school deans and subsection leaders.*  
Retrieved March 15, 2014, from <https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/gender/308-1.xls>
- Pagano, J. A. (1990). *Exiles and communities: Teaching in the patriarchal wilderness.* New York: SUNY Press.
- Pringle, R. (1993). Male secretaries. In C. L. Williams (Ed.), *Doing "women's work": Men in nontraditional occupations* (pp. 128-151). London: Sage.
- Remy, J. (1990). Patriarchy and fratricide as forms of androcracy. In J. Hearn & D. Morgan (Eds.), *Men, masculinities and social theory* (pp. 43-54). London: Unwin Hyman.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (1992). *Gender, interaction and inequality.* New York: Springer and Verlag.
- Sargent, P. (2000). Real men or real teachers: Contradictions in the lives of men elementary teachers. *Men and Management*, 2(4), 410-433.
- Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shih, H.-Y. (1998). The teachers' associations and the problems of teacher surplus. *The Educator Monthly*, 376, 42-46.
- Simpson, R. (2004). Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment and Society*, 18(2), 349-369.
- Skelton, C. (2002). The 'feminisation of schooling' or 're-masculinising' primary education. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 12(1), 77-96.
- Su, C.-L., & Hwang, Y.-J. (2012). The associations between teachers' consciousness of resistance, professional autonomy, and their inclination to participate in teachers' organization: A study of Taitung. *Journal of Educational Practice and Research*, 25(2), 195-224.



- Tseng, M.-C., & Chang, T.-S. (2010). The factors influencing surplus teachers' maladjustment in the new schools: An analysis of hierarchical linear modelling. *Journal of Taipei Municipal University of Education: Education*, 41(2), 1-28.
- Wang, C.-K. (2012). Educational issues and coping strategies for children-reducing. *Taiwan Educational Review Monthly*, 1(5), 38-43.
- Wang, H.-H., & Fwu, B.-J. (2002). A backup choice or not? Pre-service graduate students' views of choosing teaching as a career in Taiwan. *International Educational Journal*, 3(1), 33-46.
- Woods, P., Jeffrey, B., Troman, G., & Boyle, M. (1997). *Restructuring schools, reconstructing teachers: Responding to change in the primary school*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics ROC* (2007). Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Secondary Education, the Ministry of Education Taiwan ROC.
- Yearbook of Teacher Education Statistics ROC* (2008). Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Secondary Education, the Ministry of Education Taiwan ROC.

## Appendix 1. Participant

Name	Positions
Mrs Maggie	class teacher of Year 1 (shadowed, interviewed)
Miss Fiona	class teacher of Year 1 (shadowed, interviewed)
Mrs Elisa	class teacher of Year 3, subsection leader (shadowed, interviewed)
Mr Jason	class teacher of Year 4 (shadowed, interviewed)
Mr Gary	class teacher of Year 5, subsection leader (shadowed, interviewed)
Mrs Yvonne	class teacher of Year 6 (shadowed, interviewed)
Mrs Angel	subject teacher (interviewed)
Mr Johnny	class teacher of Year 6 (interviewed)
the principal	(interviewed)
Mr Boris	subsection leader
Mrs Fenny	class teacher of Year 5, subsection leader
Mr Harry	section dean
Mr James	section dean
Mrs Janice	class teacher of Year 6
Mr Ian	subject teacher
Mrs Lily	class teacher of Year 1
Mrs May	class teacher of Year 4
Mrs Mirada	class teacher of Year 4
Mrs Rita	subject teacher
Mr Sam	class teacher of Year 5; subsection leader
Mrs Tina	class teacher of Year 5