

Framing Gender: Representing male teachers in the Australian and New Zealand Press

Abstract:

Over the past two decades the issue of gender imbalance in teaching has been the subject of media and political discussion. Researchers have yet to make definitive conclusions as to the relationship between teacher gender and student achievement, but the notion that more men are needed in teaching persists, with calls for governments to enact 'affirmative action' policies. Despite this response, surveys of male teachers found that many believe they are portrayed negatively in the media and that they are under greater scrutiny than their female counterparts.

In seeking to better understand this contradiction, this article examined 233 news stories covering the issue of men in teaching. Using framing theory, the authors found that despite a high percentage of stories carrying a positive angle, male teachers are predominantly framed in a problematic way. The authors argue that the news media is ideologically limited in its representation of male teachers, resulting in any advocacy being a counter-narrative to the prevailing logic.

Keywords:

Gender, Representation, Education, Framing,

Introduction

In Australia and New Zealand there are significantly fewer men than women in the primary and secondary teaching profession. This disparity has been the subject of media scrutiny and scholarly analysis for two decades (e.g., Cushman 2005, Bhana and Moosa, 2016). Whilst the issue of whether or not a teacher's gender is significant to children's classroom learning is subject to debate, research conducted in Australia (e.g., Smith, 2008), New Zealand (e.g., Cushman, 2007) and the United Kingdom (e.g., Trent, 2015) suggest that societal perceptions of male teachers are a significant contributing factor in the ongoing gender imbalance. The origins and modes of dissemination of these perceptions are difficult to identify, but they might be based on assumptions regarding social and professional roles underpinned by an archaic gendered and homophobic logic. These assumptions include the perception that teaching is a culturally feminised profession and therefore favoured by gay men (often constructed as 'feminised men'), or paedophiles attracted to teaching because of the proximity to children (Bhana and Moosa, 2016; Mills, Martino and Lingard, 2004). The negative image of teaching is further compounded by its relatively low rates of remuneration compared with other professions, a feature that, again repeats the inference that poorly paid work is feminised work. But alongside this discourse is vigorous political advocacy as well as in academic literature for more male teachers (Martin and Marsh, 2005) as a means of providing positive male role models, and a strong guiding hand for pupils, especially boys (McGrath and Sinclair, 2013).

The contradictory arguments presented in research regarding the gendering of teaching is also apparent in media coverage. As discussed in the body of this paper, a significant proportion of media articles relating to gender in teaching suggest male teachers possess particular cultural and pastoral attributes that are needed in the current education environment and thus the recruitment and retention of male teachers should be a priority for governments (see Thyne, 2015; Stone, 2017).

But there is also a perception from male teachers that the media their profession in a negative light (Thomas 2011). In his mixed methods study of male teachers, Cruickshank (2016) found that many participants perceived the media as representing a primarily negative image of their role, describing the media as a “constant shadow” (Cruickshank, 2018, p. 7) on their lives. This shadow appeared to be caused by a perception that gendered double standards had resulted in expectations for male and female teachers to act differently, particularly in relation to making physical contact with young students who were upset or injured. These findings reiterate those of previous studies. Shine (2015, 2017) notes that news conventions that both individualize and tend towards a negative or perjorative reading on a situation have led teachers to perceive the media as hostile to their profession (Shine 2017: 12). As Shine and MacMillan (2002) suggest, the media’s negative representation of teaching has a political function, with education situated with a “‘sign of the times’ frame” (MacMillan: 32) where poorly performing schools and teachers who work in them act as metaphors for society as a whole. The portrayal of teachers and education in this way is politically malleable and can either represent a retreat from traditional social values (the conservative press) or symptomatic of the state’s neglect of essential services (the anti-government press). Shine notes that the representation is more positive in local press where the stories examine particular school communities than stories national or metropolitan-based news organisations (7).

This article attempts to articulate the contradictory discourse in the media representation of men in teaching. Employing Robert Entman’s concept of framing as the primary method, this study finds that male teachers are represented in the press as a *problem*. But this negative representation is often situated within an ostensibly positive narrative that advocates for more men in teaching. To examine this simple premise we begin this article outlining the construction of the news archive.

From the 233 stories included in the archive three major themes emerge: i) stories about the shortage of male teachers; ii) stories about the social standing of teachers and the media representation of male teachers; and iii) issues of law and order as it relates to teachers. In the final sections of the article, we examine examples from each section in order to illustrate how the problematization of male teachers is manifest. By electing to examine several examples, the purpose of this article is to provide an illustrative snapshot of this particular contradictory representation rather than a 'deep dive' into the whole archive. The excerpts used in Method and Themes section are chosen because they illustrate the modes of framing illuminated in this paper. The authors attempted to find relevant articles from a range of publications on both sides of the Tasman, but principally they were chosen as exemplars.

Parameters of the media archive

This article examines an archive comprised of recent articles from the Australian and New Zealand publications. Both countries are included in the archive to extend the data pool. Australia and New Zealand have a shared education culture, teacher qualifications and registration is recognized in both territories and the issues relating to the gendered workforce is common to both countries. The archive comprise 233 stories, it spans the period January 2015 to March 2018 and draws from 393 Australian publications and 23 from New Zealand. This includes all national, regional and community publications in both countries with both weekly and daily editions. Television news and online content from broadcast news outlets is also included in the archive. The approximate three-year time period was chosen because certain issues, such as industrial action, the proposal and implementation of policy and complex legal cases may have needed an extended period of time and multiple narrative iterations before reaching a conclusion. However, in the final drafting of this paper, no stories with extended time frames were the subject of analysis.

The initial development of the archive began with the search phrase 'shortage of male teacher' into the database; this generated base 233 stories. Whilst the archive was extensive enough to be credible given the three-year parameter, this number was not too unwieldy for the researcher to categorize each story individually and to be situated into a basic framing schema.

In examining the archive ($N=233$), three obvious themes became apparent, and these, in turn, contain three, two and three sub-categories respectively. The first theme (see chart below) comprises stories directly addressing the shortage of male teachers ($n=134$), this also includes three sub-categories: i) the shortage of teachers (male and female) ($n=27$); ii) stories investigating why fewer men than women become teachers ($n=23$); and iii) stories examining the difference between male and female teachers ($n=7$). The second theme examines the shortage of male teachers but includes analysis and discussion of their (perceived) social standing and media representation ($n=57$). Here two apparent sub-categories are apparent: i) the issues of salaries and low remuneration in the teaching profession ($n=16$); and ii) an historic analysis of the status of the teaching profession ($n=10$). Stories in the third theme cover issues of law and order relating to teachers ($n=74$). Here there are three sub-categories: i) allegations of illegal or inappropriate behaviour by teachers towards pupils ($n=62$); ii) reporting of recent developments of historic criminal cases involving teachers or former teachers ($n=5$); iii) illegal activity by teachers unrelated to their professional roles ($n=7$). This theme is drawn predominately from the court round rather than specialist teaching/education focused reporting, but because these stories highlighted the profession of the subject (and their gender) and were often disseminated across multiple publications they contribute to a general distrust of the media by teachers.

All stories (N=233)	Shortage of Male Teachers (n=134)	The Social Standing of Teachers/Media Representation of male Teachers (n=57)	Issues of Law and Order Relating to Teachers (n=74)
Sub-categories	Shortage of teachers (male and female) (n=27)	Issues of teacher salaries and remuneration (n=16)	Allegations of illegal or inappropriate behaviour by teachers towards pupils (n=62)
	Reasons why fewer men than women become teachers (n=23)	Status of the teaching profession (n=10)	Reporting of recent developments of historic criminal cases, often where the label of 'former teacher' is used (n=5)
	The difference between men and women teachers (n=7)		Illegal activity by teachers unrelated to their professional role (n=7)

Most stories in the archive were constructed as either news or features, and as such there is attempted adherence to objectivity and balance. The conventional news form is primarily designed around a problem/conflict narrative, with this constituting the archive's dominant news frame. There are also numerous opinion pieces, that while situating their subject as a problem, are not bound by newswriting's conflict-driven narrative, nor do they necessarily strive to objectivity. Repeated stories should, likewise, be noted. In this archive a number of the law and order stories were uncovered in multiple iterations. Attempts were made to only include stories on the same issue when there was a substantial difference in the angle or other content.

Absent from this analysis are discussions occurring on social media. Given the alternative gatekeeping mechanisms and information cycles typical of social media, these platforms would provide a valuable insight into the issue being investigated, but the expansive archive and the functionality of social media to evolve single stories makes these platforms too distinct from conventional media in relation to the objectives of this study. The way the issue of gender in

teaching is taken up in social media platforms would be a valuable subject of analysis for future research in this area.

Method and themes

The size of the archive allowed the researchers to assess each story based on a general framing methodology. For Reese (2007), framing constitutes an "organising principle" (150) when applied to media texts, or what Entman (1993) famously described as to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (52). There are multiple locations where meaning is made, with the process being active for the receiver and the sender. For Entman the four locations of communication are: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the wider culture. Formal framing devices may exist in the text, such as subjective headlines and/or the provocative use of images, but all elements contribute to the meaning-making process. They are collapsed into a general ideological narrative, described by Entman as a "belief system" (52). In the contemporary political and cultural environment these beliefs may include the surprememacy of western-style democracy, gender equality, or the capitalist hegemony. Elsewhere more specific assumptions are promoted, for example the notion that teaching is essentially a female-centric profession underlies many of the stories, despite this viewpoint being absent in the general narrative.

In order to examine this contradiction, the archive data can be situated in in one of four of Entman's framing categories. As a guiding principle, frames "diagnose, evaluate and prescribe" (52) processes as the events being described are directed towards their ideological ends. More specifically, frames i) *define problems* – this being a culturally contingent evaluation of the costs or benefits of a particular activity; ii) *diagnose problems* – "identify the forces creating the problem" (52); iii) *make moral judgements* – "evaluate causal agents and their effects" (52); and iv) *suggest remedies* "offer

and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects” (52). The framing of a story can occur through a headline, intro, or image and commonly single stories can be framed in two or more ways. Employment of stereotypical phrases or images, inferences that encourage prejudices or the highlighting of sources of information so as to elicit the receivers’ judgement all contribute to the framing of stories.

An archive consisting of 233 stories is small enough for each article to be analysed individually. Text is the predominate media and the stories were categorized according to the narrative (including headlines, intros, angles, sources and quotes) rather than images. The majority of archived stories situate the issue of men in teaching as ‘a problem’, cast in a variety of ways. But most stories also carried more than one frame, one being dominant and one being sub-ordinant but still visible and significant in the narrative. Alternatively, news stories held a neutral frame, but because the subject of men in teaching is culturally problematised, background or contextual information is often framed as a problem.

Typical of a story containing these elements is 'Fewer Male Early Childhood Teachers' (Thyne 2015).

Written as a feature rather than news, the story states the lower male participation in the early childhood education sector:

South Canterbury is behind the national trend for male early childhood education teachers. Only two of 251 early childhood teachers in the region are males.

Nationally, 1.95 per cent of early childhood education (ECE) teaching staff at licensed teacher-led centres are male.

Based on these figures, the breakdown would be less than 0.8 per cent in South Canterbury. Greg McMecking is part of a small handful of male ECE teachers in the predominantly female industry.

But the ABC Marchweil¹ teacher hasn't looked back since a career change seven years ago. McMecking was a garden landscaper before taking paternity leave after the birth of his own daughter. He enjoyed it so much and wanted a new challenge and career path, he decided to become a qualified registered ECE teacher. (3)

The story has a neutral frame insofar as gender disparity is not overtly stipulated as a problem.

Conversely the subject's embrace of ECE as a second career is not conveyed as a solution in the political or administrative sense, even if it does articulate that for the subject himself.

However, when considering the media as a normative technology, the story emphasises the unusualness of the subject's decision with this unusualness based on gender. As the feature develops it extends beyond McMecking's story and engages with ECE educators who advocate for the benefits of male staff and lament their absence in the profession:

Creative Corner Early Learning Centre's 12 staff members were all female. Manager Amy Pateman said it would love to have a male teacher in the over two year group.

"A male teacher changes the dynamic, it's a wonderful dynamic to have."

There were no male teachers in the 11 South Canterbury Kindergarten Association kindergartens. General manager Dave Hawkey said he would like to see more consider it as a career.

Although it would be nice to have the opportunity to get a gender balance, one gender would not be favoured over the other.

There were a number of reasons why he thought males didn't get into the profession including low pay or the fear of being put in positions where they could be accused of something improper. (2)

In the story's final lines, the advocacy of male teachers is tempered by the admission that gender is not influential in recruitment. The story also re-enforces the notion that men in teaching are culturally problematic, a perspective is apparent throughout the archive. As noted above, even when attempting to resolve seemingly inherent tensions or counteract ideological viewpoints concerning teaching and gender, news conventions demand the foregrounding of the contemporary

¹ ABC Marchweil is a non-state early childhood care provider.

environment in order to contextualise novel elements of the story. But through word choices, phrasing and narrative structure, the cultural status quo may often be emphasised even if the journalist's intention is to articulate a counter-narrative. Thus stories that suggest remedies can only rhetorically function if they first foreground the notion of a pre-existing problem.

The framing of male teachers as a problem occurs in a number of contradictory ways. The table above shows the division of the archive into three theme areas: the shortage of male teachers; the social standing of teachers; issues of law and order relating to teachers. The arguments presented in these themes oscillate between advocacy of men in teaching (shortage of male teachers) to more overt critiques (law and order stories). The following section examines each theme in more detail in order to illustrate the how the discursive problematisation of male teachers occurs across a variety of narratives and story angles.

Themes

Shortage of male teachers

The example from the *Timaru Herald* (Thyne 2015) illustrates how stories that serve a positive narrative also carry a 'problem definition' framing. The shortage of male teachers across Australia and New Zealand is well documented, therefore the underpinning issue requires very little explanation. Whilst this ubiquity often allows for a counter-narrative (to the 'problem' frame), this counter-narrative can be lost when situated in the linguistic and editorial choices made by the journalist that function to affirm the familiar worldview (Helgesson and Falaca 2017). In this case that worldview serves to implicitly inform the cultural and social barriers faced by male teachers. For example, in the story 'Where are all the males?' Mills (2016) writes:

Callum Gardner is used to seeing raised eyebrows on the football field-when he tells his teammates his profession. But as a male in a predominantly female-dominated industry, he is no stranger to this surprise....

"A lot of people are shocked when I tell them I do primary teaching, but I love it, I wouldn't have it any other way," he said.

For Mr-Gardner, the ratio poses no problem, saying he was used to being the minority-and that-being a male teacher was something he was passionate about. "It doesn't feel that unusual to me now, because during my-placements and at university it was always-dominated by women, so it's something I'm so used to now," he said.

"I had an amazing male teacher when I-was in primary school and he was a huge role model, so that really drives me to try and be a role model for other young children."

Mr Gardner will be just one of two male teachers at the local primary school, which has 14 female teachers - a startling minority that is echoed in the state's statistics. In 2015, just 18.3 per cent of NSW primary school teachers at public schools were men, compared to 81.7 per cent of female teachers.

It is a number that, according to the Australian Bureau of-Statistics' 'Schools Australia' report, has been in decline for the last decade. (9)

The angle of the story, highlighting the twin elements of the lack of male teachers and their value as role models, is a familiar one in the education round. The intro paragraph is arguably overly strong in its emphasis of gender stereotypes with the phrase "*seeing raised eyebrows on the football field-when he tells his teammates his profession*" perhaps inviting an ironic reading of the overt signifiers of masculinity, especially in reference to sport (Steinfeldt et al. 2011: 401). However, one could argue that the decision to write the lead in this way (ironic intentions or otherwise notwithstanding), the journalist emphasises, and not problematises, the cultural status quo. Yet, even after the ambiguity at the top of story is taken into consideration, in the second half the journalist employs the subject's quotes to affirm what is – and what is not – stereotypical occupations for each gender.

"It's not a 'blokey' occupation, so I don't think it's immediately something a lot of men think about pursuing professionally," he said.

“The lure of other jobs, such as engineering, architecture and IT, will be much stronger for men-because those are more male-dominated areas.”

Mr Weier said it was important to encourage young men like Mr Gardner to embrace teaching in order to strengthen the male presence in schools.

“A bigger male presence will not only benefit young boys, but young girls as well,” he said. “They’ll be able to give children strong, stable role models.”

“Males bring something different to the educational table, just as females do, so it’s something that we want to encourage and see grow.” (4)

Any discussion of the issue of teacher shortage forces the journalist to engage in issues of gender roles. As this, and other stories suggest (e.g., Balogh 2017; Burgess 2016; Nichols 2015; Wilson 2015) often occurs even as the journalist is attempting to undermine normative assumptions. The story ‘Where are all the male teachers?’ (Piovesan 2017) reported on Australia’s first longitudinal study of teacher numbers, with a secondary message promoting teaching as a good employment option for men. The issues presented in the story were personalised through an interview with school principal Jim O’Brien:

Stawell West Primary School principal Jim O’Brien said he could not understand the drop and insisted it was a great career for males. Two teachers out of eight, including himself, are male at the school.

“There is certainly a shortage and I am not sure how it can be changed,” he said.
“It can be a great career for a male- there is plenty of opportunity within schools, a chance to travel and to be part of a community effort to educate children.” (4)

Again the message of the narrative is undermined by the story framing men in teaching as “abnormal”(reiterating the ‘problem’ frame), or that the gender balance is something that needs to be overcome. The issue of gender is, of course, multi-faceted and culturally contingent. To examine gender in relation to both the social standing of teachers and their media representation demands engagement with stereotypes regarding both men and women.

Social standing of teachers/Media representation of teachers

As Stroud et al (2009) observed, those voices advocating for more men in teaching are prone to suggesting that redressing the gender imbalance will help to ease a variety of social issues. This belief is based primarily on the assumed connection between delinquency in youth, particularly boys, and the lack of male role models. Although not always explicitly expressed in the contemporary media, the discourse surrounding male teachers remains generally complimentary and socially advantageous. This is problematized by the negative and contradictory framing typical of much of the media coverage.

In 'The lack of men teaching in SA primary schools is denying young boys much-needed male role models - and the situation is likely to worsen' (Williams and Castello 2016) the angle reiterates the lack of male teachers, the subsequent desire for more men in teaching and the possibility of an organised campaign to promote recruitment. Although the second element can be categorised, to use Entman's (1993) term a 'suggested remedy', it is framed in ways that confirm teaching's negative image:

AS THOUSANDS of students head back to the classroom this week, some will be walking through the gates of schools that have no male teachers.

Numbers of men in the profession have continued to decline over the past five years, leading to calls for a public education campaign to promote the profession to men who see teaching as "women's work" or are fearful of accusations of child abuse. (6)

Here the journalists are providing the audience with a recognisable context in which the news can be situated and processed. But the problematic assumptions, that, in this case, reiterate a sexist and alarmist position articulated under the guise of assumed knowledge, serves to actively undermine the affirmative angle of the story. The spectre of accusations of child abuse and the widely reported low remuneration for teachers provides both a recognisable context through which teaching is

framed and are obviously highly pejorative and unattractive attributes. Stories about illegal and/or unethical behaviour by teachers receive disproportionate media coverage owing to journalistic conventions related to crime stories and commercial media's interest in salacious news as a means of attracting ratings (Shine 2017: 6). The connotations encouraged by such pejorative language are intensified by the stated connection between low numbers of male teachers and the low social status of the profession.

The declining numbers of male teachers in Australian schools may signal a wider social issue regarding the respect and status of the teaching profession.

Alongside the troublesome notion that teaching is acceptable as a low status occupation if the majority of teachers are women, the story repeats the inherent contradiction between the framing and the narrative. That being: the objective of increasing the status of teaching as a profession.

Recent research published by Macquarie University warned male school teachers could be extinct from Australian primary schools by 2054 without government intervention to make the sector more attractive to men. Only 18 per cent of primary school teachers nationally are male: in Tasmania the percentage is 20 per cent.

Researchers Dr Kevin McGrath and Dr Penny Van Bergen called for policy change to support male teachers, citing the need for diverse role models, multiple perspectives and increasing awareness for students that nurturing and caring traits are not female stereotypes.

However, Tasmanian Principal's Association president Malcolm Elliott said regardless of gender, the focus should be on getting the most suitable and competent people into the sector. (Macquarie University 2017)

The reiteration of teaching as a feminised profession also produces problematic notions of masculinity with regards to both teachers and their gendered influence on students. For the past two decades a general trend has emerged in the west, of girls outperforming boys across various educational criteria (Eate et al. 2017). Initially, this trend evoked a favourable response from commentators who viewed it as an alignment of girls' and boys' academic achievement. However, more recent media narratives have focused on the comparative failure of boys and situated this as a

'crisis' in education, prompting some writers to correlate the failure of boys in education to the declining numbers of male teachers (Skelton 2012). The notion of crisis is subjective and speculative: the potential impacts of the lack of male teachers is not specified; and the reasons for the low numbers are often not discussed in detail. As noted above, issues such as low wages and the historic perception of teaching as a female profession are commonly touted as deterrents for men to enter teaching, but elsewhere in the archive the rationale becomes embedded in a morality framework. Here a number of stories follow a narrative containing a normalised feminine-masculine binary, framed, in Entman's (1993) terminology, as a 'cause diagnosis' where particular socio-cultural elements have contributed to this situation (Fotinopoulos 2016; Hehir 2016; Evans 2017; Whitby 2017).

The dual 'problem/solution' frame is also employed to illuminate the masculine-feminine binary in education. This is exemplified in 'An endangered species' (Roberts 2017) and even more explicitly in a 2018 *Sunday Mail* editorial:

Teachers have told The *Sunday Mail* that men in particular are shunning teaching. Male teachers are now a rarity in primary school and the fear is that their dwindling numbers will then transfer to the secondary school system.

Poor behaviour by students is being blamed for some of the drop-off. The disciplinary methods used in the past are now prohibited in modern-day schooling. The cane has effectively been banned.

Corporal punishment for school kids is a thing of the past. Some teachers lament that this has contributed to the problem rather than helped keep classrooms in order. The other factor stopping men from choosing teaching is the stereotypical belief that women make better teachers, especially in the younger years. (Editorial 2018: 11)

Such opinion pieces need to be contextualised within the culture and political economy of the Australian mediascape. Here the *Sunday Mail's* deliberately provocative position conforms to that publication's tabloid legacy. But even here, the provocation draws on ideological elements and connect these with a sympathetic audience. When considering the particular values system on which

the *Sunday Mail* bases its editorial policy, the retreat from accepted cultural conventions - what can be viewed as 'politically correct' language - may represent (for the audience) an act of radical truth-saying (Goncalo et al. 201). This story contrasts in tone from 'Helping Hand to Create Top Blokes' (Kellahan 2016) investigating the need for specific pastoral care for male students. Whilst this story does not directly call for more men in teaching, it reiterates strongly that hegemonic masculinity is a problem.

Ten years ago, while still a teenager, Melissa Abu-Gazaleh began to question how young men were portrayed in the media. "I realised that each night our TV screens bombarded us with negative news stories," she says.

"Suicide is the leading cause of death of Australian young males, there's a high rate of untreated mental-health issues among young men, and 82 per cent of what we see in the media about young men is negative."

Eager to volunteer with an organisation that was specifically inspiring boys to improve the state of young men's health, she couldn't find one, so she started her own: the Top Blokes Foundation. (13)

But while both stories differ in the way they articulate the prevailing cultural environment, the problematisation of masculinity remain a primary anchor for the dominant message.

Law & Order

Legal constraints placed on crime and court stories, might have resulted in the media's portrayal of these issues in relation to teaching being less overtly gendered than elsewhere in the archive.

However, the high visibility of law and order stories may account for the media's poor perception amongst male teachers. The high proportion of these stories is partly due to both historic and current cases being represented in the archive, and the wide appeal of this issue to the public mean they are often published in a variety of publications, irrespective of market demographics.

Furthermore, the public exposure of deviance functions as a normative gauge, where "society reminds itself what is and what is not acceptable" (Gamson 2001: 2). The obvious tensions here between representation and censure are reconciled through the prism of 'public interest' or, more

discreetly, commercial interests. Of the numerous law and order stories in the archive, a significant proportion concern incidents of inappropriate behaviour by teachers towards pupils. If an incident becomes a legal matter it usually provides material for two stories: first the allegation, then the verdict; there may also be feature stories about the parties involved. Stories of teaching impropriety in the archive are commonly situated as rogue individuals, their behaviour represented as surprising (e.g., Quinlivan 2016). The prevalence of these stories provokes problematic associations for teachers, but care is also given to avoid allegation of systemic failure. Although less common, failure of school administration is also incorporated the law and order category. Barlow (2016) outlined alleged ineffectual response by the school to inappropriate activity by a teacher. The framing of the story provides context and dynamic form to the narrative, situating the events in a recognisable relationship between the aggrieved and culpable parties. In the formal construction of the story this relationship is conveyed through the lead:

A furious parent has spoken out about a former Rathkeale College teacher coming under investigation, slamming the school's response to the situation. (12)

The lead constitutes a general conflict frame and a more specific 'problem' frame. Whilst these frames dominate the story, the narrative also defines a cause and, partly, suggests a remedy – this being cultural change and admission of responsibility from the school. It is clear the problematic connotative association between criminality and teaching is intensified through the cultural position of teachers. But there are relatively few stories in the archive that frame men as a problem per se. Stories such as "Lovely, gorgeous men can be monsters': Mother of two explains why she won't let males babysit her children - including her own FATHER' (Davison and Nilsson 2017) again conform to tabloid conventions of the salacious and unusual.

The law and order category of the archive contains those stories seen as most typically problematic for male teachers. The fear of being falsely accused of sexual abuse is the cause of significant anxiety

for male teachers (Cushman 2005). Given that this type of criminal behaviour features prominently in the news narrative, such stories represent the manifestation of anxiety. But those that are directly negative are outnumbered by those purporting advocacy for more men in the classroom, especially variants of stories arguing that male role models are needed to help teach those boys alienated by the education system. Notwithstanding this positive narrative, the media primarily frame men in teaching in a problematic way that, as Cruickshank (2016) observes, is rightly manifest in teachers' anxiety regarding representation.

Conclusions

As a professional group, men in teaching have voiced anxiety over their representation in the news media. A significant feature of this anxiety comes from the media's perceived interest in law and order stories, sensational material, and the power of the media to negatively impact careers. Analysis of the archive indicates that the proportion of stories focusing on criminal or inappropriate behaviour by teachers constitutes a minority of stories, albeit stories that are often re-published by a variety of news organisations. What is more prevalent are stories angled towards a positive representation of men in teaching, notably perpetuating the assumption that male role models are inherently beneficial for school pupils. Despite the affirmation offered by the angle and subject matter of so many stories in the archive, the majority of these texts frame men in teaching in a problematic way. Using Entman's (1993) well-worn idea that news frames "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text" (52), we argue that in contextualising the place of men in teaching for an audience, news stories reiterate that teaching is a poorly paid occupation, more suitable for women than men. Whilst there may be political and social support for more men in teaching, the way the issue is made meaningful for media audiences lies in archaic notions of gender division and the material relationship between social value and remuneration. For the news media, a more concerted effort to investigate underlying economic and

social causes for the gendering of education - and in doing so a more thorough analysis of gender disparity – would go some way to disrupting outdated assumptions concerning employment roles, and help facilitate gender equality in the teaching workforce.

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Dr Donald Reid (corresponding author)

Donald Reid is a lecturer in the Journalism, Media and Communication program. His main research theme is the role of journalism and media in the construction and representation of identity. In this he examines the interaction between media and multicultural and bicultural policies, media and globalisation, media as a neoliberal, disciplinary technology and the commodification of the mediated subject. He also has an interest in cinema studies, notably national cinemas.

The Media School
University of Tasmania
Level 1, 2 Salamanca Square
Hobart 7004
Donald.reid@utas.edu.au

Orcid ID: [0000-0001-9629-4338](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9629-4338)

Dr Vaughan Cruickshank

Vaughan Cruickshank taught health and physical education in schools in Australia, England and Japan before joining the University of Tasmania in 2011. He is currently a Lecturer in Health and Physical Education (HPE) and Program Director of the BEd(HPE) and BEd(Science/Maths) programs. He teaches a variety of practical and theoretical subjects to predominantly BEd(HPE) students and is also closely involved in the BEd(HPE) and BEd(Science/Maths) Professional Experience programs. Vaughan's research interests include the challenges faced by male primary teachers, student centred approaches to HPE teaching, the benefits of work integrated learning, and the potential use of technology to enhance HPE teaching.

Program Director – Health and Physical Education, Maths/Science
School of Education
College of Arts, Law and Education
University of Tasmania
Locked Bag 1307
Launceston TAS 7250
Vaughan.cruickshank@utas.edu.au

Orcid ID: [0000-0002-9766-6807](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9766-6807)

Professor Murray Drummond

Murray Drummond is a Research Professor in Sport, Health and Physical Activity at Flinders University. He is the Director of the SHAPE Research Centre. His research interests are based around qualitative sport and health research with a particular interest in gender and sports, including women and sport and masculinities and body image. Murray has published widely on issues relating to masculinities and health, gay men's bodies, and prostate cancer among

gay men and CALD men. He is regularly invited to present his work nationally and internationally. His current research includes a three significant research projects on girls, women, and LGBTIQ+ community, in sports as well as a longitudinal research project with boys from early childhood through to adolescence investigating issues around masculinities within sport and health.

Flinders University
Education Building (5.12)
GPO Box 2100, Adelaide 5001, South Australia
murray.drummond@flinders.edu.au

Orcid ID: 0000-0002-2321-6803

Professor Catherine Palmer

Catherine is a social anthropologist by training, but her research expertise extends across the social sciences. She is internationally recognised for her interdisciplinary research examining cutting-edge questions about pressing social problems, using sport as the prism through which to do this. Her work has appeared in leading international journals including International Journal for the Sociology of Sport, Sport in Society, Journal of Gender Studies, Social & Cultural Geography, Sociology of Sport. Catherine has received funding for her research from national and international funding bodies including the ARC, the NHMRC, the Alcohol Education Research Foundation, Joseph Rowntree and the Nuffield Foundation, among others. Catherine is the regional editor for the Journal of Social Sciences, and is on the editorial board of the International Review for the Sociology of Sport.

Social Sciences
University of Tasmania
Private Bag 22
Hobart, Tasmania 7001
Catherine.palmer@utas.edu.au

Orcid ID: 0000-0001-8345-7556